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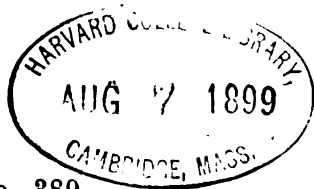
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~~DR XXIX~~

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THE
EDINBURGH REVIEW,
JULY, 1899.

No. CCCLXXXIX.

ART. I.—1. *Budget Speeches 1815–1899.*

2. *Twenty Years' Finances.* 'Times' Articles, February and March 1899.

TO survey the public finance of Great Britain during the course of the nineteenth century is a task as formidable as it is possible to undertake. Yet the time for such an attempt is upon us, seeing that the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his next budget will trench upon the twentieth century. And besides, though there is no actual crisis, there is no lack of change in this important sphere of public policy. Upon the structure raised by the fathers of British finance other master-builders and architects are engaged with designs of a new pattern, and it is desirable to examine their projects, and decide as far as possible upon the repairs or damages in prospect, or actually achieved.

It may be said that the history of British public finance during the current century falls naturally into three epochs, and that the first of these runs up to the year 1825. That period, so glorious in our annals of conquest, was disastrous in finance, and may be briefly dismissed with the reflection that in it were created the problems of the succeeding fifty years. We emerged from war with a debt of some 900,000,000*l.*, and when the income-tax was abolished in 1816, with taxation so adjusted as to fall with crushing weight upon poverty and productive industry, while property went comparatively free. But Britain is never long without statesmen equal to an emergency. Soon began that remarkable resurrection of the Tory party when Sidmouth gave way to Robert Peel at the Home Office, and Castlereagh to Canning in foreign affairs, while finance dropped from the hands of the incompetent

Vansittart into those of Robinson at the Treasury and Huskisson at the Board of Trade.

The next epoch covered the succeeding fifty years, and was definitely terminated by 1875. Finance was a burning subject in those days, and its two chief exponents, Peel and Gladstone, rose naturally to supreme place. One led the Conservative, and the other the Liberal, party, but both were scholars in the same school, and were as father and son in the service of the commonwealth. Thus finance made its exit as it were from the arena of party politics, and a steady and consistent national policy was pursued. One main idea that dominated in the councils of this middle age was restriction in expenditure. For many years this principle met with such general acceptance that in 1853, the year prior to the outbreak of the Crimean War, the expenditure stood at the very figure with which the epoch in question began. Then ensued a formidable contest of opposing views, in which the leading champions were Palmerston for a more liberal outlay, and Gladstone for the old policy of restriction. For about ten years from 1853 expenditure grew rapidly, thanks in the main to the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny. But in 1862 a motion for economy was carried in the House of Commons, and shortly after retrenchment resumed its reign. Some years later, in 1870, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in making his budget speech, after announcing certain reductions in the army and navy expenditure, proceeded to inquire into the cause of the singular prosperity in our national finance. 'The secret of all this success,' he said, 'is the simplest in the world—it is nothing on earth but economy,' and he added that he looked for continued progress in this direction. Strange delusion to have cherished in 1870, the year of the Education Act, and, in a very different order, of the Franco-German War!

Two motives for the policy thus described readily present themselves. The burden of the national debt accumulated during the Napoleonic struggle was very serious, our predecessors at the commencement of the present reign having to devote over 58 per cent. of their total expenditure to its annual service, or nearly three times the present proportion. Again, the need of the time was considered to be the remission of taxation, as is illustrated by the fact that the Conservative Government formed in 1841 remitted no less than over a quarter of the customs revenue, while the Government of 1874 may be said to have concluded the

epoch by reducing the income-tax in that year to 2*d.* in the pound. Thus, if so large a portion of the national revenue was needed for the discharge of the debt, and remissions of taxation so extensive were in progress, it is clear that there were strong inducements upon our statesmen to retrench in expenditure. These motives tended no doubt to decrease in force as the burden of the debt diminished, and as the revenue, in spite of continued remissions, advanced by leaps and bounds. But they were fostered and kept alive by the influence of Mr. Gladstone, whose devotion to economy lasted into an age that saw its duty in another light.

Yet the real causes that made economy possible lay deeper, and in the history, not of Britain, but of Europe. The peoples of Europe were sick of fighting, and would not frame their policy to meet the event of another such conflagration as that in which they had lost so much. In England our volunteers, our national defences, our fleet and army, declined, or at least did not progress, so that it was not till the Crimean War that a strong reaction arose in favour of an enhanced outlay upon national defences, and even then the strong hand of Mr. Gladstone presently reasserted its grasp. But he was assisted by a cause profounder than the will of any single man. The only fundamental justification of public expenditure is that the money thus spent can be applied by the State to better purpose than if it 'fructifies' in the pockets of the people.' But in the sixties and early seventies it was fructifying prodigiously in their pockets. Hence with wars all round us—the Italian, the Austrian, the Danish, the American Civil War, and the Franco-German War—we steadily continued to remit taxation, and therefore necessarily to practise public economy.

It was with 1875 that the third and last epoch of the century may be reckoned to have definitely begun. In that year our army, navy, and civil service cost us altogether 38,000,000*l.*, against an estimated amount of about 70,000,000*l.* for the year ending on March 31, 1900. This means an increase between the two years in question of about 32,000,000*l.* Of this the civil services account for 9,000,000*l.*, and the primary question arises as to the cause of this particular expansion. It can be very easily accounted for: 7,000,000*l.* of this increase is due to education, while the balance of 2,000,000*l.* is to be explained as the result of the enormous increase of duties thrust upon the civil service both by Parliament and by a growth of population during the last quarter of a century. It bears out in a striking

manner the conclusion as to the admirable economy of the civil service arrived at by Mr. Goschen in his budget speech of 1887. In reviewing the twenty preceding years he stated: 'It is a remarkable fact that out of the increase of 8,000,000*l.* in the cost of the civil service during the last twenty years, no less a sum than 7,600,000*l.* is due to the direct action of Parliament, and only 400,000*l.* is an administrative increase.'

The remainder of this total rise of 32,000,000*l.* is to be accounted for by an expansion of 23,000,000*l.* in our naval and military outlay. Of this latter total about 6,000,000*l.* is due to the army, and about 17,000,000*l.* to the navy. The former figure is the price we have had to pay for avoiding conscription, and also for creating an army as understood in the modern sense. It was the stricken fields of Sadowa in 1866 and of Sedan in 1870 that woke this country to the unpalatable truth that though we possessed a number of regiments, we had no army. In 1871 that great administrator, Lord Cardwell, delivered a speech upon this subject which may not unjustly be said to have marked an epoch. 'It is my policy,' he declared, 'to lay the firm foundation of a defensive force which may be a perfect security to the country, not merely against danger, but against that which is scarcely less intolerable to the spirit and independence of Englishmen—the perpetually recurring apprehension of danger.' To build up an army on such sound economic lines has been the work of succeeding years of expenditure. That the cost has been vast is indubitable, but it is equally indubitable that our army has not been organised on too lavish a scale for the duties which it has to perform in this country, India, Egypt, and the Cape. Consider, for instance, our tiny force of cavalry, consisting—if the Household Troops and Scots Greys are excluded—of only twenty-seven regiments, only a portion of which, again, are on a war footing. Consider again that during recent years wages have risen, and that this by competition must force up the pay of the soldier, who otherwise would not enlist in a volunteer army.

Turning from the army to the navy, it is a remarkable fact that during the first ten years of this period, from 1875 to 1884, naval expenditure scarcely advanced at all. Our statesmen were decidedly averse to an increased outlay upon our first line of defence, and public opinion was not stirred to put pressure upon them. In those years of Conservative government prior to 1880 it had been the theory that we

should build 12,000 tons a year, but this theory had been so entirely neglected that only about half that number of tons had been built in 1879, and, in fact, our fleet, both as regards ships and guns, was seriously in arrear. During the next four years, up to 1884, there was more order introduced into our naval policy, and the plan was adopted officially of 'beginning two armour-plated ships for every 'one which the French Government have begun.' But so strict was the economy practised that in 1883 our naval expenditure was actually smaller than what it had been in 1875. In December 1884, however, a new age of naval expenditure was opened by Lord Northbrook; the real motive force behind the so-called 'Northbrook programme' then adopted being, undoubtedly, the naval activity of France. The Minister declared, indeed, that 'our expenditure at the present time on the construction of armour-plated 'ships is very much larger than the expenditure on the construction of such ships by the French Government;' but he admitted, on the other hand, that 'as regards ships 'being constructed by the two nations at the present time, 'there are more ships being constructed at this moment by 'the French than by ourselves.'

The next epoch in naval expenditure runs from 1885 up to 1889. In March of the latter year Lord George Hamilton announced that 'the programme known as the Northbrook 'programme is practically complete,' and he proposed another—eventually embodied in the Naval Defence Act—to take its place, in view of the great and rapid growth in the navies of Europe. Financially speaking, the plan was to spend 21,500,000*l.* extra upon the navy over a series of years ending in 1896.

From the date of the programme thus announced by Lord George Hamilton in 1889, up to the end of the century, we have been living in a perfect whirl of programmes. Three years subsequent to 1889 there was another programme, to be followed by the great programme of Lord Spencer in 1894. Let us summarise the total product of these three schemes by quoting Mr. Goschen: 'Adding 'the 70 ships built under the Naval Defence Act, the '12 under the intermediate programme, and the 23 under 'Lord Spencer's programme, we reach the total of 105 'ships and 62 torpedo-boat destroyers which have been 'commenced, part of them finished, and part still under 'construction, between 1889 and 1896.' This was uttered in the latter year; and, to conclude the whole story, in 1896

another programme was launched, calculated to conclude with this century.

In considering this remarkable increase of 32,000,000*l.* in expenditure during the last quarter of a century, the major part of which—namely, 23,000,000*l.*—arises from outlay upon the army and navy, the question naturally arises as to its justification. ‘I sorrowfully admit,’ said Mr. Gladstone in his budget speech of 1882, ‘that the contagion and sympathy of foreign countries necessarily affects us.’ This regretful recognition of a necessity has been felt by both parties, and both must share the blame or credit for the change of policy consequent thereupon. It was a Liberal, Lord Spencer, who inaugurated the great programme of 1894; it was a Conservative Government which, in the years prior to 1880, displayed an extreme devotion to economy in naval expenditure. But is not this final and general agreement of both parties as to the necessity of the case a powerful and cogent proof of the real existence of that necessity? Again, it is quite clear that in the earlier stages we moved most tardily and with the most sincere and genuine reluctance. In fact it was not till 1888, when Lord Wolseley had declared in the House of Lords that ‘as long as the navy is as weak as it is at this moment her Majesty’s army cannot hold its own,’ that public opinion may be said to have turned in favour of a consistent and extensive programme of naval works. More than this, such a departure could not in the nature of things have been taken by the British people without reasons of almost overpowering weight. For it was a renunciation of the characteristic policy so long pursued by a nation which, knowing itself to be vulnerable, preached the sage doctrines of peace and free trade amid the rivalries of Europe. So as long as possible—and perhaps dangerously long—we shut our eyes to the armies upon the Continent and to the new fleets upon the waters. Surely no impartial judge will on this score condemn the British people, that they plunged into expenditure from a love of extravagance or from a love of war.

But let us descend from the general to the particular. Is our fleet, for instance, too big for the duties which it has to perform and the enemies which it may have to meet? It has been since 1889 the accepted national policy to maintain a fleet of a strength equal to that of any two powers in combination against us. How far have we attained to this ideal standard for our fleet? It is estimated that at

the end of the current year France will possess thirty-three battleships and Russia eighteen, or a total of fifty-one, against our total of forty-six. This is not altogether what might have been hoped for after such an enormous effort upon our part. But we may be consoled by the reflection that one-half of our battleships are of the first class, while France and Russia have only fifteen in this class. Another source of satisfaction is that though cruisers must not be put in the same line with battleships, we shall possess no less than 187 cruisers, against the ninety-two owned by France and Russia. Perhaps, without entering more deeply into the question, it may be said that we have fairly accomplished that which we have set out to do, or at least have not overstepped the bounds of our accepted national policy.

The question remains as to the future. Is our future expenditure on armaments to be as vast as that of recent years? In his speech of March 9 last, in introducing the navy estimates, Mr. Goschen was not very hopeful:—

‘I have studied the programmes of other nations, and that study has not been very reassuring. It is not only the powers who may be our possible opponents, but there has been an immense increase in shipbuilding on the part of other nations, which of late years have only begun to enter into what I may call the naval competition. I look to the estimates of the two most powerful nations, France and Russia. The increase in the French estimates for naval construction is very small. In the case of Russia it is very different. I have now to state, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, that, similarly, if the other great rival powers should be prepared to diminish their programmes of shipbuilding, we should be prepared on our side to meet such a procedure by modifying ours.’

On the whole, however, two considerations lead us to take a more hopeful view, the first of which affects foreign nations, and the second is more closely related to our own will. Though shipbuilding is expensive for us, it is far more expensive for others. For instance, a battleship costs France over 100,000*l.* more than it costs us, while the excess is even greater in the matter of cruisers. The other, and more important, consideration is whether, now that we have established the most powerful navy ever known, and that, according to Mr. Goschen, other nations more friendly to us, such as Japan and America, are also establishing fine fleets, the time has not come for us to modify the plan of dogging so closely the increase in the fleets of France and Russia, on the twofold ground that as our friends now have fleets we shall scarcely be so isolated as hitherto upon

the ocean, and also that the indefinite extension of our navy is calculated in the long run to impair its standard of efficiency and to render it less popular with the taxpayer than before.

The task of comparing the principles which governed the finance of the central period of this century with those which have predominated in its closing quarter now leads us to a second branch of the subject. The financiers of the earlier period adhered to unity in the expenditure of the public income—that is to say, they concentrated the national revenue upon purely national ends, namely, the discharge of the debt, the army, the navy, and the civil service. Two exceptions to the above statement should, however, be noticed. Sir Robert Peel had always argued that a ground for maintaining the Corn Laws was that land was subject to exceptional burdens, and that Protection was a fair compensation to landowners. Accordingly, when he himself in 1846 decided to repeal the Corn Laws, he felt bound to make some compensation to the land, and passed a measure in that year for the provision of a sum of something under 350,000*l.* from the national revenue for the annual relief of certain local charges. The other exception was that, ten years later, it having been found that the permissive system of rural police had proved a failure, an Act was passed providing compulsorily for an adequate supply of police, and allocating a certain sum towards the maintenance of such a body. Not to mention other similar appropriations of minor importance, it may be said that prior to 1874 the annual amount allocated from public moneys to local purposes did not amount to two and a half millions a year.

We have unquestionably departed from the policy thus described. In 1874 a new stage was entered upon when Sir Stafford Northcote in the budget of that year added the large sum of a million and a quarter to the existing annual subventions or grants-in-aid. The next important dates are 1888 and 1890. Let us, in order to avoid encumbering details, confine ourselves to the total effect upon England of the measures of those years. In the first place, the major part of the subventions hitherto granted to local authorities in England were abolished, to the amount of 2,600,000*l.* a year. Instead, the bulk of the excise licenses were handed over, and as these produced about 3,000,000*l.*, English local authorities thus netted a gain of 400,000*l.* But this was by no means all. Simultaneously one-half of the probate duty was placed at the

disposal of the local authorities of the United Kingdom, and as England's share in this was about 80 per cent., here was a further grant to her of about 2,200,000*l.* Nor is the list yet exhausted. Additional duties on beer and spirits were imposed by the Government and similarly handed over, and here again England's share was about 1,000,000*l.*; while a similar policy was adopted in the cases of Scotland and Ireland. Since that time there has been the Act for the Relief of Agricultural Rates and the subvention to Ireland under the terms of the Irish Local Government Act. But the whole matter may be summarised by stating that at present the subventions to local authorities from imperial funds constitute a charge about six times greater than that in the years preceding 1874.

The causes of this striking change of policy deserve a brief analysis. During the years preceding 1874 there had been a growing conception of the duties of Government, enhanced, no doubt, by the remarkable legislative activity of the ministry of that period, which had succeeded to the indolence of the closing years of Palmerston. Simultaneously there was a deepening sense of the inefficiency of the provision made by local authorities for the needs of the country. This twofold sentiment had a twofold result. Parliament, anxious for the reform of local prisons and local police, stepped forward with large appropriations from public funds; while simultaneously Acts were passed, such as the Local Loans Act of 1875, granting to local authorities facilities for raising money to defray the cost of an improved system. Those powers were grasped at once with the utmost alacrity, and, so far as borrowing removes the burden on the present to a later day, the claims of local authorities upon the central treasury were no doubt postponed. But they were postponed only for a time. The local debt increased so greatly that from being almost 100,000,000*l.* in 1875 it had grown to slightly over 200,000,000*l.* in 1891, and since that time has rapidly advanced. No doubt a portion of this debt, such as harbour or dock loans, is not charged on the rates. A further portion—such, for instance, as gaswork or waterwork loans—is secured in many instances primarily on the revenues of the undertakings in respect of which it has been raised, and constitutes a charge on the rates only to the extent to which those revenues may be found insufficient to meet the payments of the principal and the interest. But, according to the conclusions arrived at by Sir Henry Fowler

in his Report on Local Taxation in 1893, after allowing for these loans, about half of the gross debt falls directly on the rates, which have not only to bear the interest, but also to provide for the repayment of the principal within the periods prescribed. Thus the rapid increase of debt soon materially added to the strength of the desire to claim relief from the Imperial Exchequer.

But a very high proportion of such debts was incurred by purely urban authorities, and therefore this of itself would not account for the growth of those appropriations which have been so strongly claimed on behalf of rural districts. The fact was that with the commencement of the last quarter of the nineteenth century began that economic revolution, as it may be called, a grand feature of which has been the decline in the value of the products of the soil, and therefore of landed property itself. In the year 1873, for instance, the fall in the price of wheat began, its average in that year being nearly 59*s.* a quarter; since which point it has declined to its lowest yearly average of something over 22*s.* a quarter in 1891. It was now that the full effects of the Free-trade measures of 1846 began to display themselves with the opening up of the wheat-growing areas of Argentina, Russia, India, and the United States. Sir Robert Peel himself had admitted the need of compensation to the land in such circumstances; the circumstances had arisen, and the claims were made good in the shape of imperial subventions to local funds. A third cause of the financial change we are considering has been the reorganisation of our local government system upon a popular, and therefore, perhaps necessarily, upon an expensive, basis. The motive for the large appropriations of 1888 was mainly that the newly constituted bodies should be given, so to speak, a good start in life. Perhaps the last cause which needs enumeration was a desire to remedy that feature of local taxation which confines the assessment of persons to land and the structures thereon, and thus allows personal property to escape scot free. With the desire to remedy this hole in the net of local taxation Parliament handed over one-half of the probate duty to local authorities, as being the tax which fell exclusively on realised personalty.

Having referred to the nature of this change and to its causes, let us endeavour to analyse its results and pass some judgement as to the prudence or otherwise of its authors. It may be said that prior to 1874, for every 12*l.* raised

by local authorities, both by rates and by tolls and dues, the Imperial Exchequer contributed 1*l*. But at present for every 12*l*. thus raised by local authorities the Imperial Exchequer contributes 3*l*. This is certainly an immense difference, and it might very reasonably be concluded that rates have fallen in consequence. On the contrary, in spite of these subventions the average general rate of the United Kingdom has risen during the same period from about 3*s*. 2*d*. to about 3*s*. 10*d*. in the pound. It does not necessarily follow, of course, that because rates have risen notwithstanding, therefore these grants have been thrown away. For to such an inference it may be replied that if it had not been for these grants rates might have risen very much higher than they have done. But we think it certainly safe to conclude that this system must have vastly accelerated a multitude of local undertakings which would only have progressed slowly but for such assistance, and also that the local authorities cannot have been so careful in the expenditure of this money as they would have been if it had been raised by themselves and from their own locality.

And here we touch the vital and thorny question—From whose pockets have all these imperial subventions come? To decide this is to get at the root of the whole matter. Our approval or disapproval of this system turns upon how we decide whether it has been right to take this money from the pockets of those who pay taxes in order to hand it to those who pay rates. It might be argued, and the argument deserves consideration, that the imperial revenue is jointly supplied by labour and capital, and that any grants from that fund are borne by labour and capital in the proportions to which they contribute to the fund itself. Now rates are levied upon property, such as land and houses, and thus, according to the argument under consideration, imperial subventions are in reality nothing else than moneys partly levied, and so far unfairly levied, on the labouring classes for the relief of the possessors of property. To enter a little more into detail, the total revenue now receivable into the Exchequer as the product of taxation may be taken to be about 90,000,000*l*. Of this total customs and excise produce about 51,000,000*l*., and these may be considered as taxes not incidental to property. The remainder of 39,000,000*l*. is raised by the income-tax, death duties, stamps, land-tax, and house duty, and these taxes are in the main incidental to property. An alteration falls to be made in the above figures. About 4,000,000*l*., included in

the yield of income-tax, is derived from professional success, and should more correctly be charged as taxes not incidental to property. This would alter the above figures to 55,000,000*l.* and 35,000,000*l.* respectively. Hence the argument under consideration runs that, as the major portion of the imperial revenue is paid rather by the non-propertied than by the propertied classes, it is unfair to make grants from such a fund for the relief of rates, or, in other words, for the relief of property.

With the argument thus stated we do not agree, and for the following reasons. The proportion just arrived at is fallacious. Customs and excise fall upon the propertied as well as upon the non-propertied classes, and the former must consume a vast quantity of tobacco, wine, beer, and spirits, and thus must contribute a large sum to these taxes. But, more than this, in considering the burdens between classes we must take into account not only imperial, but local, taxation. After making due allowance for the fact that the tolls and dues levied by local authorities, and also a portion of the imperial subventions received by them, are to be classed as taxes not incidental to property, it may be concluded that, as rates are incidental to property, perhaps 70 per cent. or more of local taxation is incidental to property. These two considerations, as we believe, entirely redress, or rather reverse, the balance; so that there is no warrant for arguing that there is any injustice in the present balance of imperial and local burdens as distributed between the propertied and non-propertied classes, or for maintaining that these subventions necessarily constitute an act of injustice, though it is true again that equity of taxation is scarcely to be arrived at by any such balancing of figures.

But, of course, to show that the total burden of taxation, imperial and local, is fairly divided is not to show that any grants from that total fund should be made to property. To deal with this point let us inquire what has been the course of taxation during the last quarter of a century—during the period, in fact, when this system of subventions has grown up? How have these appropriations been actually defrayed? In order to furnish a reply let us compare the present state of things with what existed in 1875. In that year the income-tax was only 2*d.* in the pound; this year it is 8*d.* in the pound. Then it yielded about 4,300,000*l.*; now it yields, as estimated for the current financial year, 18,300,000*l.* Take, again, the stamp duties and the death

duties, both, like the income-tax, in the main incidental to property. In 1875 those taxes yielded 9,800,000*l.*; now they are estimated to yield to the Imperial Exchequer 19,200,000*l.*; or nearly double the old amount. Here, then, is a total growth of revenue of 23,000,000*l.*, derived from taxes incidental to property. On the other hand, customs and excise have increased only by 3,000,000*l.* between the two dates. Hence it may be said that whereas the total revenue derived from taxes was 64,000,000*l.* a quarter of a century ago and is now 90,000,000*l.*, no less than 23,000,000*l.* of that total growth of 26,000,000*l.* has been supplied by the imposition of fresh taxation upon property. Thus, though no doubt subventions from imperial revenues come from a fund jointly supplied by capital and labour, still, as a matter of practical reality, the money for the subventions in question during the last quarter of a century has been mainly procured by taxing property through the medium of the income-tax and death duties. Property has paid in the main for these grants to property.

Yet this does not exhaust the question. We have traced the causes and the results, and have discussed the abstract justice of these subventions. But we cannot think that they are a satisfactory growth in our financial system. It is impossible to contend that this movement has been guided by some far-sighted or clear-sighted view of the relations of local to imperial finance. That subject is a chaos, and a Royal Commission has only recently been appointed to explore the gulf into which so many millions have been already poured. Was it not extravagance in 1890 to allocate additional beer and spirit duties to local authorities for the purposes of 'technical education'? When one-half of the probate duty was handed over to the local authorities of the United Kingdom in 1888, the Scotch and Irish portion was allocated to specific purposes; in England and Wales its destined object was unspecified. In the same year, because Scotland gained by the transference of the licenses something equivalent had to be done for Ireland, and accordingly an equivalent grant was appropriated to her. In fact, the more closely we examine these tangled appropriations the more rife do they seem with disorder, and therefore with waste. The local authorities have pressed for money, and they have been given it abundantly. The ratepayer gains while the payer of income-tax is rated at 8*d.* in the pound.

The third great financial problem, also in the sphere of ex-

penditure, which has commanded the attention of our statesmen has been the application of public money to the reduction of the National Debt. Here too the century falls naturally into three main epochs. At first our public men were so anxious to reduce the enormous burden imposed upon the country by those who had saved Britain and saved Europe from Napoleon that they committed the error of borrowing money to cancel debt at a higher rate than that paid upon the debt thus extinguished. It was Lord Grenville who, in 1827, thoroughly exposed this proceeding; he was endorsed by the House of Commons' Committee which reported in the following year, and by consequence in 1829 the so-called old Sinking Fund was created. The operation of this fund for the extinction of debt rested upon the principle that it was only a surplus of revenue over expenditure which could properly be applied to such a purpose. The Act establishing the fund accordingly provided that the quarterly surplus, if any, in the Treasury was to be handed over to the National Debt Commissioners, who should therewith buy up and cancel Consols. But obviously this was a somewhat feeble expedient to stand by itself, for the surpluses in the exchequer were necessarily very casual, diminishing in the presence of any supplementary estimate and disappearing before a deficit. Another method was therefore to be brought to bear. It was that of converting permanent into terminable annuities, so that instead of paying only interest on a given portion of our debt we should arrange to pay annually interest plus a portion of the capital, and so in a given number of years redeem the whole of that portion of the debt in respect of which such terminable annuities had been established. It was by this method mainly that during the middle age of the century, at any rate, the reduction of the debt was carried forward. But even against this plan two objections might be urged. It was an age of remissions of taxation, and consequently when a terminable annuity fell in, as for instance the long annuities in 1860, there would be a very strong temptation upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the day to remit taxation to the extent of the revenue thus suddenly released from the service of the annuity now terminated. If, however, he resisted that temptation, he might not find enough stock upon the market to enable him to set up a similar amount of fresh annuities. For the public did not care as a rule to exchange Consols for such annuities, since an investment in Consols was usually made not for profit so much as to secure a permanence

which, of course, would not be afforded by a terminable annuity. No doubt stock in the hands of Government departments could be so converted, and was indeed much resorted to for this purpose. But even this process could for similar reasons be carried too far, and was in those days, at any rate, not very greatly extended. For instance, whereas at the close of the great war we were paying away in annuities an annual charge of nearly two millions, that amount in 1860, when the long annuities already mentioned had fallen in and had not been renewed, had only slightly increased.

In these circumstances the reduction of the debt was not remarkable for its extent or its rapidity. But in 1866 Mr. Gladstone turned his oratory upon this theme, and roused public opinion with his incomparable financial eloquence. Was it a bad conscience that was uttering its reproaches? For was it not he himself who had yielded to the temptation of not renewing the long annuities in 1860? Was it not he who in recent years had been responsible for enormous remissions of taxation, which sum might have been applied to the reduction of the National Debt? True, Sir Robert Peel had done the same. But then Sir Robert's Government had in 1844 carried the greatest conversion scheme known up to that date, and had secured the reduction of the rate of interest paid by the State upon nearly 250,000,000*l.* Consols from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent.; while Mr. Gladstone, on the other hand, had failed in 1853 in a similar attempt. However this may be, Mr. Gladstone showed that from 1815 to 1866 the total sum applied to the reduction of the National Debt had been 180,000,000*l.* But then the debt had been increased during the same period by about 80,000,000*l.*, owing to such causes as the Crimean War, and the Irish famine, and the compensation to slave owners. Thus the net decrease of the debt had been 100,000,000*l.* In other words, the total debt, which was 900,000,000*l.* at the beginning of 1816, was 800,000,000*l.* in 1866. Thus the debt had been reduced at the rate of about two millions a year. In the five succeeding years up to 1874, the last year of the middle epoch which we are considering, the debt fell at an accelerated pace, standing at 780,000,000*l.* at that date.

Let us pause at this stage to make the inquiry whether the reduction in the amount of the debt during this middle age of the century had been satisfactory or otherwise. In the opinion of the most enlightened authorities it was

reckoned to be inadequate, or even paltry. Reference has already been made to the opinion of Mr. Gladstone, but Sir Stafford Northcote, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1875, used similar language. Though characteristically declaring that he was not an enthusiast, he announced that 'we are far from doing all that we might do.' The leading financial writers of Great Britain and France concurred. Sir Robert Giffen wrote that 'we are as a nation somewhat 'basely skulking our obligations.' M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, who may be termed the John Stuart Mill of Europe, writing at that period, remarked that 'we have studied the 'English debt under all its aspects. While fully recognising the eminent merits of English financiers, we must 'admit that they have made no adequate effort to entirely 'extinguish their debt, which should have been easy for 'them with a little resolution during that long period of 'peace which has lasted scarcely without interruption since '1815.' Let us not presume to argue with such a phalanx of supreme authorities, but record their verdict and pass on to the closing epoch of the century.

The first year of the period in question, 1875, was marked by the establishment of the new Sinking Fund by Sir Stafford Northcote. In the future there was to be a 'permanent annual charge' upon public funds of 28,000,000*l.* for the service of the National Debt. This sum was calculated to comprise the annual payment of the interest on the funded and unfunded debt, the charge of any terminable annuities, and the expenses of managing the debt. Nor was this all. The difference between these combined charges and 28,000,000*l.* constituted the new Sinking Fund, and was applicable annually to the cancellation of the capital of the debt. 'In thirty years from this 'time,' said the Chancellor, 'you will have cancelled no 'less than 213,000,000*l.* of debt.' How far is that bold prophecy of a cautious man likely to be verified? Our National Debt at the close of the nineteenth century will amount to about 620,000,000*l.* It might, therefore, appear that during the twenty-five years following Sir Stafford Northcote's statement the debt will have been reduced by 160,000,000*l.* As a matter of fact the true figure is 133,000,000*l.*, seeing that 27,000,000*l.* of that reduction is nominal, and due to the National Debt and Local Loans Act of 1887. Hence during the last twenty-five years we have reduced the debt at the rate of about 5,300,000*l.* a year.

Is this a particularly brilliant performance? Certain

considerations point in a contrary direction. The two main political factors which should induce a nation to pay off its debt as fast as possible are the fear that war may break out at any moment, thus entailing a sudden addition to the debt, and also the fear that the peaceful rivalry of other nations may in the future press hard upon the profits of our people. Both these anticipations have been dominant throughout this period, for we have been preparing busily and seriously for war, and there has been the astounding growth of our commercial rivals, such as America and Germany. Hence we should have hastened to cut down our debt as fast as possible in this the heyday of our good fortune. It is true, indeed, that it was in the years immediately preceding 1875 that our prosperity was so sensational; that thenceforward till 1886 there was a certain stagnation; that the prosperity of the next four years culminated in 1890, and then declined till 1894. But 1895 was a great year, and the tide has run very strong since then. Hence, on the whole, we have had an epoch in which our capacity to reduce our debt must have greatly increased, as witness the fact that the gross amount of the value of property and profits assessed to income-tax was 490,000,000*l.* on the average for the five years 1870-74, and is now probably 710,000,000*l.*

These general considerations are enforced by a closer inspection of details. Thanks to the great conversion scheme of Mr. Goschen, whereby an annual reduction of nearly a million and a half was made in the interest charge of the debt, and thanks also to the reduction of the capital by the combined action of the old and new Sinking Funds and terminable annuities, the charge for interest and management, which was nearly 23,000,000*l.* in 1875, will fall to 17,000,000*l.* at the end of the century. If the nation is thus, as pointed out in the preceding paragraph, so much richer, and also the interest charge is so much lighter than before, is not the capacity of the nation for reducing the capital of the debt materially increased? Instead, however, of maintaining the arrangements of the Conservative Government of 1875, whereby 28,000,000*l.* was annually appropriated, we have cut that figure down to 26,000,000*l.* in 1888, thence to 25,000,000*l.* in 1890, and thence again to 23,000,000*l.* this year. The reasons for this latter reduction given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer were that the new Sinking Fund was growing so rapidly that soon 'there would be a temptation that no Parliament could

'possibly resist' to take a large portion of it for other purposes. Therefore he took a portion of it himself. The other reason was that Consols were at a high premium, and that this crippled the action of the Sinking Fund.

This fact of the high price of Consols requires some comment, as it has recently attracted so much attention. During the first eighty years of this century there were only four years, namely, 1844, 1845, 1852, and 1853, in which Consols touched par. Hence during almost the whole of the middle age of the century the managers of the Sinking Fund had the advantage of buying up Consols below par. From 1880 to 1888 the annual average price fluctuated above and below par. Then for the six years, 1888 to 1894, Consols were continuously below par. For the remaining five years they have stood as continuously above par, and rose to an average of over 112 in 1897. That this premium hampers the action of the Sinking Fund is of course clear. But responsibility for this state of affairs rests with the authors of the National Debt Act of 1888, which prevents the redemption of Consols at par until the arrival of the year 1923. Thus the present state of affairs is owing to the action of a few years ago, taken with the motive of facilitating the conversion of the National Debt, though, on the other hand, it may be answered that had it not been for this arrangement the conversion scheme in question would not have met with such success.

Another principle secured to us by the earlier statesmen of the century has been the financial unity of the United Kingdom. Though that principle has been maintained in our own day, its practical application has been so strenuously called into question in recent years that we may be permitted to indicate shortly our view of an issue still living and likely to live. By the Act of Union in 1800 Ireland and Great Britain, while each remained responsible for its own debt, were to pay, the former two-seventeenths and the latter fifteen-seventeenths of the common expenditure of Great Britain. Was this too heavy a burden for Ireland? Such an inquiry need not delay us, because, instead of paying during that period in the relation of 2 to 15 as provided, she actually did pay only in the relation of 2 to 24. She raised the balance by debt, which on the amalgamation of the Exchequers became a common burden on the taxpayers of the United Kingdom. In 1817 the Exchequers were amalgamated, and as the revenue of Ireland was at that date only about half what it ought to

have been under the terms of the Act of Union, the liabilities of that country were about halved at a single blow. This was, surely, no ungenerous treatment.

Let us jump the intervening years and observe the relative position of the two countries in 1850. At that date the revenue contributed by Great Britain was practically the same as in the period of amalgamation, while that contributed by Ireland had declined. The cause of the stationary amount provided by Great Britain was that much taxation had been remitted in the interval by Sir Robert Peel; the cause of the decline on the part of Ireland was, no doubt, in part due to the famine of 1848. But, at any rate, Ireland could scarcely complain, seeing that her contribution was both relatively and absolutely less than her originally low contribution. But if we proceed from 1850 to 1860 the case for Ireland comes into view. For during that decade Mr. Gladstone, abandoning the policy of Sir Robert Peel, extended the income-tax to Ireland, which the latter statesman had refrained from doing when he imposed it in 1842 upon Great Britain. But Mr. Gladstone went further in prejudice of Ireland. He raised the Irish spirit duties from 2s. 8d. to 4s. per gallon, and this example was so readily followed by succeeding chancellors that those duties had risen to no less than 10s. in 1860. All this proved a serious burden to the Ireland of those days, then terribly depopulated and shaken by famine, and her contribution rose by nearly 60 per cent. in that one decade. Stated relatively to Great Britain, her contribution, instead of being in the ratio of 2 to 24, was now in the ratio of 2 to 16, and this, too, in the days when the wealth of Great Britain was advancing by leaps and bounds! Surely this was a singularly ill-advised action upon the part of Britain.

Finally, our examination must take us from 1860 to the period in which we live, and at the present time it may be said that the relative contribution of Ireland and Great Britain is as 2 to 24, or the old proportion of the first quarter of the century. It might be thought that all this did not constitute much of a basis for a reconstruction of financial relations, but the whole aspect of the argument becomes altered when the advocates of Ireland assert that her 'taxable capacity,' whatever that mysterious phrase means, is as 2 to 40 in relation to Great Britain, and that Ireland being overtaxed on this hypothesis, a large annual sum should be refunded to her. But, unfortunately, the advocates of Ireland omit a most vital circumstance. If,

as they suggest, the contribution of Ireland is to be reduced as suggested to about four and a half millions, then, as the Imperial Exchequer has annually contributed a sum of about 6,000,000*l.* to purely Irish purposes, Ireland, on this view of the case, instead of 'contributing' anything, will actually be in receipt of an annual subsidy of a million and a half. There is really no answer to this argument, which is to the effect that, if Ireland is to be considered a separate unit, then in the name of justice and reason we must balance what we give to her against what she gives to us. This is in accordance also with the Act of Union. The seventh article of that Act provided that for a certain length of time the expenditure of the United Kingdom, with the exception of debt charges, should be borne by the two countries in certain fixed proportions. But it further provided that ultimately—and this is what has happened—the debts of the two countries should be amalgamated and the system of payment by fixed proportions should cease, and thenceforward the expenditure of the United Kingdom should be defrayed 'indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the 'same articles in each country, subject only to such 'particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and in 'that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances 'may appear from time to time to demand.' What are these 'circumstances'? Surely first and foremost among them must be the circumstances of Irish progress or decline in wealth, and also all that substantially affects the financial position under the Union, her burdens as well as her benefits, and her benefits as well as her burdens. As regards the first category, there is a mass of evidence that Ireland is not growing poorer, but slowly and steadily richer. As regards her benefits under the Act of Union, among them must surely be reckoned the amount of Imperial revenue annually devoted to her. In fact, those who look at what Ireland pays, and not at what she receives, are violating that very Act of Union in the name of which they protest. That Ireland is poor is true; that she should be treated with consideration is true; that she is so treated, and that she has no financial grievance, is true also.

Another legacy bequeathed to us by the statesmen of the middle age of this century was simplicity in the raising of revenue. At the close of the first quarter of the current century our customs tariff was regulated or concealed by a perfect forest of statutes; but in 1825 there was passed the great Codification Act, which repealed over 1,100 of such

enactments, the accumulated legislation of more than five hundred years. But, of course, an immense amount of work remained to be done, and when Sir Robert Peel came to office in 1841 our customs tariff was still vast and chaotic. Suffice it to say that between that date and 1860 his labours and those of Mr. Gladstone almost completely cleared the ground, so that the legislation of the latter year carried the process of the simplification of the tariff almost to the most extreme limits. Since that year little has remained to accomplish, except that the corn duty and wood duty were finally repealed, and an epoch in this respect may be said to have concluded with the abolition of the sugar duties in 1874. Practically, at the present time four articles, namely, foreign spirits, tobacco, tea, and wine, provide the customs revenue.

It is a remarkable feature in our financial history during the last quarter of the century that we have adhered to the policy thus laid down. During the Napoleonic struggle the customs revenue was about trebled, and about 600 statutes were enacted. Yet during the period of enormous expenditure through which we have been passing in preparation for war the work of Peel and Gladstone has stood untouched. To take an example of the most recent occurrence. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer has, it is true, dealt with the customs duties in both of his most recent budgets. Last year there was a diminution of the duty on tobacco, and this year there was an addition to the duties on wine, but both these articles are already on the established list. No doubt adherence to this policy has evoked many criticisms. Mr. Goschen has contended that we have unduly narrowed the range of a chancellor of the exchequer seeking for revenue; but the answer to such a criticism is that in spite of all chancellors of the exchequer have found their revenue, and that a large customs revenue can always be raised in case of a real crisis. Another critic, the 'Times,' has recently published a series of articles urging the reimposition of the duty on corn repealed in 1869, and also of a portion of the duty on sugar. Quite apart from the consideration that this would constitute an abandonment of the principle of Free-trade, and would probably end in a political disaster, it is clear that to abstain from such sources of possible taxation is to maintain a reserve against an hour of storm and stress.

We have thus endeavoured to pronounce as clearly and as concisely as possible upon the fabric of British finance

erected during the nineteenth century with such infinite labour and skill. Many important details have not been touched upon, but the chief outlines have been passed in survey. It remains to state our general conclusions upon the subject in a series of propositions which will in some measure repeat, in some measure amplify, and in some measure summarise, but will in no way contradict, the particular conclusions arrived at in the preceding pages as point by point has been enunciated.

1. The history of the public finance of Great Britain during the nineteenth century falls by a natural classification into three epochs, the first of which runs from 1800 to about the year 1825. That period, from a purely financial point of view, was as disastrous as it was glorious otherwise. Two important achievements, indeed, must be credited to its account. These were the resumption of cash payments, which became really operative in 1821, and the consequent abandonment of an inconvertible paper currency. There was also the amalgamation of the British and Irish exchequers in the year 1817. But otherwise those years were the creator and parent of almost all the problems submitted to the solution of the succeeding half-century of time. We had entered the great war with an annual debt charge of something over 9,000,000*l.*; we emerged with an annual debt charge of 32,000,000*l.* We had entered it with a capital debt of 270,000,000*l.*; we emerged with a capital debt of 900,000,000*l.* But the business of that age was not only to borrow to the utmost, but also to tax to the utmost, and by consequence, while a heavy income-tax was laid upon property, imposts of every sort and variety were levied upon the productive powers of the people. In 1816 Parliament abolished the odious income-tax with enthusiasm, thus forfeiting 14,000,000*l.* of revenue; but it maintained, and in 1819 largely added to, the multitudinous burdens upon consumption. A third evil legacy for the succeeding age was the Sinking Fund, under which money for the purpose of cancelling debt was borrowed at a higher rate than that paid upon the debt thus extinguished.

2. Then the resurrection came. The Tory party shook itself free of its slough of Eldons and Sidmouths and Vansittarts, and with Robert Peel and Canning and Huskisson the age of modern England began. 1825 marked an epoch which did not terminate until 1875. That earlier year is made memorable by the abolition of the customs barrier between Great Britain and Ireland, and also by the codifica-

tion of the customs, which repealed over 1,100 old enactments. Simultaneously economy in expenditure was inaugurated, the vicious principle of the Sinking Fund abolished, and the tariff amended in the direction of Free-trade.

3. Yet this good prospect did not last for long. Huskisson and Canning died, and Peel in 1830 was sent into opposition, with one brief exception, for eleven years. So our finance declined from bad to worse, for the Whigs, excluded so long from office, had enjoyed no training in finance. Althorp and Spring Rice and Baring proved unequal to the management of the exchequer, and deficits came round as annually as the spring. Then, at last, the Conservatives returned to office, and the date of March 11, 1842, on which the new prime minister opened his budget, should be marked as the commencement of the marvellous prosperity and progress of the Victorian age.

4. The generation which followed was that of Peel and Gladstone. The first was a Tory who became Conservative, and the second a Conservative who became a Liberal. Though prime ministers of opposing parties in the State, they were as master and scholar, or as father and son. So finance was taken from the strife of parties and a steady and consistent national policy was pursued.

5. Of the principles that marked this middle age of the century the foremost was economy in expenditure. Between the year 1825 and the year 1853 the expenditure of the country stood still. The reasons of that strange stagnation were that Europe was weary of war and averse to armaments; while in Britain the debt charge was so heavy and the remissions of taxation necessitated by the policy of Free-trade so considerable, that a large expenditure was impracticable on other objects. But as the period advanced a change became strongly marked. After the death of Sir Robert Peel in 1850 the ascendancy of Palmerston was soon established, and Palmerston stood for a more liberal outlay on national defence. Besides, in 1854 the Crimean War broke out, soon to be followed by the Indian Mutiny; while the intrigues of Napoleon in France, thwarted by 'the man of blood and iron' in Germany, were turning Europe into an armed camp. Gradually also as the nation grew richer, as the burden of the debt declined, and as the revenue expanded, expenditure became more possible and was more allowed. Yet economy remained personified in the person of Mr. Gladstone, who constantly threw his vast financial influence into a war against ex-

penditure; and thus in 1870 the chancellor of the exchequer was still able to find in economy the secret and the source of the prosperity of the public finance.

6. The remaining quarter of the century has witnessed an enormous change. The outlay on the army in that period has increased by 6 millions, on civil services by 9 millions, and on the navy by 17 millions, making a total growth of 32,000,000*l.* Such has been the expense of providing modern armaments and also of state-aided education. Both parties in the State have shared in the responsibility for this outlay, and Lord Northbrook and Lord Spencer have induced Parliament to accept huge programmes of naval expenditure no less than Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Goschen. Another proof of the necessity of this outlay is the extreme and genuine reluctance with which the nation entered upon it; for instance, our navy was still quite inadequate so late as the year 1888, and even the vast efforts of recent years have only sufficed to make it equal, or nearly so, to the combined navies of France and Russia. Such in the main have been the reasons for the increase in expenditure upon our army, navy, and civil services from a combined total of 38,000,000*l.* in 1875 to the huge total of 70,000,000*l.* for the year ending in 1900.

7. A second principle adhered to by the financiers of this middle age, from 1825 to 1875, was unity in expenditure—that is say, its concentration upon the military and civil services and the discharge of debt. This principle has been abandoned, and large annual appropriations are now made to local bodies for the relief of rates. Is this right, that those who pay taxes should be so heavily mulcted for the benefit of those who pay rates? It is an arguable and complicated question, so far as abstract justice is concerned. The imperial revenue is a fund levied upon property and poverty, and thus, it may be said, appropriations from that fund are a gift, partly borne by poverty, for the relief of rates—that is, for the relief of property. To this general consideration a practical answer may be made. Since 1875 the vast growth of expenditure has been met by increased imposts upon property, as, for example, by the income-tax, which has been raised from 2*d.* to 8*d.* in the pound, and also by the death duties. Thus taxes incidental to property have provided 23,000,000*l.* extra of revenue, while customs and excise, taxes not incidental to property, have only provided an increased yield of 3,000,000*l.* In a word, property has mainly paid for these subventions to property from the Imperial Exchequer.

8. But if these subventions have not infringed justice, they still may be unsound finance. Unsound they are. They are based on no reasoned and far-reaching view of the relations of local and imperial finance, and thus the income-tax stands at 8*d.* at the same time that the rates, in spite of such alleviation, are higher than ever before. This action of the last quarter of the nineteenth constitutes the main financial problem prepared for the solution of the twentieth century.

9. The third great question common to both periods was the expenditure applicable to the reduction of the National Debt. On the whole, and according to the combined testimony of Mr. Gladstone, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Robert Giffen, and M. Leroy-Beaulieu, the middle age of the century was remiss in the reduction of this obligation. The capital of the debt was about 900,000,000*l.* at the close of the great war, and was 780,000,000*l.* in 1874, or a net reduction of 120,000,000*l.* during that period. At the close of the current century the capital of the debt will have been reduced by a further sum of 133,000,000*l.*, excluding from that calculation a nominal alteration in the figures of the capital of the debt. Yet our conduct during the last quarter of a century has been anything but heroic, excepting always Mr. Goschen's great conversion scheme, so magnificently accomplished. The period has witnessed the gradual reduction of the annual amount of 28,000,000*l.* fixed by Sir Stafford Northcote for the service of the debt to 23,000,000*l.*

10. The fourth principle of the middle epoch was unity in taxation, as exemplified in the case of Ireland. Our examination leads us to deny that Ireland has been unfairly treated, except somewhat harshly by Mr. Gladstone in the earlier portion of his career.

11. The fifth great principle of the middle epoch was simplicity of taxation. In the closing age that principle has been very wisely maintained, in face of the most enormous necessary expenditure, and this adherence to Free-trade constitutes the most creditable chapter of modern public finance.

- ART. II.—1. *The Autobiography and Letters of Mrs. M. O. W. Oliphant.* Arranged and edited by Mrs. HARRY COGHILL. Edinburgh: 1899.
2. *Passages in the Life of Mrs. Margaret Maitland.* By Mrs. OLIPHANT. London: 1849.
3. *Salem Chapel and The Doctor's Family.* By the same Author. Edinburgh: 1863. (Reprinted together.)
4. *Miss Marjoribanks.* By the same Author. Edinburgh: 1866.
5. *Phæbe Junior: a Last Chronicle of Carlingford.* By the same Author. London: 1876.
6. *A Beleaguered City.* By the same Author. London: 1880.
7. *A Little Pilgrim in the Unseen.* By the same Author. London: 1882.
8. *The Wizard's Son.* By the same Author. London: 1884.
9. *Two Stories of the Seen and Unseen.* By the same Author. Edinburgh: 1885.
10. *The Land of Darkness, along with some Further Chapters in the Experience of the Little Pilgrims.* London: 1888.
11. *Fancies of a Believer.* 'Blackwood's Magazine,' February 1895.
12. *The Land of Suspense.* 'Blackwood's Magazine,' January 1897.

Mrs. OLIPHANT died a few days after the Queen's second jubilee. Her first novel, 'Margaret Maitland,' was published in 1849. Her life's work covered a period of fifty years, and in that space of time she gave to the world upwards of two hundred and fifty volumes. Her miscellaneous contributions to 'Blackwood's Magazine' and other periodicals not reprinted might probably fill another fifty. From the time she was twenty to her death in her seventieth year she wrote on an average at least six volumes a year—one every two months. A journalist in full work turns out printed matter at about the same rate, but few maintain the flow of it over so long a period, and Mrs. Oliphant's work never fell below the level of the very best journalism. It is no figure of speech to say that she wrote her fingers to the bone. 'I have worked a hole in my right forefinger,'

she wrote to Mr. Blackwood in October 1896, 'with the pen, I suppose! and can't get it to heal—also from excessive use of that little implement.' That seems to have been the first thing that interfered with her amazing flow of production; the frame wore out before the mind, though that too had lost something of its freshness. Yet those who read the great book that she was engaged on when she wrote this word of half-humorous complaint, the *Annals* of the publishing house of Blackwood which she had so long and so loyally served, found little sign of decay in her masterly handling of all that complicated material. Few writers have had at their disposal a more serviceable brain; none ever used it more unsparingly. Yet the end of all this work and of all this ability was failure. Failure is written large on the fragmentary Autobiography now published, which, broken though it is, is a most interesting and significant document.

The saddest part of her failure is that it was only relative and partial. She accomplished a great deal, she achieved a large measure of success, she knew much happiness, but she had always the feeling that she might have done more, that her success was not equal to her merit and her labour, and that her happiness was never durable. Everything seemed to come easy to her by nature, and circumstances made everything hard; no one was ever more happy by nature, by fate more unhappy. She wrote easily and sweetly, and her first published novel succeeded far beyond her hopes; yet the absolute success that puts a seal on a career always just eluded her, and she was never free to make the effort that might—or so she thought—have won it. So far as fame was concerned, she lived a life of Tantalus, till all care for that reward had died out of her; and the desire never was masterful. When at last, as we hold, she did the best that was in her to do, she was past caring, if indeed she knew that she had done it. For the other success which can be counted in money, that too came freely to her at the outset, and she was prosperous; yet others with half her talent and less than half her labour earned twice as much, for work not so good as hers. Still she earned what was sufficient for her and for those whom she loved and supported, but that, too, came to bitterness. Her husband was a failure in life; she was able to maintain the household, but he died on her hands. Left a widow, she reared her children with every comfort and advantage, taking all the hardship of the home upon herself. A second family was thrown on her hands

when her brother, having failed in business, came to live, a mere wreck of a man, under her roof. She stinted nothing, but worked double tides that these children also might lack nothing in life, putting aside her personal ambition to be ambitious for others. Her own sons failed to profit by the start she had given them; then when a hope of seeing them enter resolutely upon life dawned in her mind, they too died, as her nephew, who was like a son to her, had died before them. One by one the young lives about her went out. She herself had health that nothing could shake, the health that is in itself the joy of living, a sweetness of breath and blood; but it was given to her that she might be all through her life a pillar and prop to sickness. Death struck all about her, in her very arms, but it never touched her, till she was left absolutely alone. She had in herself that well-spring of happiness, the power to make happy faces about her, and to rejoice in the sight of them; but with it went the poignant agony of apprehension which nothing can feel but the keenest love, and the longer she lived the more passionately she loved, and the more cause she had for that agony. She lived the life of Damocles, and the sword fell not once nor twice, and even the last blow, though it was mortal, did not kill mercifully. She lived nearly three years after the death of her last surviving child. Her life was the tragedy of happiness, and she has written it herself.

These pages of her Autobiography—even such of them as are merely reminiscences—show the woman as she was: a creature in whom extraordinary intensity of feeling was matched with a keen incisive intellect, curiously prone to analysis, stripping off all illusions and going to the very heart of things, finding bitterness enough, but never losing hope; strong to act, strong to think, strong to endure, and strong to believe; womanly in everything, keen with a woman's keenness, and strong with a woman's strength. Such a temper and faculties in one endowed with a rare gift of expression cannot but have left something that will last, and the best service that can be done to her memory is to disencumber the essential and vital parts in her achievement from that which has no permanent claim upon our interest. Probably no one living has read all or even nearly all that she wrote; certainly we have no pretension to have done so. But public opinion is in some measure a guide, and a far better index is to be found in this record of her life. Work that means little to its author can never mean much to the world, and it is easy to see from the Auto-

biography, and from stray passages in the letters, when Mrs. Oliphant wrote because there was a thing in her that demanded to be uttered. One may dismiss at once all the history, biography, and the rest, as hackwork undertaken merely because there was money to be made. Work of this class may of course be literature of the highest kind, but not done as Mrs. Oliphant did it—not without a fuller knowledge and a deeper meditation than she ever took time for. Yet we would not for a moment allow that by doing this work she in anyway disqualified herself for doing better. All Goldsmith's drudgery—and he wrote, as he said himself pathetically, a volume a month—never harmed 'The Vicar of Wakefield;' rather, it went to give that ease of the much practised hand which is half the charm of his masterpiece. And knowledge is never amiss, and the variety of Mrs. Oliphant's enforced reading gave a richness to her mind. She did not know as much of the subjects she wrote on as it befits a specialist to know, but the width of her culture was hard to parallel, and papers like those called 'The Looker-On,' which she wrote for 'Blackwood's Magazine' in her last years, are delightful in their maturity, not only of judgement and experience, but of knowledge. As for her style, it certainly does not conform to the prevailing standards. It does not keep one on the stretch with continual expectation of the unexpected word: it is never contorted or tormented, never emphatic, never affected. The words flow simply and smoothly, like the utterance of a perfectly well-bred woman, talking sometimes eagerly, sometimes with a grave earnestness, but more often with a delicate under-current of laughter in the tone; and the style answers by a sort of instinct to each inflection of the voice. She is thinking more about what she has to say than about the way in which she is to say it; and since the day when people listened to Mr. Pater and misunderstood Stevenson that has been to a certain school of critics the unpardonable sin. Style comes to some by the grace of nature, and Mrs. Oliphant was one of the fortunate who had none of the vehemences and eccentricities of temperament which make it difficult for the writer to arrive at a harmonious manner of expression; nor was she obliged to hide mediocrity under a solemn and elaborate vesture of language. What she had to say was interesting, and she arrived spontaneously at a manner of saying it perfectly fitted to her purpose. As she developed, both the matter and the form mended, but there was only the change that comes between youth

and maturity. Nothing can be more absurd than to say that Mrs. Oliphant was indifferent to style because she did not inquire diligently what manner of style she should adopt. She knew instinctively the mode of expression suited to her talent, and she delighted to make the most of it. She had the artist's pleasure 'in 'small technical successes' that Stevenson writes of, and was, by her own avowal, 'ever more really satisfied by 'some little conscious felicity of words than by anything 'else.'

'I have always had my sing-song,' she says, 'guided by no sort of law but my ear, which was in its way fastidious' to the cadence and measure that pleased me, but it is bewildering to me in my perfectly artless art, if I may use the word at all, to hear of the elaborate ways of forming and enhancing style and all the studies for that end.'

Goldsmith would probably have said the same, and though Mrs. Oliphant is not Goldsmith, she is far nearer to the best English than nine-tenths of the living writers whom it is the fashion to praise for excellence in style. She wrote sometimes worse, sometimes better, always with a certain looseness of texture in the sentence; but from her earliest beginnings to the latest of her work there was never a period in which one could not pick out from her writings passages of rare beauty and charm. 'Miss 'Marjoribanks,' perhaps the best written of all her novels, is a model of refined irony—the most difficult of all qualities to achieve—and the conscious pleasure of workmanship is apparent in the neatly turned sentences which round off each chapter cleanly, as if with the crack of a whip, while the laugh hides itself behind a studied decorum of phrase. Take an instance—Lucilla had conducted to a triumphant issue her great project for the social regeneration of Carlingford by means of 'Thursday evenings;' but her public success had been attended with private disappointments, and for a second time the homage of an eligible suitor had been transferred to one of the weaker sisters whom she had launched in life.

'Nothing could be more exciting than the position in which she found herself; but the difficulties were only such as stimulated her genius; and then it was not any selfish advantage, but the good of her neighbour in its most sublime manifestation—the good of her neighbour who had injured her and been insensible to her attractions, which according to the world in general is the one thing unpardonable to a woman—which Lucilla sought. And it was not even the Scriptural coals of fire she was thinking of, as she pondered her great

undertaking in her mind. The enterprise might not be free from a touch of human vanity, but it was vanity of a loftier description; the pleasure of exercising a great faculty and the natural confidence of genius in its own powers.'

The passage is thoroughly characteristic; somewhat faulty in structure—the long sentence indeed is unusually ill built—yet what could be more admirable than the tone? But for the best of Mrs. Oliphant's writing we should go to the evening of her life—to the period when according to the prevailing cant of criticism her whole faculty must have been blunted and worn down by her lifelong disregard of the minuter delicacies of language. We should quote by choice from the preface to almost the last volume published before her death, 'The Ways of Life,' in which she wrote concerning the melancholy ebb of human faculties, and the slow sad conviction borne in upon many that they have survived their highest point of reputation; or from any one of the stories dealing with the unseen world in which, as it will be our endeavour to show, her genius found its full and characteristic expression. The writings of this later period abound in passages of the truest pathos—sometimes wonderfully soft and moving, sometimes tragic in their restraint—always womanly and never effeminate; and in these there is a noble melody of language. The melody is simple and not greatly varied, yet there are few pieces of English writing more musical than the 'Little Pilgrim in 'the Unseen.'

It could not, however, by any means be asserted that Mrs. Oliphant will continue to hold a place in literature for the sake of her style. The versatility of her mind, the variety and extent of her work may secure her a place in the dictionaries, but will not keep her memory alive. If she survives at all it must be in some sort or other as a writer of fiction—as a maker of stories. And the stories which have a chance to live must be those in which she herself was most interested—into which, consciously or unconsciously, she put most of herself. Without the Autobiography one could guess readily enough: with it we ought to be able to know. It is a little difficult, however, because Mrs. Oliphant, as she says, never took herself or her work very seriously.

'I always avoid considering formally what my own mind is worth. I have never had any theory on the subject. I have written because it gave me pleasure, because it came natural to me, because it was like talking or breathing, besides the big fact that it was necessary for me to work for my children.'

That passage illustrates at once the strength and the weakness of her gift. The vocation was perfectly natural; she wrote, not out of ambition, but simply from a pleasure in the occupation, to pass away long hours by her mother's bedside. Her family were sympathetic, and made an audience to whom she read out her early attempts; they were delighted at her success, but they never talked to her of genius, or encouraged her to spell art with a capital A. If she ever had leanings that way herself, she satirised them keenly but kindly in her sketch of Rose Lake, the pretty little drawing-master's daughter, who believes in the social position conferred by Art, and thinks that her design for the border of an embroidery is the most important thing in the world. Margaret Oliphant grew up a bookish and secluded child in a very shrewd family circle. Her mother, she says, was like Mrs. Carlyle, and Mrs. Carlyle would not have fostered illusions. Her gift was encouraged and applauded, 'but always with a hidden sense that it was an admirable 'joke.' She did her writing at a corner of the family table, joining in whatever talk was going just as if she 'had been making a shirt instead of writing a book.' Miss Austen, as Mrs. Oliphant herself observes, worked under the same conditions. Still, the very best work is not produced except by those in whom it takes up an enormously large space of life. Miss Austen may have written in a room full of people, but she must have spent innumerable hours in the company of her characters. Scott also was very tolerant of interruptions, but, as he said himself, if there was never five minutes in the day when he was thinking of nothing but his story, so there was also never five minutes when his story was out of his head. Mrs. Oliphant never lived in the life of her characters, as the greater novelists have done—as Trollope, for instance, describes himself to have done, and that is why Trollope, in many respects so inferior to her, is, nevertheless, a greater novelist. Mrs. Proudie and the rest were just as real to him as Becky Sharp and Amelia were to Thackeray. Mrs. Oliphant's characters were to her—it is her own illustration—no more than people in a book; no better known than Jeanie Deans, and, perhaps, not so well known. And the reason is not far to seek—certainly not obscure enough to escape so fine a critic as she was. There were always other things far more engrossing and far more important to occupy her mind. Womanlike, she lived her life chiefly in the interests of those about her, and those concerns were always of a nature to leave her no

breathing space 'to labour with an artist's fervour and 'concentration to produce a masterpiece.' Their home in Liverpool, where Mr. Wilson, her father, had some office in the Customs—with characteristic vagueness, she does not know precisely what office—was never a happy one. Before she was old enough to understand, her elder brother Willy 'had come by some defeat in life' and was at home idle. Then came reform, a new start, and he went up to London to study in the English Presbyterian College for a ministry in the Church to which the Oliphants belonged. His sister went with him, a small, fierce guardian. It was in those days that 'Margaret Maitland' was accepted by Colburn. The reformation continued, and the brother went to take a charge in some small village of Northumberland. There he relapsed and was brought home a mere wreck, incapable of anything but drifting through life, a log in the domestic circle at home. That was when the novelist first learnt her tenderness for ne'er-do-wells and wastrels. Shortly after this came her marriage with her first cousin, Frank Oliphant. Marriage brought with it happiness and cares. Mr. and Mrs. Wilson followed their daughter to London, and Mr. Oliphant did not get on with his mother-in-law. The first child born was a girl, and shortly after the birth of the second—only a year later—Mrs. Wilson sank into a fatal illness. Her daughter nursed her with a passionate devotion.

'At the very end I remember the struggle against overwhelming sleep, after nights and days in incessant anxiety, which made me so bitterly ashamed of the limits of wretched nature. To want to sleep while she was dying seemed so unnatural and so horrible. And, oh me! when all was over, mingled with my grief there was—how can I say it?—something like a dreadful relief.'

That, too, is very characteristic. To a woman with that bitter habit of analysis was denied even the comfort of illusions. But it gave her a force of insight not common among novelists; there is a strange reflection of this train of thought at the beginning of 'Miss Marjoribanks' which tells of the doctor's bereavement, and how he is almost glad to find himself truly sorry for the loss of the wife who had been so little to him. All that grief can teach, Mrs. Oliphant's indomitable spirit was fated to learn. A few months after her mother's death she lost her second child, a baby of eight months old, and mingled with her sorrow was a shame to know how much deeper this pang struck than the loss of her mother, 'who had been everything to

'her all her life.' A third child was born, and died a day old.

'My spirit sank completely under it. I used to go about saying to myself "A little while and ye shall not see me," with a longing to get to the end and have all safe—for my one remaining, my eldest, my Maggie, seemed as if she too must be taken out of my arms. People will say it was an animal instinct, perhaps. Neither of these little ones could speak to me or exchange an idea or show love, and yet their withdrawal was like the sun going out from the sky—life remained, the daylight continued, but all was different. It seems strange to me now at this long distance—but so it was.'

Yet gradually her elastic nature recovered itself; they began to go a little into artist society, orders came in to her husband, who was an artist, 'and, best of all, our delightful 'boy was born.' That was in November 1856, four years and a half after their marriage. Within that period she had endured four births and three deaths. Yet she had written five novels and five-and-twenty articles for Blackwood. *I nunc et versus tecum meditare canoros.* With those agonies knocking at her heart, how was a woman to live the life of imagination? The actual had her by the throat. Yet happiness came back, and for a year or two she lived in the heartease of constant and congenial employment.

'When I look back on my life, among the happy moments which I can recollect is one which is so curiously common and homely, with nothing in it, that it is strange even to record such a recollection, and yet it embodied more happiness to me than almost any real occasion, as might be supposed, for happiness. It was the moment after dinner when I used to run upstairs to see that all was well in the nursery, and then to turn into my room on my way down again to wash my hands, as I had a way of doing before I took up my evening work, which was generally needlework, something to make for the children. My bedroom had three windows in it, one looking out upon the gardens I have mentioned, the other two into the road. It was light enough with the lamplight outside for all I wanted. I can see it now, the glimmer of the outside lights, the room dark, the faint reflection in the glasses, and my heart full of joy and peace—for what?—for nothing—that there was no harm anywhere, the children well above stairs and their father below. I had few of the pleasures of society, no gaiety at all. I was eight-and-twenty, going downstairs as light as a feather, to the little frock I was making. My husband also gone back for an hour or two after dinner to his work, and well—and the bairnies well. I can feel now the sensation of that sweet calm and ease and peace.

'I have always said it is in these unconsidered moments that happiness is—not in things or events that may be supposed to cause it. How clear it is over these more than thirty years!'

Then came the forerunner of fresh disaster: her husband

in coughing brought up blood. Consumption ran its course rapidly. He was ordered abroad, and the pair went to Italy in January 1859, friendless and all but destitute of money, ignorant of everything that might have smoothed matters down. His life lasted some few months yet, first in Florence, then in Rome, where he died in October, leaving his wife with two helpless children in life and one unborn. When the second boy, born six weeks after his father's death, was three months old, the family struggled home, having for all its fortune, Mrs. Oliphant writes, 'about '1,000*l.* of debt, a small insurance of, I think, 200*l.* on 'Frank's life, our furniture laid up in warehouse, and my 'own faculties, such as they were, to make our living and 'pay off our burdens by.'

Yet even under all this weight of affliction she never lost heart. But her work suffered. In 1860 she was in Scotland, and in that winter, living in Edinburgh with her children, went through one of her worst times. The Blackwoods had been rejecting contributions of hers. There is a letter, pathetic in its courage, given in this book about a returned manuscript; and she tells in her History of the firm with what trepidation she went to offer them a serial for the Magazine which was the very apple of their eye: how the two men received her kindly, but gave her little hope; and how she kept down her tears until she was fairly out of the office, and walked home through a bitter north-east wind to the little house where the little ones ran to the door 'all gay 'and sweet' to meet her 'wi' flichterin' noise and glee.' For the rest of the day she was occupied with them 'in a sort of 'cheerful despair,' but when the house was still that night she sat down and wrote a story, the first of the 'Carlingford' series, which made her 'almost one of the popularities of 'literature. She 'sat up nearly all night over it in a passion 'of composition.' Next day it was finished and sent up to George Street, and her fortune, 'comparatively speaking, 'was made.' In the winter of 1861 she settled down near Ealing, then a real village near London, in a tiny house on the Uxbridge Road. Here she stayed for four years, when the need of schooling for her boys made her move to Windsor; and here her best work as a novelist was done. 'Salem Chapel' was written in 1862, on the whole, perhaps, her best novel, if due weight be given to its excellence of plot and skilful developement of interest. 'The Perpetual 'Curate' followed it, and there is a new note perceptible in her correspondence with Blackwood; she is keenly inte-

rested in the future, determined to make, as she says, laughingly, 'an 'it,' and keenly gratified by the increasing success. The scar that was left by her husband's death had closed up; and she never pretends that her affection for him was the passion of her life. Passion of that kind there was none in her history; she owns in a curiously frank passage of her Autobiography to a sense of 'whimsical 'injury' because she had never in her life 'impressed any- 'body,' as George Eliot and George Sand did. It is an odd confession of that sort of envy which the virtuous so often appear to feel for famous sinners. But there was a passion in Mrs. Oliphant's life of which 'these two bigger women,' as she calls them, knew nothing. George Eliot was childless, and George Sand was a mother indeed, but one to whom her child was an interest scarcely competing with her art or her various loves. To Mrs. Oliphant her children were the universe; she lived in them and for them, and in their lives she built up a new happiness to which her own success was only contributory. Just in these years between 1861 and 1868 she had her chance to achieve greatness as a novelist if it lay in her. She was in the maturity of her powers—in 1867 she reached her fortieth birthday—she had no pressing call for money, her children were old enough to be a keen pleasure, not old enough to be an anxiety; her heart was light, and her strength unlimited. She wrote under the keen stimulus of a half-achieved popularity, and she had hit upon the manner best suited to her. People wondered at the knowledge displayed in 'Salem Chapel'—where old Tozer is a real creation. If the book be taken along with its sequel, 'Phoebe Junior,' it may be said that Mrs. Oliphant knew all about Tozer. Yet, masterly as 'Salem Chapel' is, it cannot be placed higher than in the second rank of fiction; not higher than Trollope's best work. Yet Mrs. Oliphant had gifts denied to Trollope; she had eloquence, charm of style, grace and ease where he is heavy and clumsy; above all, she had the power to construct a story full of high-strung situations, yet in no way sinning against common sense; and her insight into feminine character and skill to depict it at least rival his mastery over men. Why with all these advantages does she get no further? What is it that sets the dividing line between her and George Eliot, or Charlotte Brontë? What is the quality in which Trollope outdoes her so far as to counterbalance all his deficiencies? It is, we hold, what may be called force or sincerity: the result of the artist's passionate absorption in his work. Mrs.

Oliphant complains in her Autobiography that she spoiled her fortunes by making light to others of her own work. In reality she made light of it to herself. It did not mean much to her. Scott had something of the same turn in him, and the consequence is that Scott's work is not so great as it might have been. Read the passages in his journal written under the heaviest stroke of trouble, when he speaks as Shakespeare might have spoken, and you will realise how much greater is Scott than any of his novels. Read this Autobiography of Mrs. Oliphant's and you will feel the same. Yet there is all the difference in the world between the two temperaments. Scott was a man, and though he worked lightly and almost carelessly, yet his work was the central preoccupation of his life. A man cannot alter his nature, and the power of concentrating his whole energy for a long stretch was not in him; his work came as if by some unconscious process of nature. But the life of imagination was the strongest in him; that was his secret joy, the thing lying deepest in his heart. Mrs. Oliphant was a woman and a mother, and the innermost preoccupation of her mind—the point to which her fluctuating thoughts would always swing back—was her children. It may be an accident—but more likely it is not—that the women who have been great artists have been childless women. George Sand is the one exception, and she would leave her child while she strayed over Italy with de Musset. The others are Miss Austen, the Brontës, and George Eliot; one may add Mrs. Browning, all of whose best work was done before she became a mother. There are interests in life too strong for art to compete with, especially the art of the novelist, which needs that the artist should live in imaginary characters. The art of the poet is different, for it may incorporate with itself any emotion; and the genius of Mrs. Oliphant revealed itself as genius in work that is essentially poetry. But happiness seldom needs to find a voice—not until it is remembered happiness; and in the days when the first 'Carlingford' tales were being written Mrs. Oliphant was thoroughly happy. It was not for long. In the autumn of 1863 she, with her three children and her dear friends Principal Tulloch and his wife and children, went to Rome. They were a party full of gaiety and brightness. And then came back the pain that was 'the over-word of her life.' Her daughter, a child of eleven years, was taken ill, died in four days, and was laid beside her father. And the words

that she wrote down then in her misery are printed here:—

‘The hardest moment in my present sad life is the morning, when I must wake up, and begin the dreary world again. I can sleep during the night, and I sleep as long as I can; but when it is no longer possible, when the light can no longer be gainsaid, and life is going on everywhere, then I, too, rise up to bear my burden. How different it used to be! When I was a girl I remember the feeling I had when the fresh morning light came round. Whatever grief there had been the night before, the new day triumphed over it. Things must be better than one thought, must be well, in a world which woke up to that new light, to the sweet dews and sweet air which renewed one’s soul. Now I am thankful for the night and the darkness, and shudder to see the light of the day returning.

‘The Principal calls “In Memoriam” an embodiment of the spirit of this age, which he says does not know what to think, yet thinks and wonders and stops itself, and thinks again; which believes and does not believe, and *perhaps*, I think, carries the human yearning and longing further than it was ever carried before. Perhaps my own thoughts are much of the same kind. I try to realise heaven to myself, and cannot do it. The more I think of it, the less I am able to feel that those who have left us can start up at once into a heartless beatitude without caring for our sorrows. Do they sleep until the great day? Or does time so cease for them that it seems but a matter of hours and minutes till we meet again? God who is Love cannot give immortality and annihilate affection; that surely, at least, we must take for granted—as sure as they live, they live to love us. Human nature in the flesh cannot be more faithful, more tender, than the purified human soul in heaven. Where, then, are they, those who have gone before us? Some people say, around us, still knowing all that occupies us; but that is an idea I cannot entertain either. It would not be happiness, but pain, to be beside those we love, yet unable to communicate with them—unable to make ourselves known. . . .

‘The world is changed and my life is darkened; and all that I can do is to take desperate hold of this one certainty, that God cannot have done it without reason.’

That is the note, struck for the first time, of all that is most significant in her work. There was a part of her, not dead but living somewhere, yet inseparably cut off. Living, where and how? That was the question to which her thoughts were incessantly to recur, with more and more instant solicitude, at every new separation. To that question only dreams could give an answer; but these dreams shaped with the clearest logical coherency and moulded into beauty, for her own comfort and the comfort of others, were to be the truly creative work of her life. Yet she returned at once to the old lines, under the double necessity of broad-

winning and of seeking a respite from thought. She worked as well as before, but in an altered spirit; the little flutter of ambition was crushed out, as she wrote to Blackwood in a sad letter about 'Miss Marjoribanks,' the novel then in hand. There was nothing in her circumstances to stop her from doing better work in these years than 'Miss Marjoribanks,' which is only a very good novel, not a great one; the defect was in herself. But in 1868 came the further blow which definitely committed her to over-hasty production. Her brother Frank, who had been the bosom friend of her youth, was married and in business at Liverpool. He failed hopelessly, as it would seem, through no special fault but that incompetence and want of fibre which stamped all the men that in her life she had to do with, and which is reflected in all the men she draws, just as her own active care of their weaker brethren is pictured in a score of her helpful self-confident heroines. The news came to her without the least preparation, but she never hesitated as to her duty. The two elder of his four children, a boy and a girl, came to her; the wife with two others joined him abroad. But in a very little time the wife died, and the man, broken down and all but paralysed, came with his two other children straight to his sister. It was not in her to retrench upon the comfortable way of living to which she had accustomed her household; but she could work double tides, and she did, and was happy, though all payments for her work were invariably forestalled, and her brother's presence in the household was far from being a source of pleasure. He and she had drifted so far apart that they were, not strangers, but worse—kin, but not kind. When he died, she wrote that she was glad to find herself sorry; it made no blank in the household; the man that he had been was dead long before. Yet happy she was in the years at Windsor while the three boys were at Eton, happy in their love and brightness and in their school successes; for at school all the boys did well, and her hopes were high. In all her books, alike the best and the worst, there is a delightful sympathy with youth—with its troubles and its pleasures. Ursula May in 'Phœbe Junior' is a charming picture of a girl; and though her young men are not strongly drawn, her kindness for them communicates itself to the reader. 1875, the year of the brother's death, was a turning point. Frank Wilson, her nephew, had passed high into Cooper's Hill. Cyril, her eldest son, was just leaving Eton for Balliol, and—at least, in his mother's eyes—was a

singularly attractive boy ; she quotes Chaucer's lines about him :—

‘ Singing he was, and flyting all the day,
He was as fresh as is the month of May.’

Her youngest, Cecco, was, as he remained till death, clever, good, and entirely devoted to his mother. ‘There was no ‘prouder woman in the world than I was with the three,’ she says. But grief and disappointment were soon at their work. Frank Wilson died of the first fever that attacked him when he went to the Punjaub ; and Cyril Oliphant idled at Oxford, fell into a loose way of living, and drank—yet never without hope of recovery. In the opening chapters of ‘The ‘Wizard’s Son,’ published in 1884, Mrs. Oliphant sketches—not without warrant of knowledge—the agony of a mother who sees the son of her hopes drifting aimlessly at the outset of life, and who fears alike by too much reproof to widen the breach between her and him and by too much indulgence to fail of her duty. In 1890 she was still hoping to find him make a real start, when the end came, and her boy died. She had done all she could for him, and it had availed nothing ; she did not even spare herself the pang of thinking that things might have been better had she done less and taught a more strenuous lesson. He was dead, like her firstborn, her woman child ; her surviving son was weakly, and she, with her indomitable health and her fever of apprehension was left to labour in the familiar world and to spend more and more of her life in thoughts of that other dim conjecturable world whither so much of her had passed already.

Long before this her thoughts had been busy with it. In the end of 1878 she wrote the first of her stories of the Unseen—‘The Beleaguered City’—which relates how in the city of Semur the dead by reason of the impiety of the living came back, and for a little while ousted them from their homes ; and how during those days the men encamped round about the town, which was enveloped in a thick darkness, but were at every point repulsed from it by an invisible and impassable barrier. The piece is too well known to need description, and it is hardly necessary to point out the skill of narrative by which this entirely incredible occurrence is rendered perfectly credible and even natural. Mrs. Oliphant possessed that art of circumstantial invention in which Swift, Defoe and Bunyan are the great masters. Like them she obtains a credibility for her narrative by presenting vividly through the narrative the

character of the narrator. There is no other man known to us in her books so distinctly as the Mayor of Semur, who draws up, as if officially, the *procès verbal* of the whole affair. Martin Dupin is just a good type of the French *bourgeois*—brave, homely, kindly, full of a sense of duty and of law's majesty, especially as incorporated in his own official person; Voltairian by temper and training, yet respectful to the amiable beliefs of others. He begins and ends the story of the exodus and the return. But in the meanwhile other narratives are included: the story told by Lecamus, the visionary, a living man, yet more at home among the dead than the living, to whom it was permitted to stay in the town and at last to come with a message from the dead to those who would not be convinced; the story of Madame Dupin, the Mayor's mother, who at his bidding turned her back upon her son, leaving him to head the watch outside the town, and herself took command of the strange regiment of women and children; and, chiefly, the narrative of Agnès Dupin, the Mayor's wife, one of those more spiritually minded women who saw as well as felt when the invisible hands pushed the population out of the gates. She saw what no man saw, what only some among the women could see—she saw her dead child.

There you have the key to it all. To certain men perhaps the dead are not dead; the wife of Lecamus comes back to him, and for a moment they have the joy of each other's presence: Mrs. Oliphant writes of this as if she believed it; but that the dead are to many mothers truly living is more than a belief with her; it is a kind of revelation. What she writes of again and again in all these fancies of the Unseen is the meeting and greeting between mother and child. The only blessedness that she can conceive of is something like the highest blessedness that she knew in this world, but perfected and completed. Writing in her sketch of her life about the days when anxieties of all kinds were thickest, she sets this down:—

'Lately in my many sad musings, it has been brought very clearly before my mind how often all the horrible tension, the dread, the anxiety which there are no words strong enough to describe—which devoured me, but which I had to conceal often behind a smiling face—would yield in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the sound of a voice, at the first look, into an ineffable ease and the overwhelming happiness of relief from pain, which is, I think, our highest human sensation, higher and more exquisite than any positive enjoyment in this world. It used to sweep over me like a wave, sometimes when I opened a door, sometimes in a letter—in all simple ways. I cannot

explain, but if this should ever come to the eye of any woman in the passion and agony of motherhood, she will more or less understand. I was thinking lately, or rather, as sometimes happens, there was suddenly presented to my mind, like a suggestion from some one else, the recollection of these ineffable happinesses, and it seemed to me that it meant that which would be when one pushed through that last door and was met—oh, by what, by whom?—by instant relief. The wave of sudden ease and warmth and peace and joy! I felt, to tell the truth, that it was one of them who brought that to my mind, and I said to myself, “I will not want any explanation, I will not ask any question—the first touch, the first look, will be enough, as of old, yet better than of old.”

And because she was an artist this strong central pre-occupation of her life took shape in form of art. ‘The ‘Beleaguered City,’ which is, properly speaking, not a story but a poem, though it is pitched studiously in the key of prose, and touched often with a delicate humour, was the first work of her life which she wrote neither for amusement nor to make money, but because she was possessed by it. When it was in the doing she wrote to Blackwood about it: ‘It is very much enlarged and altered, you will perceive. I have wasted a good deal of time upon it, which is foolish, but the subject struck my fancy.’ Mr. Townsend, who knew her well, and has written in the ‘Cornhill Magazine’ the keenest judgement of her life and work that we have seen, seems to be misled by this utterance, which says so little. But the habit of speaking lightly of her own work was native to her, and was of long standing; and where that habit is formed, the closer any piece of work lies to the heart of the artist, the harder it is to speak of. When Mrs. Oliphant said this to her publisher, she was saying, we are certain, as much as she could bring herself to say. It is the true *eipwela*, that untranslatable word of the Greek. And to the end of her life—if these letters be representative—it was only of kindred productions that she cared to speak as if they concerned her. Stories of the unseen she could only write—as she expresses it herself—when they came to her; they were not written to order or for money.

‘The Beleaguered City’ was refused by Blackwood, and appeared in the ‘New Quarterly’ before it was issued in a volume. Two years later, in 1882, it was followed by ‘The ‘Open Door,’ a short story published anonymously in ‘Maga.’ This is nothing more than the story of a voice—not an apparition, but a voice—and of its effect upon various temperaments, told with extraordinary skill and knowledge of human nature. It argues no more than the belief that the dis-

embodied creature roams about familiar places, seeking to re-establish communication with the living, and may by an act of faith or submission, which is practically a recognition of God's parental love, find its way to peace. The story can be fitted into Mrs. Oliphant's theory—if that be the right word—of the unseen world, but it does not imply, much less express, that theory. Her first attempt to set into coherent form by the dramatic means most familiar to her hand the result of her ponderings on what death might mean, was made a few months later when she wrote 'The Little Pilgrim 'in the Unseen.' Here, for the first time, she tells us that she worked upon a definite suggestion given by her own experience: the death in sleep of a dear neighbour of hers, a very simple, almost childish, little old maid.

What she does in her story, if story it can be called, is to picture the awakening of this little woman after her painless death. It is a happy awakening, yet the pilgrim does not know what has happened; but, as Mrs. Oliphant gently imagines it, there are people set to receive the newcomer and explain. It is difficult to write of these things at all. One can only say that this woman creates with a beautiful and intimate familiarity the most human picture of heaven which is known to us. Whether it be heaven or not, whether it be a final state or an intervening one, she has no care to decide: but it is the state of the blessed after death. Her 'Little Pilgrim' is confronted at once when she awakens beyond the passing with thoughts of her past life: so it is always, as Mrs. Oliphant pictures the future. But she has in all her life done nothing but kindness, and she has left none behind her from whom it is an agony to part; so there is nothing in her mind but tenderness as she thinks of others. In her great tenderness she thinks of the friend she has left, and thus for the first time this unseen world is related directly to her who imagines it. As the Pilgrim is thinking 'what a pleasure it would be to make something clear that had been 'dark before to this friend,' there stands by her a maiden, with something in her look by which the Pilgrim divines that she was one who 'had come here as a child and had 'grown up in this celestial place.' And looking at her she recognises the likeness to 'the homely and troubled face 'of her friend.' That is how the mother pictures to herself her child in paradise, not as one who has become a stranger, but grown as she would have grown, only with a diviner growth, dwelling neither out of sight nor hearing of this world, but so near it that she recognises and welcomes her

mother's friend. Of all these writings this is, perhaps, the most beautiful; and its boldness is not less than its beauty. For the Little Pilgrim, being of those for whom no purgation is needed to fit her for a land where love is the only law, is taken to see great mysteries and is set upon high employments. In that country, as Mrs. Oliphant conceives it, there is no inequality, since there is no envy or rivalry, but there is endless diversity of gifts and of tasks; and each task is its own reward. The Little Pilgrim, when she has seen the tasks of others, is set to receive those who come in, and their awakening is not always gentle like hers; some are in terror, some strange and doubting, and they are sent on different ways. Those different ways Mrs. Oliphant has elsewhere tracked out; but when she wrote this book she was happy and thinking only of those whom she could not conceive as other than blessed.

The next of her stories in this kind was also suggested to her by the personality of a friend who, beautiful in her youth, remained beautiful and courted in extreme old age. 'Old Lady Mary' is one of the finest short stories in the language. The picture of the old lady, with her delicacy and her beauty, her soft shawls and laces, the soft rustle of her dress, and all her daintinesses, is presented to the eye in a way that Gainsborough or Reynolds could not have surpassed in paint; and by a wonderful subtlety of suggestion it is shown how one whose life has run all on velvet and never so smoothly as towards the close, may come almost to disbelieve in death, till she neglects even to provide for the future of the girl companion whom she loves. Lady Mary dies quietly in her sleep, and she also awakens with a sense of wonder, and is set to contemplate her life. Then there rises up this awful thing she has done: for a jest, merely to show her lawyer, who has always urged her to make her will, that she can manage everything quite well for herself, she has made her will secretly and hidden it, meaning to surprise him with it some day. No one knows that it exists, and for want of it her godchild must be a beggar; and she cries out for means to set it right. That is why she comes back to the world as a ghost, invisible among those she loves, but hearing the hard things that are said of her, and powerless to put the wrong right, or to assure her child that it was through no lack of love. At last, but after long bitterness, love breaks through the barrier; Lady Mary does not achieve her purpose, for the will is only discovered by a chance, but she sees her godchild for a moment face to face through the

veil, and knows that love has never doubted of her. The other three writings which have to be mentioned are not so perfect as works of invention, but in some ways of keener interest. 'The Land of Darkness,' published in 1888, is a complement to 'The Little Pilgrim,' where Mrs. Oliphant has sketched such an Inferno as her imagination permitted her to conceive: a hell where no one is kept but by his own unsubmitted will. There are stages in this Inferno, the city of lawless men, the city of dreadful law, the city of unrelenting pleasure, the city of soulless art; but from all these a way of escape, difficult indeed, and terrible, but not impassable, lay always open over the Dark Mountains; and the last chapter in the book describes the ascent as seen from above by the watchers on the mountains, to whom it is appointed as their task in heaven, to sit in towers on the outposts and signal the approach of each wanderer coming, and to hope that at last it may prove to be the one for whom they wait, and whom they shall accompany homeward, leaving their post to some new watcher awaiting some other wanderer.

The iron had gone deep in her woman's heart when she wrote. Her eldest son, Cyril—whom she loved with that passion that a woman gives most to those who give love but also give pain—had long harassed her life with his failings, and the failure of his health made the end inevitable. Yet when it came, the shock was appalling. 'I am like stone,' she writes, but not torpid; her only refuge was in work, and her mind was always 'quicken'd into intolerable life by 'calamity.' For another four years she nursed her one remaining child, living in his life, and regaining even cheerfulness. But in October 1894 her Cecco also died. 'He 'is gone from me,' she cries, 'my last and dearest, and I am 'left here a desolate woman with the strength of a giant in me, 'and may live for years and years.' Her happiness that had survived so many blows now lay dead in her, and for a moment it seemed as if her energy was dead too. She could not even work. But she rallied and found some comfort in her sorrow in writing the beautiful paper called 'Fancies of a 'Believer.' Here she sets out with an imagination strangely logical the groundwork of all her conception of what lies beyond the grave. These are what she calls her 'fancies,' yet to the imaginative mind imagination is not less real than belief; they are the outcome of a mind which, born 'in an 'age at once more believing and more unbelieving than 'many of the ages that have preceded it,' was one 'whose

'nature it is to believe rather than to doubt.' And thus accepting the general framework of Christianity and the outline of the material universe as science shows it, she seeks some answer to the perpetual question—the riddle of the painful world. Believing in God and a loving God, she sees in the world a great experiment created for God's glory and the delight of the angels. She has the feeling inalienable from the human race that, whatever other worlds may whirl in space, this one has a special and high significance. She conceives of it as offering to a universe, where law reigns absolutely, the spectacle of one world in which there is the power to choose evil, and as showing to the angels a glory of creatures in so many ways infinitely inferior to them, 'but in this for ever greater than they, that, having the gift of free will and 'choice, they chose for God.' There are limits set to the power to choose. 'This is not a consistent world any more 'than it is a just one.' But God does not take back His gift; and the Land of Darkness which she has pictured is a land of men exiled from God's intervention, and left merely to the devices of their own heart, yet for ever endowed with the power to remember and turn to God and to love. A beautiful passage in that book describes the pleading of the angels with man before the judgement seat of his own soul; while all that God will do is, not to take back His gift, but standing face to face with the soul sometimes to remove it from the consequence of its own acts and set the created thing to a new start in a new career. Thus what seems cruelty, and is cruel to those who love, may be kindness to the one cut off; and she comforts herself with a fancy of Christ's special companionship made up by young men, like Himself cut off in their prime; some of them, perhaps, defeated in this world, with no blazon on their shields, but set to a new hope and new life in the same service.

The last remaining of these pieces, 'The Land of 'Suspense,' is surely one of the strangest things ever written: a mother's vision of the punishment meted to her first-born son. It is a gentle doom yet a stern one; she pictures him as living in a beautiful land peopled only by voices, for there dwell those, like himself, who keep the consciousness of their bodily selves and bodily members, but are to themselves and to each other invisible though able to converse. In a city of that land which stands with open, but impassable, gates, his father waits for him in the

transfigured shape, and knows his coming, but sorrows that it should be in this manner; and the young man puts from him the offered consolation and rebels in his heart till at last he sees his brother, too, coming by the way he came, but coming with his man's shape, and, then, for the first time he rises beyond his own self, and thinks for the mother left desolate; and so in his agony and prayer for her he finds the way for himself. The answer to his prayer for his mother is the end of punishment for himself; that is how the desolate woman consoled herself with thoughts that her own sorrow might work out her son's deliverance. Yet the last word of all is in its pathos almost unbearable: 'As for the prayer which he made, and which was answered in a way which he asked not, it is still unfulfilled; yet they know it is not forgotten, for nothing is forgotten before God.'

So she wrote in her faith; and the words will stir in many that faith in the faith of others which lives often when faith itself is dead or withered or torpid. Motherhood was the soul of her life; it was the hindrance, as we hold, to high achievement in the way of art which she chose in the outset; it was the inspiration of the wisest and most beautiful things that she wrote, things than which few have been written in her lifetime wiser or more beautiful. It made of her life the tragedy of happiness, but bestowed upon her memory a noble and tragic beauty.

- ART. III.—1. *La Vie Artistique*. By GUSTAVE GEFFROY. Deuxième Série. Paris: 1893.
2. *History of Modern Painting*. By R. MUTHER. Vols. II. and III. Translated by A. C. HILLIER. 1896.
3. *L'Art Moderne*. By J. K. HUYSMANS. Paris: 1883.
4. *Notes sur l'Art Moderne*. By ANDRÉ MICHEL. Paris: 1896.
5. *A History of French Art*. By ROSE G. KINGSLEY. London: 1899.
6. *Art. Gustave Moreau*. By M. ARY RENAN. 'Gazette des Beaux Arts.' Vols. XXXIII.-IV. Paris: 1886.

THE criticism of painting, according to M. Gustave Geffroy, may be epitomised in the dialogue with which he heads a section of his book:—

'Artiste, qu'apportes-tu?'

'Et toi, qui m'interroges, que demandes-tu?'

The double interrogation, in so far as it deals with aspects untechnical, unofficial, and informal, and concerns itself mainly with the intellectual and imaginative conditions of contemporary art in England, presents a somewhat complicated problem to the mind of the onlooker. The most superficial survey of the works of modern British artists collected in the Tate Gallery affords the unprofessional spectator a bewildering object-lesson in the warring tendencies of the adverse schools of painting during the century, where Mr. Frith's 'Derby Day' occupies a centre of honour not far removed from Mr. Frederick Walker's 'Harbour of Refuge,' where Dante Gabriel Rossetti's 'Beata Beatrix' is sheltered by the same roof as the 'Carnation Lily, Lily Rose' of Mr. John Sargent, now a naturalised citizen in the kingdom of Royal Academicians. Nor as the century draws to an end are the signs of conflict less obvious, and the exhibitions held during recent summers at the various London galleries testify not only to the continuance of ancient hostilities but to the upgrowth of yet more irreconcilable antagonisms.

It is evident to the least observant of the laity of art that axioms once accounted infallible have changed, and are changing with a velocity that approximates to the rival rapidity of the changes of fashion; while the vital and fundamental nature of the transitions effected indicates a

deeper root than the transient caprice of a passing hour, and 'A temps nouveaux procédés neufs' is the formula of modernism. But it is a formula which, though in theory it may easily be apprehended of the unlearned, embraces a confused medley of widely divergent applications. Indeed, apart from a consistent effort after novelty, the new method would appear to the unilluminated mind of ordinary beholders rather tentative and experimental than positive and assured. The aims of the artist seem to be in a state of solution; his purposes held in suspense; his principles—awaiting possibly their readjustment to new conditions and new surroundings, perhaps to new exigencies of life—lie in abeyance, and the demands of those whose suffrages are claimed no less by the exhibited picture than by the printed book faithfully mirror a like confusion.

It is not that definiteness in the matter of departure from trodden tracks has been lacking on the part of the revolutionists. Old faiths have at least been abjured with dogmatic precision. But from the forsaken high-road byways have radiated towards every point of the compass, and so far the undiscovered countries the artists-errant have sought to explore remain for the bystander lands but vaguely outlined upon a misty horizon. Moreover, the pioneer is for ever shadowed and pursued by the reactionist, and reactions from reaction, although in such subdivision they become more individual than general, have added to the chaos, confusing the eye of a bewildered public with false semblances of primitive simplicity, or exaggerated distortions of the elaborate subtleties of modern thought.

Nor can the frequenter of picture galleries seek a clue to the maze in the broad distinctions under which he instinctively classifies the works before him, assigning them respectively to the school of the conservative or to that of the progressionist of art. The theoretical division, albeit civil war rages in both camps, may remain, as a tendency in the abstract, true. But as an applied theory many radical inexactitudes lie at the base of such classifications. For even amongst the nineteenth-century painters who have arisen as the living disciples of dead ages to embody in their works the ideals and methods discarded by the innovator, criticism must distinguish between man and man; must discriminate between the artist whose inspiration is verily and indeed the inspiration of the past, and the artist—the reactionist *par excellence*—the fountain-head of whose art, though it bear a like semblance, is verily and indeed

the present. And if the works of the one present us with a survival, or it may be a resurrection, of the spirit of a lost century, the works of the other as surely are the children of to-day—the immediate creation, by the laws governing such reaction, of those very schools to which they are the antithesis in idea and in expression. Thus it is—to cite the two greatest names of our own time and country—that on the one hand the pictures of Mr. G. F. Watts, despite their avowed and sympathetic recognition of the progress of modern thought, are stamped with the impress of their great Venetian ancestry. Thus it is on the other that the works of Edward Burne-Jones, despite their insistent mediævalisms of subject and sentiment, are imprinted with the birthmarks of their later day, branded with the languors of its physical exhaustions, its introspective passions, its feverish melancholies. And as in the world of books the school of a Maeterlinck, whether he draw his text from a Ruysbroech or a Novalis, from a Catholic ascetic of the fourteenth or a Moravian mystic of the eighteenth century, may be ascribed as a natural and legitimate offspring of the school to which Zola's genius has given its name, so, viewed from a similar standpoint, the popular acceptance of a Burne-Jones may index for us the force of a transitory ebbtide flow from the insurgent currents of a frank and brutal materialism. Yet it is well to remember that many a reaction of like retrograde seeming, whether it be in the manifestation of the general proclivities of the public or in the personal proclivity of the artist, has proved and may prove in the history of art but a fresh stepping-stone on the road to fresh and still indeterminate goals.

Howsoever this may be—and in matters speculative forecasts do well to acknowledge their fallibility—and leaving the schoolmen of art to expound each in turn their disputed creeds, new or old, to scholars who, each in his turn, aspires to become a doctor of the law, the lay frequenter of galleries is undeniably awakening to a tardy consciousness of novel influences. He is becoming aware that new forces dominate and control the works of English artists, that a new form of appeal to his sympathies is establishing itself, entailing a new or revised conception of art. And, howsoever ignorant he may be of technicalities of treatment, howsoever indifferent to the issues of professional disputes, while his concern is emphatically not with how the painter has achieved his effect, but with the effect the painter has achieved, it is, at the present moment, the nature of that

very effect, and the nature of the response it is destined, intentionally or unintentionally, to elicit, that he is disposed to question.

The worship of the Beautiful, the appeal made by an elder art to the simple sense of physical or ideal beauty, pagan or Christian, religious or secular, has perceptibly, where the most assertive, if not the most essential, vitalities of art are at their strongest, outworn its acceptance. And innovations of theory and practice, inaugurated in the city beloved of revolution, have of late years swayed English artists to an extent insular prejudice is slow to acknowledge. In place of the student of former days, the art school of whose dream was Italy, we have substituted students to whose ambitions the studios of Paris offer the only certificated road to fame. And while the student-tide flows backwards and forwards across the Channel, pictures the public had been wont to regard as mere examples of exotic eccentricity have become acclimatised to the soil, and bid fair to outvie the growths and offshoots of their parent stem. 'S'il y a 'une remarque à faire,' writes M. Geffroy, 'c'est que les 'étrangers suivent peut-être les modes régnautes avec plus 'de précipitation que les indigènes.' Numerically, their proportion to those neutral works we commonly and drearily associate with the summer exhibitions of the Academy is still infinitesimal. But granting that English art and English taste in art have reached a transitional epoch in their history, it is not by the balance of numbers that their importance as symptoms of change, and of the tendencies of change, can be estimated. Further, while the academic multitude shows no diminution, it is clear that the insurgent minority, clamorous for attention, possessed of all the characteristic qualities of reform, arrogant in word, self-assertive in criticism, controversialists in line and dogmatists in colour, is steadily increasing; and face to face with the copyists and disciples of the masters of 'l'école 'moderne,' the public may well echo M. Geffroy's interrogation. It may well question what are in truth the newly discovered gifts which are to supersede the old search for beauty as beauty, of beauty for its own work, its own sake, and its own end.

A perusal of some of the later sections of Miss Kingsley's carefully compiled 'History of French Art,' with a study of the running commentaries of French critics on their contemporaries' achievements, may do much to enlighten us.

Setting aside portrait painting, and taking only three

clearly defined schools of distinctly modern art—of which representative specimens lately exhibited in London will be fresh in the memory of all—and again considering these pictures strictly in their intellectual, emotional, and imaginative relation to the average spectator, it will perhaps be found that those most commonly and closely associated in his thoughts with French models will be the pictures of peasant life of the school of the naturalist, the subject pictures depicting phases of modern civilisation in great cities as seen by the pessimist and the realist, and the pictures of the school of the new symbolist.

The idea of the open-air peasant-life picture—the peasant of ‘*L’Angélus*’ and ‘*Les Glaneuses*,’ the peasant whose invention in art we are accustomed to refer to J. F. Millet, the peasant gleaning, winnowing, sowing, or gathering in the manifold harvest of wheat and barley and fruit, setting forth to labour, or returning again from the field, has taken hold on the sympathies of English artists and the English public with the force of a spontaneous impulse. From the first the personalities of the two great peasant-born, peasant-nurtured painters—J. F. Millet and Bastien-Lepage—commended themselves to the Anglo-Saxon temperament after a special fashion.

It has been said* that French art ‘more than that of ‘any other modern people is a national expression,’ and undoubtedly a strong race feeling, whether appreciative or antagonistic, is latent in much of what we assume to be purely æsthetic criticism. But in the case of Millet, the serious, single-hearted peasant of Normandy, the principle of whose art found utterance in the anathema, ‘*Malheur à l’artiste qui montre son talent avant son œuvre*,’ as to a lesser degree with the affectionate, courageous peasant of Lorraine, Bastien-Lepage, practising his own precept, ‘*Il faut peindre ce que l’on connaît et ce qu’on aime*,’ the sense of alien nationality has been obliterated. Painters of earth and of those children of earth whose daily life is lived in closest kinship to the common parentage of humanity at large, their works, and the works of those who perpetuate the same ideal, have become as completely engrafted upon the walls of English galleries as though they had been indigenous to the soil.

In the ‘*History of French Art*’ the school of the peasant-life painters follows closely upon the chapter dealing with

* French Art. W. C. Brownell. London; 1892.

the painters of the school of romance. And it has been the ungracious way of the world, conforming to its ancient use, to detract from the one the meed and measure of praise it has been the current fashion to bestow upon the other. Critics have systematically taught us to regard as contradictions what are in truth merely differences, and the definitions of doctrinal disputants have been made the gauges of merit, and words, terms, and classifications by which painters have been labelled realist, naturalist, idealist, and the rest have been erected into battle standards. But while such flags, unfurled in the strife of professional dogmatists, may to the unlearned symbolise the warfare, they have long ceased—as the clearer outlook of some writers has lately recognised—to symbolise in any comprehensible manner the causes for which the partisans of the rival schools combat.

Handbooks of art, as a matter of convenience and convention, may treat the romantic school, so called, as professing a creed contrary to the faith of artists whose survey of human life embraces a different range of subjects, and who, with Bastien-Lepage, think ‘qu’on doit tout traiter en ‘portrait.’ But to the eyes of the happier eclectic, whose worship at one shrine does not close for him the doors of all other sanctuaries, one school—so far as the aims of both are true to the sense of beauty—is not more logically as a matter of æsthetic taste opposed to the other than are the ethereal ‘might-bes’ of the creative imagination incompatible, as co-ordinate faculties of the mind, with the substantial ‘have-beens’ and ‘must-bes’ of retentive memory and rational anticipation. For him their art—again so far as all secondary intentions are subordinate to beauty as a primary aim—is an art running on parallel lines. The week-day aspect life holds for one supplements the red-letter aspect life reveals to the other. Romance, whether it be in literature or art, is busied with that side of existence of which the appeal is mainly to the imaginative emotions. Its special province is the emphasised individualities and episodes, the accentuated crises of life, with life at its exceptional moments, with sensations at their extremes, with passions at their climax. To it belong loves, as the loves of Paolo and Francesca, worship, as the worship of Dante to Beatrice, Hamlet’s melancholy, Francis d’Assisi’s ecstasy, the fair soul in the distorted body of the hunchback of Notre-Dame. Romance, whatever its theme may be—whether it draw its subject-matter

from the far past or the near, from the legend of a Launcelot or the history of a Jeanne d'Arc—sets its seal of a supreme emotion upon the outward framework of its figures, and environs its scenes with the atmosphere of the Mount of Transfiguration.

Such moments, such extremes, are, according to the gospel of the ideal, an integral element of actuality. The daily bread of common things may for every man, if fate so will, be momentarily transmuted into the high feast of the gods. Life may at any instant work its miracles of faith or love, or sorrow or sin; grapes spring from the thorn bush, the thistle bear figs, despite alike the Scripture and the sceptic. From such a standpoint of the truths of possibilities it has been the function of romance to depict with pen or brush the lives of women and men, depicting them, moreover, with the implicit recognition, characteristic of the greatest epochs of romanticism, that the fires that illuminate are likewise those that waste and consume the earth-nature of man. It is with the loss of the ascetic accent, the accent mediæval Christianity had branded upon the ideals of life with its implacable austerity of abstract principle, that modern romance has to a marked degree forfeited its old honours. With the loss of those 'dear bargains' which exacted all for all, and inculcated the necessity of the utmost payment for the utmost gain with its necessary correlation of joy and suffering, it has vulgarised its purpose with the trivialities of graceful sentimentalism. It inclines, on the one hand, towards a transcendental domesticity, and on the other links itself with an effeminate symbolism, and in both tendencies abdicates its chief claim to existence as the accepted illustration of the superlative element of actuality.

The school originated by J. F. Millet and his disciples has at once intellectually a wider scope and theoretically a farther horizon. For it is obvious that wherever and by whatever means the artist indicates an extreme he suggests perforce a limit. Inasmuch as he expresses a climax, whether it be of emotion or action, he introduces an intimation of finality as opposed to the infinite. The utmost intensity of a passion is for us its boundary, its last word is the last; after remains not a voice, but an echo, the repetition, the reiteration not of emphasis but of decline and weakness. And as the exponent of imagination the romance painter, the painter of extremes, erects his own barrier. In his capacity as the artist of individualism and episode, as

the artist of exceptionalism in passion or action, he pays a similar forfeiture to those intellectual laws not to be evaded even by forms of art addressed primarily to the senses. The figures he elects to set apart from the human multitude as a whole, while they gain force as manifestations of personality, lose weight in their broader significance as fractions of a universe. They belong the less to life at large in its vastness and breadth in exact proportion to the inviolate concentration of their individuality, and the general is inevitably sacrificed to the particular. They have undeniably their place, and the diamond is as much a splinter of the rock as the flint. But while the gem has its fire, the stones of the high-road have closer associations, more readily apprehended affinities with that earth whose surface has been trodden by the feet, eager or laggard, of the myriad generations who have tracked its paths, climbed its mountains, traversed its deserts—generations to whom it has been in turn the home-place of birth and of life and the abiding-place of sleep.

It is by virtue of such associations that the painter of peasant life, by whatsoever method he may choose to enforce his appeal, evokes intellectual sympathy. He strikes his deepest note only when he bases his appeal upon the recognition of the universality of common things, upon the familiarity of frequent occurrences, upon the most ordinary experiences undergone by the greatest number. Thus, eschewing the life of cities, with their sharper distinctions of class and class, where landmarks sever the artisan and the labourer, where each separate district, each diverse trade, prints for trained eyes its characteristic, if ephemeral, stamp upon the features and figures of the workmen and workwomen who crowd the street, he seeks the open plains and the wider expanses of meadow-land. He elects scenes where no such subtle influences modify all the natural elements of being, where no disintegrating interests resolve masses into groups as conclusively as the conventions of romance resolve humankind into personalities. In peasant life he centralises his conception of a condition of existence where, if personality is not effaced, the influences that mould and direct its course are simpler, where the unavoidable divergencies of circumstances are minimised, and the bent of growth is given rather by the impersonal hand of Nature than by the arbitrary will of man.

For the peasant his daily routine is linked with the course of the year's revolving seasons. To each and all alike

winter and summer, springtime and harvest, dictate the occupation of every present hour. Snow, rain, heat, storm, sunshine, and wind fashion with immutable impartiality for each man his day's labour, lighten his toil or enhance his burthen, and for his gains he deals direct with the great Paymaster, from whom no bargaining can extort a higher wage. And it is this near, constant and intimate relationship of these unnumbered human lives to the life of that earth—'dont ils sont comme des morceaux animés'—which makes itself felt to a greater or less degree, according to the genius, according to the sympathy, and yet more according to the sincerity, of the painter. The natural outgrowth, given the temperament of the race, of such close relationship to the operation of the powers of the elements is in sentiment a passive acquiescence—'L'ouvrier de Paris est 'un révolté—le paysan est un résigné.' Great forces in Nature are apt to create for their counterpart in the spirit of man a strenuous, immeasurable and imperturbable patience, far removed from the fretful rancours and resentments engendered by the adverse contact of men with their fellow-men in the eager traffic of city life. It is a patience which, as one of the confessedly essential characteristics of Millet's conceptions, has taken to itself a perceptibly emotional value, while its neutrality is tinged by the melancholy of an artist to whom 'le côté joyeux' of earth had never revealed itself—'Je ne sais où il est—je ne l'ai jamais vu.'

In the Anglicised version of Millet's ideal, with which the walls of London galleries have made us familiar, the conception in its more recent manifestations has undergone certain readjustments of treatment. The theme is still identical—the toil of pasture-lands and meadows and orchards, the ingathering of the harvests of brown barley or white-eared corn or fallen apples, the toil of the harrowing, of the mowing, the toil of scythe and of sickle, of the haymaker and the hop-picker, of the women who weed or glean or bind the sheaves. We see them brown-visaged, brown-handed and brown-limbed, faces tanned with sun and roughened with winds; by morning light, when the long day is before them; in the light of the hot midday interim of rest; in the light of the low sun before it loses itself in the dusk, before the rose of the sky fades in the yellow atmosphere and the blue silvers of the twilight are kindled with the sultry radiance of the harvest moon and the currents of the air rustle crisply through the standing wheat, or pass dumbly across the irresponsible silence of the

stubble fields of newly reaped grain. But whether it be dawn, noon, or evening, whether the harvest be over or to come, we are conscious, if not precisely of the *côté joyeux* of Nature, yet for the most part of a spirit and atmosphere of hope and health and vigour. The autumn there painted has little in it to presage decay, the labouring figures are without suggestion of exhaustion, and in repose they betray neither lassitude nor languor. The sun tans without scorching, and the chill is gone from the dewfall, the grass does not wither and the flower does not fade, and the common, blunt-edged, daily tragedies of human tradition—age that lives, youth that dies—are effaced from remembrance under the serene tranquillities of open skies. Common things are there subject to common influences, but too often the connexion is missing or the influence is circumscribed. The mournful bent figures of Mr. Frederick Walker's 'Mushroom Gatherers,' the tragedy of Mr. F. Branley's 'Hopeless Dawn,'* the sentiment of Mr. La Thangue's 'Man with the Scythe,'* where the autumn of death invades the springtime of childhood, have passed almost wholly from sight in the peasant scenes exhibited during the last two or three years. A sunny optimism prevails, admitting scarcely an afterthought of doubt, and life so dealt with becomes, as in Mason's pastoralisations, life shifted and specialised; it drifts out of touch with the great average, it despoils itself of that dominant quality ascribed by M. Michel to Millet's genius, the quality that continuously and triumphantly asserted the close relationships of 'ceux qui n'ont pas d'histoire' to the immensities of 'la vie universelle.'

But if the peasant-painter of later days has tended towards both the specialisation and the pastoralisation of his theme, the painter usually classified under the elastic designation of 'peintre de la vie contemporaine' has carried, above all in his subject-pictures of the life of great cities, specialisation to its extreme point. The painter of 'modernité,' and of all it may be taken in the mouth of French critics to imply, is essentially the painter of humanity in detail, of its divisions and districts and classes, of its professions and recreations, of the characteristics of grades as they range from the gutter to the middle class, and hence again upwards. He has made his art the art of the newspaper reporter, recording with equal skill, brilliancy

* Tate Gallery.

and felicity the trivial gossip of the fashion paper and the sordid tragedies of the police news.

Every history, every journal of art has told the story of the upgrowth of the new order of realism, pioneered in the first instance by painters whose disciples at the present day have left their masters far in the rear. In every history of current and contemporary criticism may be traced the developments of the innovations: from Courbet, whose system, as explained by himself, was to replace the cult of the ideal by the cult of the real, whose ambition was to be 'non seulement un peintre, mais encore un homme,' and in that capacity to translate the manners, ideas and aspects of his epoch according to his individual appreciation of them, and whose theory found its embodiment more especially in his choice and selection of subjects, to Manet, who determined the new movement by his novel methods of treating the subjects chosen. And again history passes onwards, indicating and exemplifying the widening circle of Manet's influence over the group of *mutineers*, 'les *Indépendants*' who, combining the extremes of novelty in the choice of themes with the extremes of novelty in method and treatment, have in turn erected what may be called new canons and conventions of revolt, which in their assumptions of infallibility and their intolerance of contravention bid fair to equal the assumptions and bigotries of older régimes.

The formulas of the school have been variously rendered by its most eminent adherents in the world of criticism, who are in truth our safest guides to a clear understanding of its claims. From them we learn primarily that it is necessary to discriminate between true and false 'modernité.' For there are already heretics in the schism, and the mere painter of costume, which, as M. Fromentin asserts, Worth would have painted had he possessed the temperament of a painter, is summarily excommunicated. With him the model-painter, the painter of stage rags and of the whole *dramatis personæ* of the studio, are dismissed from the ranks. The artist of 'la vérité vraie' must work not only from life, but from the real life; the model must be what it represents. 'Il fallait aller chez une vraie dame, si l'on voulait peindre 'une dame,' and the 'Portrait of a Lady' must find its justification and verification in the pedigree of the sitter. Further, it does not suffice the subject-painter (for in the matter of trees, grasses, seas and rocks the new is as the old, and the old as the new) to depict reality as reality alone,

for its own sake and as its own end. But it must be a reality characteristic of its own and no other period. Life must be reproduced only under those salient forms which stamp it as modern; it must be portrayed in its most perceptible points of divergency from the life of all other epochs. The past, said M. Charles Baudelaire in his study of the works of Constantin Guys,* has its interest, apart from all other considerations, as the past. The pleasure we derive from representations of the present is, in part, due to 'sa qualité essentielle de présent.' And it is, we may conclude, in his capacity to seize, illustrate, and infect the spectator with the sensation, the consciousness of this quality, that the art of the true 'modern' consists. 'Je ne veux pas dire,' Fromentin exclaims in the dialogue quoted by M. Huysmans, 'qu'il faille avoir beaucoup d'esprit, mais voir l'esprit des choses.' And this spirit, this essence of life, although differentiated in each class and each person, though subject to a thousand individual modifications of temperament or professional habit, though coloured, neutralised or exaggerated by every current of personality, must, in the painter of 'la vie contemporaine,' carry its warranty and certificate of age, of *modernité*—must evidence beyond dispute that it is the spirit of this and of no other day of which he is the interpreter.

Starting from such premises we may naturally and legitimately inquire what are the phases of contemporary life artists professing, practising and teaching such a creed have found most congenial to their purpose, and what phases of truth they have found their method of treatment best adapted to reproduce. Pledged to see things as they are, so far as may be; pledged again, so far as may be, to represent them as seen, it is still left, always with the proviso that the theme be distinctively appertaining to his own day and generation, to the artist's own taste and discretion to choose what he will look at.

The question admits only of an inconclusive and provisional response. The French pictures of the school, as exhibited in this country, have been comparatively few in number, and the pictures of their imitators have not, perhaps, been of a quality to arrest attention or invite analysis on the part of the average Englishman; while to deliver judgement and pronounce sentence upon a develop-

* *Le Peintre de la Vie Moderne* [L'Art Romantique]: Charles Baudelaire, 1885.

ment of art belonging so particularly to its original surroundings, and so impregnated with the atmosphere of its primary nationality, would be to fall into the trap some foreign critics have set for their own feet in their appreciation of equally characteristic national developments of the art of their English contemporaries. But whatever diffidence may be felt in the expression of assured opinions concerning the general features of pictures themselves—products of a school the concluding chapters of whose history are yet unwritten—it is impossible to read the criticism of critics most overtly prejudiced in their favour without becoming aware that the works their adherents most emphatically commend indicate clearly enough the special sections of life which, in their estimation, the artist of *modernité* has noted most accurately and registered most successfully, and which it may therefore be assumed are, to an appreciable extent, typical of his choice of the spheres of observation best suited to his ends.

Taking M. Huysmans' records of Paris exhibitions of 1879–1882, when the works of the new school claimed, as more or less novelties, a close and detailed criticism, three or four names amongst the painters of subject-pictures stand out, all more or less familiar to English readers of the literature of art. Setting aside M. Manet—who, according to his critic, had at that epoch sacrificed his principles at the altar of compromise—the names of MM. Degas, Raffaëlli, Caillebotte, and Forain appear recurrently as examples of the most impeccable originators or disciples of the new art. And to these names may be added that of M. Toulouse-Lautrec, examples of whose work—described by M. Geffroy—were shown at the inauguration of International Exhibitions in London.

The gift of description has been liberally bestowed on M. Huysmans. The brush of the artist could scarcely create a more vivid—if not a more just—impression of the nature of works than that produced by his pen. So far, however, as the group of artists is concerned as exemplifying the school of the rigidly and strictly modern naturalist, the works of M. Raffaëlli would seem occasionally to have transgressed the bounds prescribed by a code which logically prohibits the dominant expression of generalities common to all ages. If M. Huysmans has not done his pictures an act of happy injustice, the '*peintre des pauvres gens et des grands ciels*' is one in whose works the sentiment, however localised, implies—to borrow a felicitous phrase used

by M. Geffroy in another connexion—‘un souvenir et une ‘synthèse ajoutés au réel.’ The painter-specialist of the desolate suburbs of Paris, of their denizens, of the city vagabond, of the drifting concourse, howsoever habited, that reveals itself as the race of the disinherited, if he has painted the lives of to-day’s misery, has no less recorded the undated misery of life, and the squalors of localised individual suffering are lost in the sense of that infinity of universal tragedy.

M. Huysmans’ paraphrase of ‘Un retour de Chiffonniers’ records one such impression :—

‘Le crépuscule est venu dans l’un de ces mélancoliques paysages qui s’étendent autour du Paris pauvre, des cheminées d’usine crachent sur un ciel livide des bouillons de suie. Trois chiffonniers retournent au gîte accompagnés de leurs chiens. . . . M. Raffaëlli a évoqué le charme attristé des cabanes branlantes, des grêles peupliers en vedette sur ces interminables routes qui se perdent, au sortir des remparts, dans le ciel. En face de ces malheureux qui cheminent éreintés, dans ce merveilleux et terrible paysage, toute la détresse des anciennes banlieues s’est levée.’

And whether it be in such miseries as those portrayed in M. Raffaëlli’s early workmanship, or whether in the later works described by M. Geffroy, when in some ripened mood of the artist’s genius misery would appear to have signed an armistice with life, we may well recognise the ‘tendance à ‘cette humanitaierie qui gâte les paysans de Millet’ for —M. Huysmans.

To no such reproach is the work of M. Degas subjected. For M. Huysmans ‘un peintre de la vie moderne était né,’ and we may legitimately seek here for some ideals of the school of disillusionment, questioning what is the nature of those ballet themes in which M. Degas’ peculiar gifts have found their most congenial expression. That the art of movement, of posture, of rhythm—the art which pre-eminently is the art of physical vitality—should afford a great painter subject-material is in the natural course of things. But dancing, like all other arts, is a muse of many masks. M. Huysmans is careful to leave us in no danger of error concerning the aspect under which M. Degas has for the most part registered her features. His eulogies make us aware of the conscientious exactitude of the reproductions of ‘les dislocations de clowns,’ of ‘la torture des ‘membres,’ of ‘l’embêtement de la fatigue’ undergone in the great training classes of the ballet, of the mental and physical aspects of the scene, ‘notés avec une perspicacité

'd'analyste à la fois cruel et subtil;' of the infinite dexterity with which the artist has caught 'les éclats des rampes' 'devant lesquelles brillent, en décolleté, des chanteuses, 'ou s'ébattent, en pirouettant, des danseuses;' of the certainty with which he has poised his acrobats, of the skill with which he has obtained his effects of 'la vraie chair' 'poudrée de veloutine avec son grenu éraillé, vue de près, et 'son maladif éclat vue de loin.' With equal precision he has given

"une curieuse étude de l'organisme de chacune d'elles. . . Ici l'hommasse qui se dégrossit et dont les couleurs tombent sous le misérable régime du fromage d'Italie et du litre à douze; là les anémies originelles, les déplorables lymphes des filles couchées dans les soupentes, éreintées par les exercices du métier, épuisées par de précoces pratiques avant l'âge; là encore les filles nerveuses dont les muscles saillent sous le maillot, de vraies danseuses, aux ressorts d'acier, aux jarrets de fer.'

Under such semblances M. Degas presents the special phase of life with which, presumably, his art finds closest affinity. Technically his works may possess the highest order of interest, and may serve as a lesson in resources and possibilities. Moreover, in them some may find a beauty invisible to others, for who shall assume to see with the eyes of all? and amongst much which is wholly unbeautiful M. Degas may here and there fashion from the 'mire of 'the street the grace of a woman.' But as a representation of life, whether in sight of the pictures themselves or in reading the pages of the critic, the conviction forces itself upon the mind that M. Degas, like many of his fellows, has confused reality—the reality claimed as the Alpha and Omega of modernism—with truth. Life, like the impressionist landscape, must be viewed at a little distance to be justly estimated, and only so viewed does it balance its own proportion of light and shadow, grossness and nobility, of the poverty and the riches of human nature, harmonising the discords of fractional actualities in the atmosphere of general truths. From this distance M. Degas has not regarded life. Further to pursue the analogy, as the eye needs due space between it and the canvas if it is to possess itself of that unsubstantial colour, 'la couleur 'absente,' created by the optical blending of the pallet's cruder hues, so the eye of the mind, too, needs space in which to generate the 'couleur absente' of truth, the evasive quality that inarticulately asserts, whether in the circus-tent or the opera green-room, the kinship of saint and

prodigal contingent on the solidarity of humanity. It is a quality without which all representations of life lack at least one element of reality.

So the chronicles of the new art pass onwards through pages which tell of 'le coin de l'existence contemporaine, 'fixé tel quel,' by M. Caillebotte, with his dreary levels of scenes from middle-class *intérieurs*, the disillusionment where with impatience or resignation 'le couple s'ennuie—comme 'cela arrive dans la vie' of the gentler art of the painter of girls, M. Renoir, 'un galant et aventureux charmeur,' and other lesser lights. And then once more the theme changes to sombre earnest, and in M. Forain the *déclassée* has found a specialist, while in the squalid series of Moulin-Rouge * episodes M. Toulouse-Lautrec takes for his province 'la basse humanité.' It is an attitude by itself in the art of the moment which, as a spreading tendency, may give rise to many and various questions concerning the responsibilities of public galleries. But even setting aside such questions, in both man and woman there is an instinctive chivalry which, while it may pass by with indifference libels true or false launched broadcast against the ranks of virtue and prosperity, will revolt from such delineations, the brutal exposition of the features of a class who above all other classes pay the last farthing of moral and physical degradation. That it is a class that can appeal to no defender, and hope for no apologist save amongst those members, Catholic or Protestant, of the world's great confraternity of pity who have succoured, tended, and felt for outcast and pariah the tie of personal relationship and the bond of human kindness, should in itself make the act of those who exploit and exhibit its miseries an act of cowardice and betrayal. It is possible for a man in all good faith to hold the doctrine that even the grosser moral and physical maladies of civilisation are fit subjects for art. Possible in good faith to apply broadcast the maxim 'la vérité contient la 'moralité.'† The conscience of one is not as the conscience of another, individually or nationally. But while every man, according to his best ability, must write his own Decalogue, when he embodies its results the artist must not complain if the hard saying of M. Charles Baudelaire be remembered: 'Le choix des sujets c'est l'homme.'

In comparison with the painters of the school of peasant-

* Exhibited at the International Exhibition, 1898.

† Préface de Marie Tudor. Victor Hugo.

life, and that of the painter of *modernité*, the school of the symbolist, in its later developements of a somewhat spurious and sensualistic mysticism, occupies at the present time an undefined and dubious position in London picture galleries. Its distinctions to the public at large are vague; its sentiment is recognised more in the light of isolated instances than as the tendency of a group. With the allegorist England has long been familiar. Allegory has been the favourite language, the vocabulary of Mr. G. F. Watts's thoughts, of the ideas and aspirations he ascribes in figurative phraseology to the progress of mankind. Under his ascendancy it has established itself amongst us in the guise and fashion of a species of translation into forms and actions of ideas and imaginations, as an emblematical transcription of actual processes, spiritual, mental, natural, or emotional, and includes the personification of abstractions belonging to the domains of soul or matter. In the actions delineated the allegorist suggests consonance and sequence; his work—to borrow a literary metaphor—is of a narrative order. His impersonations enact their parts in reasonable and coherent accordance with a given scheme and continuity of thought. In the moral world Faith rebaptizes her sword in water, Love bars the door against Death, or in the Nature-world Spring discards the garb of Winter, Sleep lies in the arms of Night.

But while allegory under such semblances is familiar to us, symbolism—the recent pictorial symbolism—so far as its treatment and intention may be apprehended by the uninitiated, has a more complex aim. It serves, for the most part, for the enunciation of a single phase of feeling or sensation. Where it draws most exclusively its inspiration from the artificial mystic of present fashion, it conceives of the forms and substances it portrays not as mere emblems, arbitrarily connected (according to the tradition of the allegorist) with the abstractions they represent, but as possessing inherent congruities with the intellectual images of which they are the autograph signature. The new symbolism reads moral affinities in colours, sympathies in the moulds and shapes of substances; discovers instincts in the inanimate, passions in marbles, and emotions in leaves. For the symbolist hands join in every direction behind the screen, in every twilight borderland of vitalities he detects secret amalgamations of life with life.

‘Baudelaire appelait sentiment de la *correspondance* le sentiment, qui, dans les créations poétiques, nous fait découvrir un parallélisme

secret entre chaque état de l'âme et un état correspondant de la nature inanimée. C'est le sentiment qui nous permet de pratiquer au moyen des arts plastiques une sorte de sorcellerie évocatoire, et de définir l'attitude mystérieuse que les objets de la création tiennent devant le regard de l'homme.' *

There is, undoubtedly, a manner of regarding life individually and universally, comprised in a transcendental creed, for which a scheme of systematic symbolism is the only logical and adequate method of exposition. For the mystic the life of the body and the life of the soul, the life of matter and the life of spirit, run on parallel lines, attached the one to the other, but not fused. Further, he holds that what may be true of the two in their union may be false of either in its independent capacity, and through their joint semblance he reads their separate histories, as St. Augustin when he teaches that 'quand Moïse dit qu'il n'y avait point 'encore de verdure sur la terre, cela veut dire que les âmes 'n'avaient point encore conçu d'affections terrestres.' Transferring such a doctrine of the dualities of existence from religion to art, symbolism in art, as in theology, is its legitimate vehicle. And in his endeavour to express by sensible images to ocular vision things immaterial and unsubstantial, governed by laws and conditions belonging to another plane of existence, the outward incoherence characterising so many of the symbolist's efforts is an initial result of the complexity of his aim. It ensues that his success or failure must be measured by the degree to which he is able to evoke some intuitive perception, rather than any distinct comprehension, of the significance he ascribes to the imagery he employs; and his appeal must always be in its nature emotional and suggestive, rather than intellectual and circumstantial.

Gustave Moreau, who in Muther's exhaustive 'History of 'Modern Painting' heads the list of the mystic reactionists in French art—although by virtue of an intense personality his works stand alone—has given to many, if not to all, of his pictures the unmistakeable touch of a symbolism founded upon the conception of such dualities; upon the vision of a world where action and intention are more often dissonant than harmonious, where thought and reality march side by side as dislocated entities giving birth to rival impulses. He is the painter 'd'une réalité passée, d'un rêve toujours présent.' In some instances he may be an allegorist pure and

* Ary Renan ('Gazette des Beaux Arts,' 1877).

simple. In the picture of 'Orpheus Dead'—known in England by engravings—we may see in the figure of the Thracian girl who bears the head of the dismembered god upon his lyre the incarnation of the world's pity for that beauty defaced by death. It is 'notre compassion qui marche en 'portant son fardeau.' But in 'L'Apparition'* the deeper mysticism of the symbolist asserts itself where, amidst the sombre luxury of the doomed king's presence-chamber, Salome stands motionless, arrested in her dance, and we divine that the radiant phantom of the Baptist's bleeding head, fair as a Christ's, suspended in the jewelled dusk between the columns of the vast hall, confronts not the eye but the soul of the woman. And whether her action denote, as M. Ary Renan, in the light of Heine's vulgarised and brutalised version of St. Mark's narrative, interprets it, the resurrection of a passion, or whether it may betoken the birth of a remorse, is of no importance, for equally and in either case it is no outward miracle M. Moreau records, but after his wont, an incident of the soul: 'un instant 'décisif au point de vue morale et non pas un instant 'palpitant au point de vue scénique.' Yet albeit with M. Moreau symbolism may be an integral element of art, his pictures for the most part belong to a class where the apologue of the spiritual history is founded upon traditional themes of myth or legend. Again to quote from the brilliant criticism of the son of M. Ernest Renan and the grandson of M. Ary Scheffer, with Moreau, as with other sections of his school,

'l'art a sauvé l'antique fiction symbolique et a conclu avec elle un indissoluble mariage. . . . Nous transportons nos passions dans les récits vieux comme le monde; nous acceptons les théogonies les plus obscures, et nous les éclairons d'un réftet nouveau; nous supposons aux entités les plus légendaires nos joies, nos douleurs et nos doutes; nous inventons un panthéisme et une mysticité qui sont en partie notre œuvre nous établissons les règles d'une symbolique où nous mêlons toutes nos sensations individuelles à l'esprit anonyme de l'antiquité. On dit des religions de l'antiquité qu'elles sont anthropomorphes: on peut dire l'art l'est aussi.'

Possibly the younger developments of such a school are most familiar to the English public, whether for praise or dispraise, through the subject-pictures of M. Fernand Khnopff. Examples of M. Khnopff's works have for some time past found almost yearly a place on the walls of the New

* Exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery.

Gallery. To describe the impression, so far as it is intellectual or imaginative, of paintings whose constituent qualities, apart from their beauty of colour, are vagueness of sentiment and an impenetrable obscurity of intention is impracticable. They produce upon the mind the effect of inverted actualities; they have a paradoxical realism: the secondary realism of an accurate reproduction of dream-phenomena. They have the same inconsequences, the same incongruities, the same dislocations of natural order. Marble shifts into flesh, woman changes into stone, violets fall from nowhither on to steel armour, blue sapphires crystallise on a human breast. The delicate texture of the faces is unlined; no finger-mark of fleeting hours has printed its record on the smooth surface, but the outlines of the features are wasted and worn as if with years, and in the contradiction the sense of time is effaced and a balanced neutrality reigns which is neither youth nor age—nor yet, above all, immortality. And underneath that passive monotone of exterior form the currents of the inner life sweep on with the equivocal silence of flood-tides in a mist. The sinister Sphinx he has painted in 'L'Ange' crouched beneath the hand of the warrior statue; the leopard-bodied woman beside the youth in 'Les Caresses,'* are the externalised vision of what dwells not without, but within—of the unanswered question, the untamed instinct, that hide for decades under the coverlet of sane custom only to uprear themselves at length in one moment of disastrous awakening to assert dominion over the soul of man. And both Sphinx and Leopard have in very truth their actual abiding-place in the innermost chamber of the House of Life, while the passion-lily with withered stem and faded leaf which leans across the white drapery of the girl in 'Une Aile Bleue'† is a flower grown in the enclosed garden of a woman's heart. Thus M. Khnopff has given shape and semblance to the moods of the senses, the emotions of the nerves, and the ghosts that haunt the recesses of the mind. He has dreamt dreams with his brush, signifying, in the words of Novalis, 'rents in the 'curtain that veils a man from himself;' and where the mystic of old spiritualised matter, he, and those of his fellows whose temperaments are swayed by kindred impulses, have, contrariwise, materialised and sensualised spirit.

Other artists have carried yet further and into other, baser fields the scheme of symbolic expression. The skeleton

* New Gallery, 1896.† *Ibid.* 1898.

framework of myth and legend, the natural forms of man and beast and plant, have not sufficed them. They have endeavoured to create novel formulæ for the disclosure of thoughts and sensations which have hitherto eluded connexion with established conventions of analogy. Colour in their hands arrogates to itself new meanings. The phrases repeated on page after page of M. Maeterlinck's lyrics, of colour-epithet, 'Les songes lilas,' 'Les lys jaunes des lendemains,' 'L'ennui bleu dans le cœur,' 'Les serpents violets des rêves,' 'Les tiges rouges des haines, Entre les deuils verts de l'amour,' find their counterparts and equivalents in the emblematic employment of the neo-mystic's pallet, and in those pictures where instead of an allegory we are confronted with a riddle, where instead of a symbol we only discover an acrostic.

Undeniably, in some instances the symbolist of to-day has striven against the tide to claim some heritage from the high lineage of the far past in his attempts at the representation of heights inaccessible, as with all their affectations and absurdities the manifestos of the 'Rose & Croix' exhibitions demonstrate. But in other schools contrary aims have prevailed, and the symbolist has mainly concerned himself with embodiments not only of the levels, but of the degradations of creation. Where Eastern religions used symbols as the veil of human reverence for the great operations of Nature they deified and worshipped, new modes of art have invented or misapplied the healthless grotesques, the distorted forms, the diseased hieroglyphics of an affected hysteria for the exposition of desecrated and vitiated instincts of humanity. M. Huysmans has described on various occasions works exhibited by M. Odillon Redon—

'des figures étranges, des faces en poires tapées et en cônes, des têtes avec des crânes sans cervelets, des mentons fuyants, des fronts bas se joignant directement aux nez, puis des yeux immenses, des yeux fous, jaillissant de visages humaines déformés, comme dans des verres de bouteille, par le cauchemar. . . . Ici était un énorme dé à jouer où clignait une paupière triste . . . là encore une tige se dressait supportant comme une fleur ronde une face exsangue. . . . Là une épouvantable araignée logeant au milieu de son corps une face humaine.'

Such deformities and distortions of sight have had their copyists and imitators, while, hand in hand with works of art where 'les vitraux d'églises semblent avoir été transportés dans la brasserie et l'on a la sensation d'assister à un carnaval mystique' have arisen the morbid and repul-

sive developements of 'le mysticisme érotique.' And with these last offshoots of the school, the symbolist of the old world—the Keeper of the Secret—with his self-control, his dignity of reticence and strength of reserve, has wholly vanished from the scene, and usurping his vacant place we find the spurious symbolist of the new world—the Secret-teller—whose office, so far as any mysteries of life are his, is to unfold them in vulgar travesty or gross caricature to the curiosity of the catechumen and the schoolboy.

Under some such aspects new schools of art have brought their products to a public inconsistent in its admirations, ignorant in its blame, swayed by veering and often irrelevant sympathies, a public that affords the painter ample room for counter-criticism. Further, it is a public no less responsible than the painter himself for the quality of his work. 'Il est très rare, et l'on peut dire, il est presque impossible, que l'artiste ne soit pas de son temps,' for more than other men he lives 'de la vie du milieu où il se trouve placé,'* and there is inevitably a relationship of mutual demand, with the ensuing proclivity to conformity of sentiment, between the studio, where the painter paints, presumably, to please himself, and the gallery where he exhibits, presumably, to benefit the public. It follows as a natural consequence that when verdicts of originality are accorded to mere eccentricities, when violence and exaggeration are accepted as evidence of strength, and the absence of self-control is allowed to pass for imaginative vision, eccentricity, exaggeration and hysteria will perpetuate themselves in art; while so long as artificialities of fashion dictate æsthetic judgements, whose only proper base is knowledge of the first principles of art, the insincerities of those English schools whose replicas of foreign models suggest a pose or an imitation will correspond to the demand.

* *L'Esthétique*. Eugène Véron, Paris, 1878.

- ART. IV.—1. *The Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue, Esq., preserved at Dropmore.* Vols. I. and II. ‘Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports.’ London: 1892 and 1894.
2. *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, K.G., preserved at Belvoir Castle.* Vol. III. ‘Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports.’ London: 1894.
3. *Correspondence between the Right Hon. William Pitt and Charles, Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1781–1787.* London: 1890.
4. *Pitt: Some Chapters of his Life and Times.* By the Right Hon. EDWARD GIBSON, Lord Ashbourne. London: 1898.

THE charming illustration by which Plunket, in perhaps the most beautiful image that ever relieved the aridity of a judicial decision, described the action of time in creating prescription, may be applied with equal point to the labours of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. ‘Time,’ said Plunket, ‘is the great destroyer of evidence, but he is ‘also the great protector of titles. He comes with a scythe ‘in one hand to mow down the muniments of our possession, ‘while he holds an hour-glass in the other from which he ‘incessantly metes out the portions of duration that are ‘to render the muniments no longer necessary.’ As the fame of great names grows dim with the lapse of years, and as the stately figures of the past fade with the departure of their surviving contemporaries into the obscurity of the unknown, time as gradually removes the hindrances to the revelation of the secret motives, passions, or prejudices which have swayed the actions or governed the policy of statesmen, and permits the publication of those confidential documents which, written under cover of the utmost secrecy, become to the historian the most veracious of all records of the controversies of the past.

Seldom has the memory of a statesman who filled a large space in the world of his own day been so completely blotted out of the national recollection of his countrymen as that of John FitzGibbon, Earl of Clare. No individual Irishman, perhaps, has ever exercised a greater direct authority over the affairs and fortunes of his native country than that which Clare wielded, or exerted a more enduring influence upon her history. Yet his memory faded out with the departure of the generation which knew him, till scarce a trace

remained of his once commanding personality. No contemporary ever essayed his biography; and the destruction, by his own direction, of all the personal and political correspondence in his possession at his death, seemed to render it for ever impossible to learn more of his life than could be gathered from the bald and inadequate annals of his time. And as time passed on the growing obscurity of his fame was deepened by the removal of those visible memorials by which the present is anchored to the past. The title which he founded was extinguished, in the person of his grandson, in the charge of Balaclava. His estates are not now in the possession of his descendants, the splendid mansion he dwelt in has been dismantled, and all its contents dispersed; and with this dispersal have naturally perished the traditions which commonly survive among the descendants of a great man to keep his memory green.

No fulness of historical research can ever atone for such losses as these, or make it otherwise than difficult to play 'Old Mortality' to an epitaph so hopelessly erased and disfigured. But the gradual publication of the correspondence of contemporary statesmen, the patient investigations of eminent historians, and the abundant labours of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, have brought to light within recent years a very considerable number of Clare's letters, and have placed us in possession of much ampler materials for an estimate of his character and statesmanship than fifty years after his death seemed ever likely to be attainable. It is, therefore, no more than what historical justice demands that the fame of Lord Clare should be redeemed, in the light of this fresh knowledge, from so much of the obloquy which has fallen on it as it proves to have been unmerited. For, fortunate as he was in most things, Clare was not 'felix opportunitate mortis.' His latter years were spent in an atmosphere of wild passion and angry contention to which even the stormy annals of Irish politics scarcely afford a parallel. Dying prematurely, whilst his unpopularity was at its height, his memory was assailed with almost frantic violence by writers who made the strenuous actions of his austere dictatorship part of their indictment of the policy of his successors in the government of Ireland; and by the baser scribes who were not ashamed to pelt the dead lion before whom they had cowered in the years of his strength. Thus, while those who might have done justice to his character were, through the destruction of his papers, left powerless to shield it from misrepresenta-

tion, the record of the part played by Clare in the history of his country was left to the pens—at best unsympathetic and often ungenerous or vindictive—of frankly hostile writers.

In recent years, however, a fuller knowledge of Clare's career has led to a more just appreciation of his character. Froude, in his 'English in Ireland,' painted, with a few vivid touches of his picturesque brush, the portrait of the statesman, to whose large place in history he was the first to do justice, and whose bold, commanding personality and unswerving devotion to the interests of England struck the imagination of that imperialist historian. Mr. Lecky has given us, in colours less glowing, a conception of Clare's statesmanship, less sympathetic, and, perhaps, more impartial. But in the pages of both historians it has necessarily happened that the figure of Clare has been seen mainly in those harsher attitudes which the statesman's position as the champion of authority and government in times of unexampled agitation obliged him to assume in the latter years of his career. Thus, while justice has been done to Clare's abilities, the impression given of his character has been upon the whole repellent and unlovable. His head has been praised at the expense of his heart, and his statesmanship at that of his humanity. That is a price which few men would willingly pay for posthumous eminence; nor is it fitting that fame should be accompanied by so heavy a penalty unless it is unquestionably deserved.

To account for the peculiar animosity with which Clare came to be regarded by his opponents, it is necessary to recall his origin. His father, John FitzGibbon the elder, was born of Roman Catholic parents in humble circumstances, and sprang from a sept long identified with the county Limerick, and accounted among the most Irish of Irish families in religious and national sentiment. After applying himself to medicine abroad for a time he had conformed to the Protestant faith, and, becoming a student at the Middle Temple, was ultimately called to the Irish bar. There he practised for forty years, with a success which enabled him to realise a fortune, extraordinary in those days, of over 100,000*l*. Although he never attained the Bench his professional eminence was remarkable, and he narrowly missed important promotion. In the brief viceroyalty of Lord Bristol he was designated for the high office of Chief Justice of the King's Bench on an expected vacancy, which, however, did not take place. His station in Parliament was one of

equal consequence, though he was never in office; and in his latter years he was eulogised by Edmund Burke for the independence of his character and the liberality of his views.

To this shrewd, hard-headed, and highly successful old lawyer, who married a lady of good family in the south of Ireland early in his professional career, was born a family of seven children. Of three sons John FitzGibbon was the youngest. He was born probably in Dublin, in 1748, and was brought up at his father's residence at Donnybrook in the neighbourhood of Dublin. It is interesting to note that his rivalry with Henry Grattan dated from boyhood, while the two great antagonists were schoolfellows. In 1763 he matriculated at Trinity College, where, as at school, he came closely into contact with Grattan; and a class distinguished for the number of able men it contained was made remarkable by the keen competition which took place between the two young men, and in which FitzGibbon was usually the victor, though considerably the junior of his rival. Graduating in 1767, little trace of FitzGibbon can be found in the five years which elapsed before his call to the Irish bar in Trinity Term 1772; but from entries in the books at Christ Church it would seem that he graduated at Oxford in 1770.

Statements made by his contemporaries as to the habits of his early days represent FitzGibbon as addicted to a life of pleasure, and giving but little thought to the serious business of life, until the death, in 1776, of his only surviving brother left him the sole heir to the handsome fortune which his father had realised, and opened up glowing possibilities of a great career. These statements cannot be accepted as altogether correct, for it is certain that he applied himself with considerable vigour to the business of his profession from the very commencement. Extracts from his fee-book which have been published show that his earnings even from the first were substantial. The truth probably is that FitzGibbon at that time applied himself with equal vigour to the pursuit of business and pleasure. He is described as having immense powers of endurance, and being equal to the most severe demands upon his energies.

FitzGibbon's earliest efforts at the bar appear to have been made in election petitions, which in his time were often the subject of keen party struggles, when argued in committee of the Irish House of Commons; and in the year 1777 he was successful in no fewer than four petitions.

It was to his aptitude for work of this sort that he owed his first introduction to Parliament. The celebrated Provost Hely-Hutchinson, one of the ablest politicians of his time, had procured in 1776 the return of his son Richard, afterwards Lord Donoughmore, for the University of Dublin, in opposition to the Attorney-General, Philip Tisdal. Strong allegations of undue influence induced the unsuccessful candidate to bring forward a petition, with the conduct of which FitzGibbon was entrusted. After a long struggle Hutchinson was unseated by the committee; but Tisdal dying in the interval, and the successful party being thus left without a candidate, the young barrister was chosen in his place, and on March 28, 1778, was returned to the Irish Parliament to represent the University of Dublin. He was then less than thirty years of age.

From the foregoing brief summary of the circumstances of his early life, it will be seen that FitzGibbon entered Parliament with admirable prospects, and the surest guarantees of political and professional success. Heir to a large fortune, possessed of splendid abilities, a member of a profession which enjoyed immense influence in the Irish House of Commons, and gifted with a considerable degree of oratorical ability, he was plainly marked out for a conspicuous part in the animated scenes that were impending. He had not indeed the splendid rhetorical endowments which enabled Flood and Grattan to carry away the senators in a whirlwind of emotion; but he could speak with force, precision, and perspicacity.

At the moment when FitzGibbon stepped upon the troubled stage of Irish politics, parties in Ireland, never constituted in those days upon any very intelligible principle, were in a state of almost unexampled flux. Little as the Parliament which Grattan was about to found corresponded in its constitutional working with the usages of the English House of Commons, the old dependent Parliament which it replaced was even further removed from the model of English political life. In Ireland the party system was scarcely, if at all, understood. There was, of course, a Government and an Opposition; but the Opposition could never displace the Government, which was an executive machine rather than a political organism. The Lord Lieutenant, indeed, was identified directly with the party and the politics which, for the time being, held sway at Westminster. But though theoretically and constitutionally liable to dismissal at any moment at the hands of the Viceroy, the great officials, and

especially the law officers of the Crown, enjoyed for a long series of years a practical fixity of tenure. The Chancellor was in effect appointed for life, but, being an Englishman, took no very decisive part in struggles which he only half understood, and usually confined himself to the discharge of his functions as Speaker of the Irish House of Lords, and to the exercise of the immense patronage which was vested in him. The Chief Secretary was often non-resident, and sometimes had not even a seat in the Irish Parliament. Thus the chief administrative and political agent was usually the Attorney-General, to whom was confided the management of the House of Commons ; and who often held his post continuously, irrespective of the resignations of Viceroy's or of the rise or fall of parties at Westminster, until such time as he chose to retire to the haven of a Chief Justiceship. Opposition was in practice little more than a competition between a few great families for the favour of a Government which could always extricate itself from its parliamentary embarrassments by purchasing whichever of its opponents happened to be the most formidable for the time being.

When FitzGibbon entered the House of Commons he found the Government party unusually feeble, and the various rivals who made up the motley Opposition by which it was confronted proportionately formidable. The death of old Philip Tisdal, who for seventeen years had conducted the business of Government under no fewer than eight Lords Lieutenant, had deprived administration of its most efficient instrument. His successor, John Scott, afterwards Lord Clonmell, though a man of great ability, was much too indolent to fill the post as Tisdal had filled it ; and Lord Buckinghamshire, who had succeeded Earl Harcourt at Dublin Castle in 1777, found himself without any efficient agent in that system of management in which his predecessor had been a past-master. Up to this time FitzGibbon had taken no decided part in politics, though he had acted in general with the Opposition ; the sympathies of his constituency, which had elected as his colleague the eloquent Walter Hussey Burgh, being with the popular party, and his personal friendship with Grattan bringing him in contact mainly with members of the Opposition. When the Volunteers were formed he had himself taken his place as a private in their ranks ; but he had confined his co-operation to the purely defensive military purposes in which that extraordinary corps had originated. He had quitted them the moment they assumed the shape of a party

organisation, and had denounced in Parliament the attempt to turn them to political purposes.

It was his vigorous independence on this occasion that first commended FitzGibbon to the friends of Government as a possible recruit. His connexions had hitherto been mainly with the Opposition, with which his father had usually sided, though in his later years the force of family ties had brought the old lawyer into touch with influences friendly to Government. The wealth he had amassed had enabled the elder FitzGibbon to make considerable alliances for his daughters, one of whom had married a member of the great Beresford family, who subsequently became Archbishop of Tuam, and founded the peerage of Decies. The connexion had an important influence on the prospects of young FitzGibbon by procuring him the friendship of John Beresford. This powerful personage, who for thirty years was on the most intimate footing with successive Viceroys, was not only a member of one of the most distinguished of Irish families, but by his marriage with Barbara Montgomery, one of the bevy of sisters portrayed as the 'Three Graces' in Reynolds's well-known picture, he had become closely connected with Lord Townshend and other influential personages in England. The influence wielded by Beresford, who was described to Lord Fitzwilliam by an influential member of Opposition as 'The King of Ireland,' may be best measured by the single fact that the attempt to dismiss him from his post at the head of the Irish Revenue had much to do with that nobleman's recall in 1795; and the magnificence of his conceptions is still attested by the stately Custom House at Dublin, which was built at his suggestion.

Beresford was the first person connected with Government to discern FitzGibbon's ability. As early as 1779 he had mentioned the young lawyer to Lord Buckinghamshire as a man whose support could be had upon honourable terms, and who would be prepared to take an active part in the debates of the House of Commons if encouraged to do so by the prospect of professional advancement. The Viceroy was at first favourably disposed to the proposal, and commissioned Scott, the Attorney-General, to negotiate with FitzGibbon, who, after consulting with Beresford, agreed to the arrangement. But the young politician characteristically based his consent upon the terms 'that there should be 'a settled plan adopted, and a firm adherence to this plan, 'whatever it was, so that when we had taken a part we might 'not be left alone and betrayed.' The vacillation of Heron,

the Chief Secretary, however, violated these terms on the very first occasion on which the new plan was put to the proof, and FitzGibbon, withdrawing his support, remained in opposition, though in doing so he intimated his readiness to support ministers if they had the courage to undertake a definite and resolute policy. But Lord Buckinghamshire taking offence at the independence he had shown, the negotiation came to an end.

The resignation of Lord Buckinghamshire and the advent of the Carlisle administration had an important influence indirectly on FitzGibbon's future, by procuring him the intimate friendship, which was continued to the close of his life, of William Eden, afterwards the first Lord Auckland, a statesman who, though at that time so far connected with the Whigs as to be included in the ill-starred coalition ministry, was subsequently among the most thoroughgoing of the colleagues of Pitt. To Eden, as the Chief Secretary of a government desiring to enlarge the basis of its connexions in the Irish House of Commons, FitzGibbon was soon introduced by Beresford, and the two men formed a friendship, the beneficial effects of which were more than once felt by the young Irishman on critical occasions in his career. Almost the only intimate letters of Lord Clare which have been preserved, with the exception of a few published in the Beresford correspondence, are to be found among the Auckland Papers. They show that a very warm intercourse was maintained between the two men down to the death of Clare, about whose health during his last illness Auckland displayed an obviously sincere and affectionate solicitude.

In the events which culminated in the legislative independence of the Irish Parliament, FitzGibbon took only a very subordinate part, and though he concurred generally in the measures which led up to that concession, his approval seems to have gone little further than a passive and scarcely convinced acquiescence in the wishes of his constituents. In 1780 he declined to support Grattan's Declaration of Right. In language which curiously anticipates some of the arguments used twenty years later in his masterly speech on the Union, he reminded the House of Commons that they could not disavow the authority of British statutes without shaking the security upon which the title to vast numbers of Irish estates depended. And he indicated that contempt for popular clamour and dislike of agitation which marked every stage of his subsequent career by declining 'to be

‘terrified by an armed people crowding to the bar.’ But though it is pretty evident that his support would not have been withheld from a firm opposition to the demands of the Volunteers, FitzGibbon was too prudent to wreck his career by exhibiting an irreconcilable hostility to the popular demand in the face of the resolution of the English Government to concede it. Accordingly, when called on by his constituents in 1782 to vote for Grattan’s Declaration, he frankly yielded his opinion to theirs, while avowing his ‘decided conviction’ that it was ‘a measure of dangerous tendency, and withal inadequate to the purpose for which it is intended.’ And he added his hope that a total repeal of Poyning’s Law would not be pressed by his constituents.

But, though thus acquiescing in the demands of his constituents, it is certain that FitzGibbon never caught the contagion of the popular enthusiasm which swayed Grattan and his friends. At the elections of 1783 his imperfect sympathy with the national aspirations cost him his seat for the University. But he still retained the friendship and confidence of Grattan and his principal associates; and it was with their full concurrence that FitzGibbon was in the autumn of that year designated as Attorney-General. It is, indeed, not a little strange that a statesman who is best remembered for the vehemence of his opposition to Irish popular demands, who was for seventeen years the colleague of Pitt and the principal instrument of his Irish policy, and who more than any other individual contributed to the destruction of the Grattan Parliament, was first appointed to office by the Viceroy of a ministry of which Fox was the head and Burke a subordinate member, and in response to the urgent representations of Grattan. It was the influence of the latter, coupled with the recommendations strenuously pressed by Lord Auckland, that won the prize for FitzGibbon, who thus found himself elevated to the highest office in his profession at the early age of thirty-six.

Even the most careful of historians have fallen into the error of representing Clare as having been, through the whole of his official career, in violent antagonism with the popular party. But this view is entirely erroneous. FitzGibbon’s first years in Parliament were passed, as we have seen, in opposition, and, though he had hesitated before approving it, his acceptance of the Constitution of 1782 was frank and unreserved. With the Opposition leaders he remained for many years on a friendly and even

cordial footing. In the letter to his constituents of Dublin University, already referred to, he had explicitly stated his opinion that 'the claims of the British Parliament to make laws for this country is a daring usurpation of the rights of a free people,' and that he had uniformly asserted this opinion in public and private. There does not seem to be any ground for questioning the sincerity of this declaration, nor is it indeed in any sense incompatible with his subsequent advocacy of a union, when the united Irish movement threatened the dissolution of the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland—a connexion he had always asserted to be indispensable, and his jealousy for which had even led him, as we have already seen, to deprecate the total repeal of Poyning's Law. Long prior to the Union, and before that measure had been thought of, he stated, in the debates on the Regency Question, the view of the connexion with Great Britain which he seems to have steadily held throughout his career: 'The only security for your liberty is your connexion with Great Britain, and gentlemen who risk breaking the connexion must make up their minds to a union. God forbid I should ever see that day! but if ever the day on which a separation shall be attempted may come, I shall not hesitate to embrace a union rather than a separation.' Within four years of this utterance the Franchise Act of 1793 and the proceedings of the United Irishmen had brought the dreaded day within measurable distance, and thenceforward, as he avowed in 1800, Clare never hesitated as to the expedient which policy rather than inclination must compel him to embrace.

The personal intimacy with Grattan continued unbroken down to 1790, and was then dissolved rather through Grattan's vehemence than FitzGibbon's acerbity. Grattan's sudden leap to fame in 1782, so far from rousing the envy, seems to have attracted the genuine admiration of his quondam comrade. Nor does this feeling appear to have been alienated by the early encounters which necessarily took place on the floor of the House of Commons in the skirmishes between Government and Opposition. In the course of an animated reprobation of the violences of the Volunteers, after that body had passed under the control of Flood, Charlemont, and Lord Bristol, FitzGibbon took occasion to pay an eloquent tribute to the patriotic services of his old friend, whom he eulogised as 'the man whose wisdom and virtues had directed the happy circumstances of the times and the spirit of Irishmen to make us a

'nation.' Clare's character has been nowhere more acrimoniously condemned than in the Life of Grattan, by his son; yet the author of that work expressly states that, as late as 1790, and notwithstanding the heated struggles over the Regency Bill of 1789, the two statesmen were on good terms, and that their friendship was first broken by the violence of a pamphlet written by Grattan, in the course of which he used expressions which, as even the biographer of the latter admits, 'it was not kind of him, in a personal 'point of view,' to make use of.

FitzGibbon's promotion *per saltum* to the Attorney-Generalship, without serving in the subordinate office of Solicitor-General, took place at a moment of singular anxiety to the Irish Government, and, indeed, the urgency of securing the services of a really strong man had much to do with Lord Northington's final choice in the selection of a law officer. The Volunteer movement had revived in a very dangerous form, and in the hands of Flood and Lord Bristol was being made the instrument of a demand for parliamentary reform which not only went far beyond what Fox in England or Grattan in Ireland deemed either safe or expedient, but was an actual menace to the stability of the British connexion. On the introduction of Flood's Reform Bill all parties had concurred in rejecting proposals brought in with all the unconstitutional menace of an armed assembly, and Government took the strong course of refusing leave to bring in the Bill. FitzGibbon, who had already been designated as Attorney-General, spoke on this occasion with great vigour, and, according to Northington's report to Fox, 'acquitted himself astonishingly.' His actual appointment followed almost immediately; but upon the very day on which his patent was made out the ministry of Fox and Lord North was abruptly terminated, and Lord Northington was shortly succeeded by Pitt's intimate friend, the fourth Duke of Rutland.

His tenure of the Attorney-Generalship, which he held for close on six years, though not the period of his greatest power, was probably the happiest portion of FitzGibbon's career. He entered upon his official functions in the prime of life. Possessing the fullest confidence of his superiors, and without a rival on the ministerial benches in the House of Commons, he speedily became the first Irishman in the country and the chief inspiration of all the acts of the executive. Nor, as we have seen, was his enjoyment of the dignity and authority of his responsible position at this

time marred by that hostility on the part of his political opponents which was so marked in the later stages of his career. His vigorous action in stifling the Reform agitation sought to be revived in the autumn of 1784, by dissolving, through the direct exertion of his personal intervention, the meeting called by the sheriffs of Dublin, was approved by Grattan and the Whigs almost as cordially as it was endorsed by the Government; and, although in the warmth of debate his characteristic petulance sometimes involved him in altercations with individual opponents, he preserved for the most part the friendliest relations with the principal members of the Opposition.

With Curran, indeed, though the intercourse of the two men had been friendly enough at the bar, the heat of controversy soon developed a serious quarrel. Various accounts have been given of the encounter. Probably the most reliable is that furnished by Woodfall, the eminent parliamentary reporter, who, in a letter to Eden describing the famous debate on the commercial resolutions, while acknowledging the extent of the provocation offered by Curran, censured in strong terms FitzGibbon's want of command over his temper. Eden appears to have remonstrated with his friend in a friendly spirit. FitzGibbon excused his violence on the plea that he had been accused of a lack of personal courage, and was thus driven to fight the duel. The two men were never afterwards upon terms of friendship. Curran asserted that in later years the Chancellor visited upon the lawyer the offences of the politician, and evinced his dislike to an extent which prevented Curran from practising in his court. This is probably true; but it is true also that the insults which Curran's impetuosity led him to address to the Chancellor passed all the bounds of forensic decency, and were such as no modern judge would tolerate for an instant.

FitzGibbon at this period does not seem to have dreamt of the eminence to which he was to attain within a very few years. He had no ambition for any judicial honours short of the Chief Justiceship of Ireland, and the Chancellorship was apparently placed beyond his reach by the maxim of Government which had obtained during a long succession of years, and to which Pitt was inclined to adhere—that no Irishman should be allowed to hold the Seals. Early in 1786 he expressed, in a letter to Eden on the occasion of an anticipated vacancy in the Chief Justiceship of the Common Pleas, his desire to remain Attorney-General, 'not feeling any

'inclination, as yet, to become an old woman,' although a few months later a possible opening in the higher office of Chief Justice of the King's Bench tempted him to convey to the Duke of Rutland his wish for that position. The Viceroy would have been greatly embarrassed by the change, and said as much in a letter to Orde, adding that in his opinion it would be for the interest of the Government that FitzGibbon should be Chancellor upon any vacancy in that office. 'I should feel it very unpleasant,' he told the Chief Secretary, 'to see him superseded by an English Chancellor, and I sincerely hope that there is no probability of any event to open that situation till the objection of his too much youth could be done away with.' Orde concurred in the high opinion entertained by the Viceroy of FitzGibbon's merit, suggesting that in the event of a premature vacancy a stopgap Chancellor might be provided from England, with an assurance of the succession to the Attorney-General. But this would not satisfy FitzGibbon's viceregal champion, who at once replied, 'I cannot consent to see FitzGibbon's objects superseded, or even put backward.' And the Viceroy's final words on the subject, in conveying his refusal to ask Lord Lifford to resign, with the object above mentioned, were, 'I cannot sacrifice FitzGibbon. He deserves all I can give him, and I shall fling every obstacle in the way of any arrangement which is to preclude him.'

The sudden death of the Duke of Rutland, in the autumn of 1787, deprived FitzGibbon of a friend, whose loss, had the Attorney-General been a weaker man, might have seriously affected his prospects, for the Duke had a weight with Pitt which his successor, Lord Buckingham, never possessed. But the new Viceroy was quickly impressed with the capacity of the Attorney-General, and soon learned to rely upon FitzGibbon as absolutely as his predecessor had done. And although Buckingham came to Ireland strongly possessed with the notion of the ineligibility of an Irishman for the Chancellorship, and had stated this view strongly to Pitt, in a letter written prior to his appointment, he had not been six months in Ireland before he had not only pledged himself to support FitzGibbon's claims, if an Irishman should be selected, but had expressed to William Grenville the opinion that, however strong the abstract arguments in favour of an English Chancellor, the time had gone by when FitzGibbon's claims could be successfully opposed. In a few words, the Viceroy painted a striking picture of his masterful subordinate—'His intre-

‘pidity, his influence and weight, have, in fact, placed him at the head of the country. *We all fear him*; and on all occasions I have found him fair, manly, and to be trusted.’

Lord Lifford’s retirement was at this time believed to be imminent, and, in point of fact, the old Chancellor was only postponing resignation until he should have negotiated favourable terms, in the shape of a pension for himself and of a bishopric for his son. In the autumn of 1788 he definitely expressed to Lord Buckingham his desire to retire, and FitzGibbon had thereupon betaken himself to London, where he had received from Pitt himself an undertaking that no appointment should be made without giving him a fair opportunity of stating his claims, and had met, at the hands of the English Chancellor, Lord Thurlow, a reception so flattering as led him to believe that he would meet with no opposition in that quarter, though this impression was subsequently proved to be erroneous. Amongst other well-wishers and backers of his candidature was Earl Mornington, afterwards Marquis Wellesley, whose intimacy with Pitt made his support of much consequence. The Attorney-General had recently placed Mornington under a considerable obligation, and the Earl conveyed, through Grenville, his hope that his friend’s application would meet with no inconsiderate refusal. Mornington was identified in the main at this period, as in later life, with the popular party in Ireland; and the approval of FitzGibbon’s candidature by one who looked on Grattan as ‘the first of all men in ability and virtue,’ is an additional proof that, down to his elevation to the Chancellorship, Clare had not alienated the regard of the Opposition, in spite of the unsparing and caustic language with which he assailed his opponents and enforced his opinions. The Opposition view of him during his Attorney-Generalship was, indeed, felicitously expressed in a speech of Grattan’s, in which personal goodwill has still the upper hand of political hostility—‘What has fallen from the right honourable member,’ he said, ‘is a proof that a certain asperity is not inconsistent with an excellent head and a very good heart.’

The strong pressure exerted by the Viceroy and others of FitzGibbon’s friends ultimately prevailed with Pitt, though the Premier evaded the necessity of definitely deciding by requesting Lord Lifford to remain in his post, which the old lawyer retained until his death a year later. By that time FitzGibbon’s staunch support of Pitt and Buck-

ingham on the Regency Question had made it impossible to put any other candidate in competition with him for the Seals. The Viceroy's gratitude knew no bounds, and in letter after letter he testified to his sense of his lieutenant's services. 'FitzGibbon,' he wrote, 'has assisted me in all these anxious moments with an exertion, zeal, and even personal risk, beyond any line of common attachment. . . . I cannot conceive any possibility of putting by such pretensions.' In another letter he testified to 'the faculties, integrity, and situation which enable him to do more for English government than all Westminster Hall put together.'

The chief opposition to Clare's ambition had proceeded from Lord Thurlow, the Chancellor, who, supported by his predecessor, the old Lord Camden, still held out against the appointment of an Irishman, and suggested every possible alternative. But Buckingham was resolute. He told Pitt, in plain terms, that FitzGibbon would not remain in office if he were insulted by being passed over for any of the unknown men put forward by the English Chancellor, and that he himself would not remain in Ireland without FitzGibbon. He protested against Thurlow deciding the matter from the point of view of the law only, pointing out that a strong man who knew Ireland had become indispensable as Speaker of the House of Lords, and meeting Thurlow's objection that FitzGibbon was unpopular in Ireland with the statement that it was 'absolute nonsense.' Ultimately Thurlow's opposition was removed, through the instrumentality of Hobart, the Irish Secretary, whom the Lord Lieutenant sent over to tell Pitt, in so many words, that, if FitzGibbon were not appointed, neither he nor any other member of the Irish Government would remain in office. Hobart was sent by Pitt to the Chancellor, who, according to the emissary, stormed and roared; but when he found the ministers firm, gave way, saying, 'If Mr. Pitt will appoint an Irishman Chancellor, Mr. FitzGibbon is the best man he could select.'

The appointment was received in Ireland with a cordiality which is of itself sufficient to prove that no part of the unpopularity which marked his declining years had yet been provoked by FitzGibbon. Strange as it now appears in the light of the new Chancellor's subsequent career, no more popular appointment was ever made in Ireland. The surrender by the English Government of the old prejudice which had prevented successive ministries from entrusting the Great Seal of Ireland to a native of the country, was

viewed by all parties as a national triumph, and not least so by the Opposition. Even in the heat of the struggle over the regency, in which he had stood alone against an unprecedented combination, the normal strength of the opponents of Government being increased by the numerous Trimmers who were ready to worship what they imagined to be the rising sun, FitzGibbon had avoided giving personal offence to the leaders of the Opposition. And when the recovery of the king made it necessary for them to make their peace with the Government they had defied, it was through FitzGibbon that the negotiations were opened.

Nor were the lively expectations formed of FitzGibbon's capacity and fitness for the great post to which he had thus early attained, in anywise disappointed in the early years of his Chancellorship. In the discharge of the purely legal part of his functions he gave entire satisfaction. Displaying the utmost assiduity and attention to his business, he disposed of the causes which came before him with a promptitude which gratified the litigants and a judicial acumen which commanded the respect of the legal profession. Of those who have condemned him as a violent bigot and prejudiced partisan, prone to support authority and privilege against popular rights irrespective of the dictates of justice, few, if any, have ever been at the pains to inquire how far this character tallies with what is recorded of Clare's judicial career. Yet an examination of his reported judgements, many of which are extant in the pages of Ridgway's 'House of Lords Reports,' and elsewhere, abundantly proves, not only the strength of his legal intellect, but the breadth and liberality which constantly led him to take the most generous, most humane, and most tolerant view open to him. A candid perusal of his judicial remains presents indisputably the figure of a powerful judge who, but for the engrossing political pre-occupations of his latter years, would have been a very great one. And in the two great causes of disunion which have divided Irishmen, the divisions between landlord and tenant, between Protestant and Catholic, Clare's decisions will be found to lean as far as the law permitted to the liberal and popular side.

In the judgements which survive Clare displays in a striking and even unusual degree, sincere and deep reverence for the great luminaries of English jurisprudence who went before him, coupled with the boldest independence towards their dogmas, when these appeared to him to be unsupported by principle. In all is manifest that first and

last of judicial characteristics—a strong will to do justice according to the merits of the case before him. Clare had that immense advantage to an equity judge, a complete practical grounding in the Common Law, and his mind was amply stored from the great treasuries of our traditional law. His capacity for work was immense, and his judgements are as conscientious and thorough in their elucidation of the facts as they are clear and courageous in their application of the law. In Clare's time causes, ere they reached the Lords, had usually to be carried through well-nigh impassable bogs of litigation. Through these his luminous judgements follow the facts step by step, never failing to find sure ground for his tread. He is never content, as some strong judges are, to decide upon one or two salient points, putting the rest aside, nor, as lazy or timid judges are sometimes known to be, is he satisfied to ride off upon some technicality, whereby he may evade the trouble and responsibility of a complete and courageous judgement. Yet this laborious industry is never the result of incapacity to grasp the relative importance of the difficulties involved in the facts; for he never falters in the masterful confidence of his opinion. As little was it due to any love of the mazes of the law, for Clare had a horror quite before his time of the harrowing protractedness and expense of litigation, which, indeed, he never failed to denounce and counteract as far as in him lay. The sarcastic, and sometimes fierce animadversions which often occur in his judgements upon the flagitious prolonging of litigation, his unstinted denunciation of those cumbrous evasions of the old Chancery procedure which made the law's delay a bye-word, not merely evince a healthy sympathy with justice, but give warrant for believing that, had he lived to the less fevered times which followed the Union, the name of Lord Clare would have stood high on the roll of law reformers; that many of the changes delayed for more than a generation after he had passed away would have been inaugurated through his influence at the opening of the century; and that the scandals typified in Jarndyce and Jarndyce would never have survived long enough to leave it to the author of 'Bleak House' to be a main factor in the reformation of the Court of Chancery.

The break up of FitzGibbon's friendly relations with his old friends of the Whig Opposition dates from the formation, in 1789, of the Whig Club. One of the first acts of this body was to attack the Chancellor, who, in a dispute about the

election to the Mayoralty of Dublin, had espoused the cause of the Corporation as against the popular wishes, and had, as the President of the Privy Council, delivered a decision which Charlemont described as 'by far the worst of all the wicked transactions he had known.' The Club having met and passed a series of resolutions on the subject, Fitz-Gibbon took occasion, in his place in the House of Lords, to express in the most candid terms his opinion of the Club and its members. He denounced them with his customary virulence of language, as persons of the grossest ignorance who, by their late resolution on behalf of the rights of the subject, had discovered 'as great a perversion of sense as ever distracted the human brain,' and did not scruple to describe a body which numbered among its roll such magnates as the Duke of Leinster and Lord Charlemont as 'a horde of miscreant traitors professing peace but practising corruption.' Grattan replied in a pamphlet which contained references to the Chancellor so galling as to terminate their acquaintance, and except for such formal intercourse as must have taken place at the meetings of Privy Council attended by Grattan during Fitzwilliam's viceroyalty, the two men never spoke again.

Thenceforward the story of Clare's career is the story of that stormiest decade in Irish history which, after witnessing the rise and fall of the United Irishmen and the horrors of a civil war, was to terminate in the Union which Clare did more than any single individual to accomplish. From the first beginnings of the United Irish agitation Clare set himself resolutely to fight it. He was at no time under any illusion as to the dangerous possibilities which lurked beneath the surface of Irish society, and, knowing his country and his countrymen, he had discerned the dangers which threatened in the encouragement given by the pranks of a factious Opposition to the latent disaffection which he knew existed among the people. Writing to Eden within a few months of the excitement over the regency, he laid his finger on the root of the evil: 'I hope that the gentlemen who are in opposition in Great Britain will learn, before it is too late, the danger of playing their game in this country. If they do not agree with their antagonists in anything else they must learn to agree in supporting the King's Government in Ireland, else, perhaps they may, before they are aware of it, have this country a stake to fight for with a foreign enemy.' The resignation of Lord Buckingham, who had taken an active and direct part in the

business of administration, by placing the nominal direction of affairs in the hands of a nobleman with no previous experience of Ireland, greatly strengthened FitzGibbon's already great authority, and for the next ten years it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the powers of the Irish Government were concentrated in the Chancellor.

We have traced Clare's career from its commencement to the zenith of his power, but we lack space to follow it through the last and most stirring chapter of his contentious life. To do so would be to write the history of the United Irish movement, of the Rebellion, and of the Union. Clare's large share in the great transactions of that epoch has been clearly outlined in the 'English in Ireland,' and in the 'History of England in the Eighteenth Century.' But we must not omit to notice some incidents, not elsewhere enlarged upon, in his personal relations with the leaders of the revolutionary agitation, and his conduct of the struggle against them, which not only illustrate Clare's character and illuminate his policy, but are in themselves of much personal and political interest.

There is, perhaps, no personal episode connected with the struggle between the Government and the United Irishmen more interesting than the relations which existed between FitzGibbon and Wolfe Tone—the animating spirits of the two parties. If Tone was the mainspring of the revolutionary agitation, FitzGibbon was at least in equal degree the master mind which controlled the forces directed to its overthrow. Each recognised in the other a foeman worthy of his steel. Referring, in his journal for March 1798, to the speech delivered by Clare in answer to Lord Moira's arraignment of the Irish Government, in which the Chancellor referred to Tone by name, the latter frankly expresses his admiration of the uncompromising vigour with which his enemy carried on the warfare between them. 'I can hardly, I think, be suspected of partiality to the Chancellor, but I declare I have a greater respect for his conduct on this occasion than for that of Lord Moira. He is, at least, an open and avowed enemy; he takes his party, such as it is, like a man who expects no quarter, and is therefore determined to give none.'

The two men had long known each other, and had even had opportunities of intimacy; for though Tone was by fifteen years the junior of FitzGibbon, they must have been thrown together by a family connexion which existed between FitzGibbon's family and that of Mrs. Tone. With the latter

Tone himself resided at their house in Grafton Street, at which FitzGibbon was a visitor; and through their common relatives the two men probably learned a good deal of each other's character, even if they did not often meet. But these opportunities did not lead to any friendship; there was no mutual attraction, though FitzGibbon, who was admittedly a firm friend to all who had claims upon him, would probably have been willing to befriend the husband of his young connexion, who had not at that time disqualified himself for ministerial patronage. But as Tone was, to use his own words, 'one of the most ignorant barristers at the Four Courts, and took little or rather no pains to conceal his contempt and dislike of his profession,' it could not have been an easy matter, even for the omnipotence of an eighteenth-century Chancellor's patronage, to do much to advance his interests. And within a brief space Tone had so acted as to destroy any inclination which FitzGibbon might have felt to help the young adventurer. He quarrelled with his wife's family, and he took to writing pamphlets for the Whig Club. Thenceforward the hostility between the two men was inveterate and relentless. Tone's son, in the preface to the Washington edition of his father's Life, says that he scarcely had a personal enemy, with the two curious exceptions of FitzGibbon and George Ponsonby, names which were probably never bracketed together in any other connexion; yet, violently as the Chancellor denounced Tone's treasonable proceedings, it is not unlikely that it was due in part to his kinship with Mrs. Tone that the young conspirator was allowed to leave the country in 1795 without being subjected to a prosecution on the occasion of his being compromised with Jackson in the mission which cost the latter his life. The transactions which took place upon that occasion are detailed with great minuteness in the letters of Marcus Beresford, who was the agent in the negotiations between Tone and the Government which ended in Tone's compromise with the latter on his undertaking to go into voluntary exile; and the account there given of the negotiations agrees with the narrative in Tone's Life. Beresford, who was the son of John Beresford, FitzGibbon's intimate friend, and had lately been appointed to an official position under the new Chancellor, was on terms of intimacy with Tone, who was on his circuit at the bar, and for whom he had a warm regard. It was primarily to the friendship of Marcus Beresford that Tone owed his escape, scot-free, in the perils of 1794; but even that

friendship could not have availed him had the Chancellor been unwilling to acquiesce in his escape.

The unfavourable impressions of his young acquaintance, formed in the Chancellor's mind in the course of their private intercourse, were soon confirmed and deepened by what his position at the head of the Government soon enabled him to learn of Tone's part in the United Irish movement. A letter, addressed to Tone's friend and colleague in the United Irish conspiracy, in which he avowed his decided wish for separation, fell into the hands of the Government, and fully revealed the secret aims of the men who were behind the Unity movement of 1791. Thenceforward Clare never ceased to point to Tone as the origin and pivot of the treasonable conspiracy of the United Irishmen, a view of his consequence which the statement confided to Beresford on the condition of his being let leave the country by Tone in 1794 abundantly confirmed. This statement, which was made by Tone only upon the express condition that no use should be made of it to the prejudice of any of the persons referred to in it, except for the purpose of preventing a renewal of treasonable practices on the part of those already implicated, only came to the hands of Lord Clare in 1797, after Beresford's death, and was destroyed with the rest of Clare's papers in 1802. No public use was ever made of it, though its existence was referred to in Clare's speech on the state of Ireland in the House of Lords in 1801; but there is a reference to it in a very curious letter written by Thomas Emmet to Russell after the capture and before the death of Tone in the autumn of 1798. In this letter, which was written in response to an appeal by Russell to Emmet and the other State prisoners to exert themselves in Tone's behalf, Emmet, while averring that 'it is impossible for anyone to be more concerned or more anxious than we all are about the fate of Tone,' excuses himself from interfering on the ground that intervention would injure rather than serve his friend, and assigns as the main ground of the futility of any efforts, the fact that 'the day we were at the Castle the Chancellor mentioned that Tone had, before he left the kingdom, signed such a confession of his own treason as would and was intended to hang him in case of his ever returning.' It is impossible to doubt that Emmet, whom Tone in his autobiography brackets with Russell, as the first of his friends, would have risked his own life could he have done so to any purpose in behalf of his unfortunate comrade in treason. But there

can be no doubt Emmet was right as to the hopelessness of any attempt to save Tone. Public opinion would not have tolerated it, and whatever forbearance FitzGibbon might have been willing to exhibit in 1794, had ceased to influence him in 1798. Though he censured the irregularity of the court-martial by which Tone was condemned, he wrote with pitiless unconcern of the end of his old acquaintance. 'Nothing could be so preposterous as the whole proceedings with respect to Tone; he should certainly have been hanged on the shore where he landed.'

The fixed hostility to Catholic Emancipation which Clare manifested at every stage in his career, and which led him to oppose not merely every measure directly designed to that end, but every enactment which seemed to tend in its direction, is the cardinal principle in his system of policy. And, however much a later age may deplore his views, it is impossible not to respect the consistency with which, from beginning to end of his career, he maintained the doctrine that Protestant ascendancy in Ireland is essential to the connexion between the two kingdoms. It is easy, nowadays, to condemn a principle which has been repudiated by the State for more than two generations; but it is only fair to remember that Clare did no more than give expression with frankness and candour, if with needless acerbity, to principles of government which no one, in his time, affected to disclaim. The unalterably Protestant character of the constitution in Church and State was in those days an axiom of Government which no serious politician ever dreamt of challenging; and it remained one for years after Clare's death. Indeed, the main burthen of the speeches in favour of each successive relaxation of the penal laws was to prove that the security of Protestantism would remain as strong as before. Clare did not push his principles a jot further than they were pressed as late as 1817 in that remarkable speech against Catholic claims which made the ultimate author of Emancipation the darling of the unbending champions of Protestant ascendancy.

But in one respect Clare pushed his view of the inviolable Protestantism of the British Constitution, as established at the Revolution, beyond that of most of his contemporaries. Mr. Lecky, in his account of the regency debates in the Irish Parliament, has observed upon the admirable subtlety of the speeches delivered on the legal aspects of the question by FitzGibbon, whom he elsewhere styles a consummate constitutional lawyer. It is not a little curious that to this

subtlety was due the forging of the weapon which destroyed the hopes of Catholic Emancipation in the year following the Union, and caused the retirement of Pitt from office. In 1795, when, under the viceroyalty of Fitzwilliam, Grattan was about to bring in his bill for the further relief of the Catholics, Clare had embodied his views on the constitutional effects of the measure in a memorandum which was shown to the king by Lord Westmorland, Fitzwilliam's predecessor in the viceroyalty and the intimate ally of Clare. In this document he raised for the first time the question whether the king could give his assent to the repeal of any of the laws affecting Irish Catholics without violating his coronation oath, and affirmed that the English Chancellor who should affix the seal of England to any such repealing measure would stake his head upon the experiment. It does not appear how far this suggestion, which undoubtedly reached the king, took hold at the time of the royal mind, and it was repudiated by the English lawyers to whom it was referred. But it is certain that the negotiations between Clare and the sovereign gave great annoyance to the Duke of Portland and the Whig members of the Cabinet; and we have always considered that Fox was right when he said that the Catholic Bill, and not the question of the dismissal of the officials at Dublin Castle, was the true-cause of Fitzwilliam's recall. But, however this may have been, it is unquestionable that Clare's views were adopted in their entirety in 1800 by the party in the Cabinet which was hostile to Emancipation, and of which his intimate friend, Lord Auckland, was a leading spirit. As early as October, 1800, the king was shown a letter or memorandum from the Irish Chancellor which was probably identical in reasoning, if not in language, with the views suggested by Clare in 1795. This document, which is printed in Campbell's 'Lives of the Chancellors,' having been found in the Rosslyn Papers, has been attributed by the author of that work to Lord Loughborough; but from the fact that it coincides in its *ipsissima verba* with Clare's argument in 1795, it is impossible to question its real authorship. Through his friendship with Auckland, who was brother-in-law to Moore, the English primate, Clare was able to reinforce the legal argument on the coronation oath by a spiritual appeal to the king's conscience; and Fox's statement in a letter to a correspondent discussing the Cabinet crisis in February 1801, that 'FitzGibbon and the bishops 'have pushed the king to resist Pitt in this instance,' seems

to have been no exaggeration of the facts of the case. The incident, however lamentable in its results, is certainly an astonishing proof of the influence which Clare was able to exert.

Clare is commonly represented as having died bitterly lamenting the part he had taken in bringing about a Union which diminished his influence and abridged his powers. But the statement is a great exaggeration of the facts. Undoubtedly he resented, and that bitterly, the deception which he considered had been practised on him by Cornwallis and Castlereagh in concealing from him the pledges made to the Roman Catholic leaders on the passing of the Union; and perhaps the fiasco of 1801 might have been avoided had those statesmen treated their eminent colleague with the candour and confidence he had a right to expect. But the incident just referred to sufficiently proves that, if Clare's powers in Ireland were impaired, his influence in the highest quarters remained as potent as ever. Jonah Barrington says that 'the Union effected, through his 'friends, what Ireland could never accomplish through his 'enemies—his total overthrow;' and later writers have adopted the statement. But this is a great exaggeration. It is true, indeed, that he was on bad terms with Abbot, the Chief Secretary, whose prim and clerklike mode of doing business, and somewhat exaggerated notion of the importance of his office, was distasteful to the masterful methods of one long used to unquestioned and uncontrolled authority. The two men never liked each other from the first; and on Clare's death Abbot wrote with the pettiness of a petty mind that Clare had conducted himself impertinently towards him by his letters and language to other people, and that his death delivered the Irish and also the British Government from great trouble. Clare had undoubtedly complained bitterly, and with his accustomed outspokenness, to his friends in the Cabinet of the conduct of the Chief Secretary, and there could be little doubt that, had he lived, he would have made a determined struggle to recover his old ascendancy. In a memorandum drawn up by Abbot in January 1802, within a few weeks of Clare's death, containing the heads of matters to be discussed with the Premier relative to Ireland, one of the topics is stated to be whether the Irish Government should be conducted by a Lord Lieutenant or by Lords Justices, and Clare is represented as hostile to any government by a Lord Lieutenant, and desirous himself to be Lord Deputy or at the head of Lords Justices.

That Clare, with his immense ability, his unequalled knowledge of Ireland, and his resolute determination to be at the head of affairs, would have regained under the weak Cabinet of Addington most, if not all, of the authority he had so long enjoyed under Pitt, there seems little room for doubt. But his health was broken and his race was run. His bodily vigour had been declining for a year or two, and an accident which he met with while riding had given a serious shock to his constitution. At the close of the Michaelmas sittings of 1801 he had proceeded to his country seat at Mount Shannon, where, though ill, he had been able to attend to necessary business. But on January 13 he was obliged to address an application to the Viceroy for leave to go to England for the recovery of his health. He had been attacked by a violent bleeding of the nose, which had reduced him to a state of extreme weakness, and the physicians considered there was water on his chest. A few days later he came up to Dublin. But in his weakened condition the exertion of travelling was fatal, and shortly after reaching the capital he expired. He displayed in his last hours and in the presence of death the same fortitude and presence of mind which he had preserved in every emergency of his career, summoning Lord Kilwarden and the other chief judges to his bedside, and himself administering the oaths investing them under a commission with the custody of the Great Seal.

The necessary limits of a review article have permitted us to do no more than draw attention to some facts of Clare's life and some aspects of his statesmanship which have not been much noticed by writers who have dealt only incidentally with his career. We have left ourselves no space to devote to those traits in his private character which attest his high qualities as a man. Even his severest critics have borne witness to the warmth of his affections, the strength of his friendship, his consideration for his inferiors and dependents, and his unfailing recognition of the duties of property. Of this last trait, and of that practical patriotism it denotes, there is a striking illustration in his will—a document that throws a strong light upon his character, and of which the more personal passages have been printed by Lord Ashbourne in the chapter devoted to Lord Clare in his interesting book on Pitt—which concludes with a warm recommendation to his sons 'to make the 'country which gave them birth the place of their general 'residence.' But these qualities he hid with a cold reticence

from the world. Though in early life fond of society, he grew in latter years, and as he became absorbed in affairs, reserved and cold. That he was sincere in his religious beliefs appears from his will, though it is to be feared he found it difficult to obey the injunction to forgive his enemies. But so morbid was his dislike of any display of religion that he would repair to a remote village church when he desired to partake of the Holy Communion.

We are no friends to the whitewashing school of history. We know that when all is said and done the most diligent research can never be worth half so much for the interpretation of character as the clear evidence of contemporary reputation. It is a libel upon history to say that it is no better than an old almanac, but it is undeniable that it is never so likely to be true as an old diary. To set up the incomplete records of the past against the incontrovertible testimony of authentic tradition is often the shallowest pedantry. No apologies can remove the stain of falsity from Charles I. or the vice of cruelty from Henry VIII., and in the main posterity must accept the findings of contemporaries on questions of character. That Lord Clare was unconciliatory in manner and uncompromising in method; that he was the inveterate foe of Catholic Emancipation at a time when, as is plain to us wiseacres of a century later, Emancipation could have been granted with the fairest possibilities of success; and that these traits and opinions earned him the cordial hatred of his immediate opponents in the first instance, and of the mass of his countrymen in the second; that he would have been both a wiser and a more successful statesman had he been able to restrain the irritating arrogance of demeanour which enraged his opponents and the irritable petulance of temper which embarrassed his friends; these things cannot be gainsaid, nor can it be denied that they detract from the credit of the statesman and the character of the man. But if a faithful study of Clare's career reveals what the most malevolent of his contemporaries never ventured to deny, warmth of friendship, loyalty to colleagues, benevolence to dependents, generosity to fallen foes, and an honest devotion to his country according to his view of her real interests, then it is not fitting that history should depict him with the lineaments of an unfeeling despot, for ever surveying the people from whom he sprang and whom he rose to rule with the sneer of an upstart and the scowl of a tyrant.

We deplored at the outset the fact that no contemporary

pen attempted to provide such a biography of Clare as would have left to posterity a just conception of his character, and would have served to correct many of those false views of the events with which his name is connected which so long enjoyed an unchecked currency. But we have been fortunate enough to light upon an appreciation of his character which, written within a fortnight of the Chancellor's death, conveys a summary of Clare's qualities which seems to us to accord in the most striking manner with the impressions which our study of his career has suggested. In a letter written on hearing of Clare's death, and preserved among the Pelham Papers at the British Museum, the first Lord Stanley of Alderley drew a portrait, which agrees so perfectly with the estimate we had formed both of the man and of the minister, as tempts us to adopt it as our own :—

“ So Lord Clare is gone at last. I am not one of the men who at the moment of death deal out panegyrics on the deceased as a thing of course. But of Lord Clare I am tempted to say I thought him a great statesman. He was not one to amalgamate well with others. High-minded, confident, harsh, often governed by his own view of politics only, he was a man to be wondered at more than to be loved in his station, and few of those near him would feel inclined to value him as he deserved. But when brought to a fair judgement, the right estimation of him could not be refused. He was the man amongst all his countrymen the most suited to his time. Perhaps the time is past when his character was of the kind to be most beneficial, and that in the feeling of gratitude, as we look back and compare the past and present, we may be authorised to sink some portion of our regret. But had Lord Clare never existed I do believe the rebels would have been the masters in a great part of Ireland, and that the Union would not for years to come have taken place. No man ever saw through the mist of a political atmosphere more clearly than he did what the real situation of his country required; and when he saw danger he could look at it with an eagle's eye. We Englishmen ought the more particularly to value him, for he was our steadiest friend.”

- ART. V.—1. *Cyprian: his Life, his Times, his Work.* By E. W. BENSON, D.D., D.C.L. London: 1897.
2. *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities.* By W. SMITH. London: 1875.
3. *Monumental Christianity.* By J. P. LUNDY. New York: 1876.
4. *The 'Historical' Grounds of the Lambeth Judgment.* By J. T. TOMLINSON. Sixth edition. London: 1899.

AN enlightened nation is not likely at the end of this century to feel very deeply on the subject of a priest's vestments or the decoration of a church, as such. But when rites are the outer symbols of certain doctrines they assume national importance in connexion with the history of the Reformed faith, and as such they are jealously watched. Two pictures may be drawn of Christian rites, as they were observed in the second and in the fifth centuries of our era, and the contrast is so striking that we are forced to inquire how such great changes came to be made, and what was the doctrine which each form of ritual set forth.

In the first case we should see a small society of very humble brethren, chiefly peasants and slaves of the great patrician families, gathered in some poor chamber before dawn to sing hymns to Christ, and meeting afterwards round the table at a simple meal, to which those who were able brought their contributions; and at its close the 'presiding brother,' after listening to the reading of Scriptures and of 'Memoirs of the Apostles,' and after exhortation and prayer, distributed to all the broken bread and the cup of wine, over which blessings had been uttered aloud by him 'as well as he could,' with remembrance of the Last Supper of the Lord, and thanks to God, both for the good things so created and for the hope of immortal life to come.*

The second picture presents to us a dark basilica, from which unbaptized persons have been dismissed by the deacon. Its walls are covered with frescoes or mosaics representing sacred persons and scenes, and silver images stand, hung with votive offerings, with wax candles burning before them. Priests in rich vestments occupy the choir,

* Justin Martyr, 'First Apol.' 65. Didache, x, xi.

railed off for exclusion of the laity beneath them in the nave. The high altar, with its lights and relics, is built of stone against the eastern wall. The smoke of incense fills the fane, and the elements are reserved in a jewelled shrine behind the dividing screen or the curtains of the apse. Holy water, consecrated oil, crossings, and genuflexions belong to these rites, with a written liturgy and the teaching of a mystic change in the consecrated oblations.

Few would have recognised, could they have lived again after four hundred years, either the rites or the teaching to which they had been accustomed in the days of secret worship, of persecution, and poverty. It is a question of history how such changes came to be made, and whence so much that was foreign to the simplicity of the primitive Church was derived—a question of history as to which we have much information in the writings of the Christian Fathers and in the acts of early Councils. And these writings were as well known in the sixteenth century, when the Reformed Church of England was established, as they are now, and were studied by Luther and Erasmus, by Calvin and Cranmer, quite as deeply as by modern students. It was because such innovations were known by them in no instance to have the authority either of the Christian Scriptures or of the Church before about 300 A.D. that they were deliberately discarded in the attempt to return to primitive usage.

The second year of King Edward VI. began on January 29, 1548. During that year the beliefs which traced back two centuries to Wycliffe, and which were held by the most earnest and enlightened part of the English nation, received the royal sanction. The great debate in Parliament had followed the issue of the first Prayer-book, which was enacted in the last week of the year, and prelates, both Roman and Protestant, agreed that all adoration, oblation, or elevation of the Host was by that Prayer-book abolished. On January 15, 1549—within the second year of the reign—the Act of Uniformity abolished all former liturgies in favour of the new book; and by the injunctions of 1549, founded on this Act, all ministers were forbidden to ‘counterfeit the Popish mass,’ and commanded to ‘use ‘no other ceremonies than are appointed in the King’s ‘Book of Common Prayer.’ That the ornaments and rites of the new Church were purely Protestant under this Prayer-book we learn from the witness of the Venetian

ambassador, writing in May 1551, when he says of the English that 'they use bells and organs, but neither altars nor images, nor water nor fire, nor other Roman ceremonies.' No authority even was admitted, by those responsible for composing this Prayer-book, as found in ancient liturgies of other Churches. In the parliamentary debate Cranmer rejected the Liturgy of St. James, and denounced that of St. Chrysostom as a forgery. He went back to the New Testament itself as the only authority, and in it he found no mention of the use by Christians of anything that he omitted from the rites of the Church of England. It was for this reason that, when the Protestant religion was again established by Elizabeth in 1558, it was found sufficient in the matter of ornaments to refer to those of the second year of Edward VI.—a decision that still held after inquiry by Royal Commissioners as to the rites which came again into use. No amount of research has been successful in proving the use, after the era of establishment, of any of those ornaments or rites which the Reformers abolished, save in cases where the laws of the land were evaded or broken.

It is, nevertheless, of interest to inquire into the history of ritual in the primitive Church, and into the growth of innovations and the reasons for their introduction, as well as into the controversies which are still, so long afterwards, symbolised by the rites of various Churches.

The Reformers had been careful, in translating the New Testament, that the word 'priest' should never be applied to a Christian minister. It was a corruption of the Greek word which they render 'elder' or 'presbyter,' but it had acquired in English the meaning of the Latin *sacerdos*, and as such it was avoided by those who held that such a term applied to all the faithful (1 Pet. ii. 5-9); and this view was urged also, in the latter part of the second century, by Tertullian,* when he exclaimed, 'Are not we as laymen also priests' (*sacerdotes*). The distinction of clergy and laity existed indeed in his time, but it was apparently not till the third century that the word *sacerdos* came to be used (by Cyprian especially) solely of bishops; and the theory, unknown to the earlier Fathers, was introduced that the Christian clergy were the rightful successors of the Priests and Levites of Old Testament times, to whom, therefore,

* Justin Martyr, 'Trypho,' 116, and Tertullian, 'Exhort. in Castitat.' 7; see 'De Monogam.' 7.

tithes were due by the people, and whose character was denoted by the introduction also of the words 'sacrifice' and 'altar' in connexion with the Eucharistic ceremony. By about 250 A.D. the word *papa*, or 'pope,' was also used of some bishops, the word *abba*, or 'father,' of the monks, then newly organised, and *nonna*, or 'mother,' of the new nuns, for Christians had apparently already forgotten the direct command, 'Call no man father' (Matt. xxiii. 9).

In earlier times, however, the organisation of the Church was much more simple and humble. Tertullian says that 'the most approved seniors presided.' Justin Martyr speaks only of the 'President of the Brethren.'* These were the 'rulers' of the Church (Heb. xiii. 17), though the Greek word was afterwards applied only to bishops. As being the older members of the flock they were called 'elders' or 'presbyters;' as having care of the common funds of the little society they received the title *episcopus*, or 'overseer,' which was commonly used in the Roman world of such officials, and was of civil, not of religious, import. In the New Testament itself there is little or no distinction to be noted between these terms. The elders of Ephesus are called 'overseers' also (Acts xx. 17, 28), and St. Paul, who so rarely uses the latter word, appears to speak of several 'bishops' in the single Church of Philippi (Phil. i. 1). St. Peter also addresses the presbyters as 'overseers' (1 Pet. v. 1, 2), exhorting them to humility—'not being as lords over the heritage' (verse 3). Other terms which did not permanently survive as ecclesiastical titles also occur in the Epistles and in some of the earlier patristic writings to denote these presidents and leaders of the infant communities.† In some Churches, even in the second century—as at Rome and Corinth—we read of presbyters only. In other cases bishops and deacons are noticed, without presbyters, and in these instances the leaders are compared to the Priests and the deacons to the Levites of the Hebrew system.‡ The original commandment was that the greatest among the flock should be its 'deacon,' or servant (Matt. xxiii. 11); but the word was early applied to the younger assistants

* Tertullian, 'Apol.' 39. Justin Martyr, 'First Apol.' 65 (*Proestōs*).

† E.g. *Prohistamenos*, Rom. xii. 8, 1 Thess. v. 12; and *Oikoumenos*, 1 Cor. iv. 1, 1 Pet. iv. 10. *Antistes* (2nd Council of Carthage).

‡ 1st Epistle of Clement, 42, 44, and Didache, xv. Irenæus (in Eusebius, 'H. E.' v. 24).

of the elders, though even Paul the Apostle calls himself a 'deacon' of the Church (2 Cor. xi. 23; Colos. i. 25).

It was both natural and proper that with increasing numbers and organisation the chief leader among these 'approved seniors' should attain to a more permanent and superior position; but the theory that bishops only could ordain was not founded on any passage in the New Testament, and is not traceable before the fourth century. There is even reason to suppose that as late as the third century, and yet later, the bishop, who was then elected by the 'suffrages' of laity and clergy alike, with consent of other bishops, was at times a layman, and that the regular hierarchy of three orders had not been fully established. Deacons appear, in some cases, writing in the name of their Church, and (like the seven great Roman deacons) attaining to positions of importance, as treasurers of the Church funds. Cyprian of Carthage became a *papa*, or bishop, when he was yet a neophyte, and though he is called a 'presbyter,' it has been supposed that he was a layman when elected to rule the Church. Yet later the case of Ambrose of Milan is quoted, as one in which a layman became directly a bishop, with others which have been disputed. However this may have been, it is quite clear that a regular hierarchy only developed very gradually from the simplicity of the small Christian communities, whose organisation resembled that of the synagogues, with their 'ministers' and 'elders,' who were not priests at all; or the later system of Islam, with its respected lay leaders of prayer (the *Imāms*), chosen from among the elder members of the tribe. They did not for some two hundred years make any distinction, of a sacerdotal nature, between those on whom the elders laid hands at baptism, whereby every Christian became a priest,* and those on whom they laid hands to devote them to the special service of the Church, as leaders, stewards, and ministers for the flock.†

Much less, then, did the Churches, separated so far from one another and founded by different Apostles, recognise in early times any bishop of bishops as supreme head of the Catholic Church. Tertullian derides such pretensions as suited rather to a heathen pontiff.‡ Cyprian and Firmilian,

* Tertullian, 'De Baptismo,' 7.

† Cf. Cyprian (Ep. 75. 7), 'Seniores natu;,' Hermas (Vis. ii. 4) 'Seniores qui præsunt ecclesiæ.'

‡ Tertullian, 'De Pudicit.' 1.

and other bishops of the third century, were of one accord in rejecting the pretensions of Stephen, Bishop of Rome, to authority out of Italy. Yet Cyprian was earnest in preaching the need of unity in the Church. Victor of Rome had been equally repulsed in the second century by the bishops of the East. In 325 A.D. the delegates of Silvester, *Papa* and Bishop of Rome, signed at Nice after Hosius, a bishop of Spain. Constantius, son of Constantine the Great, accepted the title Bishop of Bishops from the Arian clergy. The decree made in the name of the child-emperor, Valentinian III. (about 450 A.D.), which proclaimed Pope Leo supreme over all Churches, was never recognised in the Eastern empire, and the schism of Greeks and Romans began only fifty years later. The theory of the Catholic Church, before the time of Constantine, was that of a confraternity of bishops, each independent in his own country; and the yet earlier primitive theory was that of independent communities, guided only by the words of the Scriptures, and feeling it necessary to communicate by letter or messenger among themselves in times of danger and persecution, when consultations as to common action against their enemies became more frequent and important as the number of the converts increased.

In the third century considerable differences of custom distinguished various Churches. That of Jerusalem was under Jewish bishops; and in Bashan the Nazarenes observed circumcision, and turned to Jerusalem in prayer. The Syrians differed from the Romans as to the time of year at which they celebrated both the Nativity and Easter. In the fourth century the rites and liturgy of Jerusalem, as far as they are known from the lectures of Cyril and the travels of St. Silvia of Aquitaine, differed very considerably from those of Gaul. In some Churches wine only was used for the Eucharist, judging from the statement of Origen* that this was the first institution. In others, as at Carthage, water was mingled with the wine. The Ebionites were regarded by the later Eastern Churches as peculiar in using unleavened bread for the same rite;† and in the seventh century this custom distinguished the Western Churches, the Maronites, and the Armenians from the rest of the Easterns. Firmilian of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, writing to Cyprian of Carthage in 256 A.D., considered that in the observance of

* Origen, 'In Jeremiam.' Hom. 11, 'unmingled.'

† Epiphanius, 'Hæres.' 30, ch. 16.

Easter, and in 'many other sacraments,' the Roman Church had ceased to observe 'primitive tradition.' But there was no central authority to compel a rigid conformity in practice; nor did such differences trouble the peace of the Catholic Church, because those great controversies which in the fifth century rent it into five had not yet arisen, and the rites which symbolised the various dogmas of the contending parties had not as yet become distinctive of doctrine.

The necessity of private confession of sin to a priest was also not evident to the primitive Church, while as yet the sacerdotal order was not distinguished. Public confession before the congregation was an ancient and scriptural institution,* and was at times accompanied by public penance, but we find no trace of private confession in the early patristic writings or before the fourth century, and even then Chrysostom was strongly opposed to the practice. In Gaul this practice is mentioned in 650 A.D., and it was imposed as an article of faith by Rome in 1215 A.D. This terrible engine of priestly power was unknown even to bishops like Cyprian, who uses the word both of confession to God and of public acknowledgement of apostasy under persecution.

The sacraments of the early Church were only two—the Eucharist and Baptism. Marriage and burial were public civil ceremonies, and it was impossible for Christians in time of persecution to make confession of their faith in public. Confirmation had not become as yet disconnected from baptism, and only the two distinctive rites of the Christian faith were secretly preserved among the converts.

The original *Agape*, or social supper of the Christians, resembled the Jewish family rite of the Passover; the 'cup of blessing' resembled that first cup of the Paschal feast, over which was said the invocation, 'Blessed be He who created the fruit of the vine.'† According to the early pictures of the catacombs, bread and wine did not alone constitute this supper, for fish are represented; and in later times it included meat, poultry, cheese, milk, and honey.‡ Traces of the supper are found among the abstaining sects of the Euphrates valley, whose Eucharist consisted of water, bread, and salt. The offerings laid on the altar, even in

* Matt. xviii. 17, Acts xix. 18, James v. 16; Chrysostom, Hom. v; Cyprian, 'De Lapsis,' xxviii. 31.

† 1 Cor. x. 16; Mishna Pesakhim, x. 2.

‡ Augustin, 'C. Faust,' xx. 20.

the first years of the fourth century, included corn, grapes, oil, and incense;* and to our own times, in Italy, the archaic practice of offering poultry on the high altar survives. The Jews, who strictly limited the supper to one or two families, have preserved its ritual character unchanged; but the Christians, accustomed to assemble in one common room or hall, found it difficult, even from the first, to maintain the simplicity and decency of the rite. In the second century the supper became costly, and scandals, which had even arisen within the lifetime of the Apostle Paul, grew more dangerous.† The kiss of peace was abused, and gradually abandoned, or reduced to a strict ceremonial, which still survives among the Copts and in some Italian Churches. In the original rite, as described by Justin Martyr, the broken bread and the cup were distributed to all, and carried by deacons to the sick. Even down to the middle of the third century the wine was administered to infants when baptized. Collections were made for the poor; and among those Jewish Christians who spoke of Jesus only as the 'Servant of God,' three ritual prayers, unlike any afterwards in use, are described. In the fourth century, Basil relates that the prayers used were based on an 'unwritten tradition,' to which other things had been 'prefixed and added' later.‡ But no effort to preserve order appears to have succeeded, and the Agape was finally forbidden in Churches by the Council of Laodicea in 365 A.D. The ancient rite, however, survived in the Thebaid, on Saturday evenings, till the fifth century,§ after its suppression by Ambrose in Italy, while infant communion was still permissible in 740 A.D.

The abuse of the supper, as early as the time of Cyprian or earlier, led to the introduction of a separate and stricter

* Apost. Constit., bk. viii. Canon iii.

† 1 Cor. xi. 20-34; Clemens Alex. 'Pæd.' ii. 1, § 4; Tertullian, 'De Jeuniis,' 17.

‡ The Kiss: Rom. xvi. 16, 1 Cor. xvi. 20, 2 Cor. xiii. 12, 1 Thess. v. 26, 1 Pet. v. 14; Clemens Alex. 'Pæd.' iii. 11; Justin Martyr, 'First Apol.' 65; Apost. Constit. bk. viii. ch. 2; Athenagoras, 'Legat. pro Christian.' § 32; Tertullian, 'Ad Uxorem,' ii. 4; Origen on Rom. xvi. 16. Collections: Tertull. 'Apol.' 39. Liturgies: Didache, x.; Basil, 'De Spirit. Sanct.' 27. Infant Communion: Cyprian, 'De Lapsis,' Apost. Constit. viii. 13; Evagrius, 'H. E.' iv. 36; Augustin, Sermon 174, § 7, &c.; Tertull. 'De Orat.' 14; Origen, 'In Exod. Hom.' xi. 7.

§ Sozomen, 'H. E.' vii. 19; Socrates, 'H. E.' v. 22; Augustin, 'Epist. ad Jan.' i. 4.

rite, which only symbolised the meal by the single loaf and cup upon the church table, as the Jews symbolised the Paschal lamb by the shank-bone alone. Cyprian was troubled by the disorderly talking or loud prayers of his congregation. He insisted on a Communion rite at early dawn, with fasting worshippers, and the family supper in the evening he regarded as not a true *Dominicum*, because not shared by an assembled congregation. In some Churches the converts took home with them in caskets their portion of the bread, to be eaten before their morning meals; but this custom was forbidden after the third century, on account of the superstitious use of the elements as charms against disease.*

The hour at which the Eucharistic rite was celebrated differed at various times and in different places. During the period of persecution it was a secret meeting, held at night, and this gave rise to many slanderous accusations. In Syria and Asia Minor it was celebrated in the daytime in the second century; in Africa before dawn, and also after supper at eve. In 112 A.D. Pliny speaks of it as held on 'a certain day;' in Palestine that day was Sunday in the time of Justin Martyr; in the Thebaid it was Saturday, after the evening meal, down to the fifth century. In Carthage, under Cyprian, about 250 A.D., there was a daily celebration, but this was not a universal custom. Even in the fourth century, in the East, Basil speaks only of the first, fourth, sixth, and sometimes the seventh, days of the week. The early Churches of Rome and Alexandria had no communion on the Jewish Sabbath, but Chrysostom speaks of daily celebration at Antioch in the fourth century. By this time the custom of fasting communion had become general, and the Agape was almost extinct even as a private rite.† Thus in the course of some three hundred years the ancient institution of a supper consecrated by the singing of psalms and hymns, the reading of Scriptures, followed by exhortation and prayer, with the final rite commemorative of the Master, was slowly changed into the formal morning communion, taken fasting, and no longer confined to the

* Cypr. 'De Dominic. Orat.' 18 and Epist. lxxiii. 13, 'De Lapsis,' 26 and 132; Tertull. 'De Orat.' 9, 'Ad Uxor.' ii. 5; Clemens Alex. 'Strom.' i. 1.

† Pliny to Trajan, Ep. x. 96; Tertullian, 'De Idolat.' 7, 'Ad Uxor.' ii. 4, 'De Corona,' 3; Cyprian, 'Epist.' lxxiii. 15, 16; Soerates, 'H. E.' v. 22; Basil, Ep. 289; Chrysostom in Ephes. Hom. 3, in Cor. Hom. 27; Augustin, Ep. 118; Jerome, Ep. 71.

Sabbath, or the Lord's day, but repeated daily at dawn. The change was inevitable because of the increasing numbers in each church or congregation, and because the united participation of all in a single rite was considered essential, and the family ceremony of the Jewish Passover was no longer connected with that of the Eucharist.

Christian and pagan writers, however, were agreed that in the second century the Christians had no altars. The term is used sometimes, figuratively, by the early Fathers; but Origen, admitting to Celsus that Christians used no altars, said that the soul was the true *bomos*. Cyprian admits the word *altare*, and by the fourth century the term was common.* But even then the Eucharist was placed on a wooden table, behind which the presbyter or bishop sat or stood. In the earliest times the brethren all sat in the Roman fashion, with their wives, at this table, as represented in the well-known early picture of an Agape feast in the catacombs at Rome. In the early years of the fourth century the congregation stood,† praying in silence at the table, and the laity were not as yet forbidden to approach, and to remain round it. Both the bread and the cup were still given to all, and the latter was first totally denied to the laity by Rome in the twelfth century.

There was, moreover, in early days some difference of practice regarding the elements used in the Eucharistic rite. Some, like Origen, held that wine alone should be used; others, like Cyprian, that wine should be mingled with water. The question did not become really important until these practices began, in the fifth century, to symbolise different doctrines as to the human nature of Christ. The Cup of Blessing used at the Passover is said to have been 'mixed,' but it is not certain whether this does not mean 'spiced.' The ancients generally mingled water with the strong *merum* of the age, and early writers do not attribute any later mystic meaning to the custom.‡ In Rome an ancient rite has survived of adding milk and honey to the wine on Easter Eve. The customs of the schismatical sects of the second and third centuries were

* Tertullian, 'De Orat.' 14; Clemens Alex., 'Strom' vii.; Origen 'Against Celsus,' viii.; Cyprian, Epist. xlv. § 3; Augustin, Sermon. 159, § 1, Sermon. 21, c. 5 on Psalm lxiii. 11; Minucius Felix, 'Octav.' 32.

† See Apost. Canons, lvii. 13, 14.

‡ Cyprian, Epist. lxiii. 13.

innumerable, including the use of water only, of milk, or of crushed grapes. When, however, in the fifth century, the Asiatic Churches contended for the single Divine nature of Christ, the mixed chalice became the symbol, among the Western Latins and Greeks, of the humanity and divinity of their Lord. In 692 A.D. a Council at Constantinople condemned the Armenians, who continued to use wine unmixed with water. The old Byzantine liturgy of the seventh century directs a few drops of boiling water to be added to the wine, and the use of the mixed cup in Palestine is certainly as old as the time of Justin Martyr, or about 150 A.D.

To those who identified the Last Supper with the Passover it was natural to use unleavened bread. The Church of Jerusalem no doubt used it, as did the Ebionites, or early Christians of Bashan. But the distinction between Jewish and Gentile Churches early arose, and as the Easterns separated themselves from the Synagogue they began to use leaven, as is still the custom of most Oriental Churches. In Rome the early usage is less clearly known, though probably the bread was unleavened from the first. The Latin Churches observed the day of the week (Good Friday), and took no count of the day of the Jewish month (the 15th of Nisan); and in this they differed, at least from the second century, with the Churches of Asia Minor, which celebrated the Crucifixion on the 14th, not on the 15th, of Nisan. These Churches thus followed the Fourth Gospel, which was that of the Church of Ephesus, and regarded the Last Supper as preceding the Jewish Passover. The question depends on the reading of a single phrase in the Gospel,* but it was natural that in such Churches leaven should be used for the loaf of the Eucharist.

The patristic writers adopt the mystic words of the Gospel, which could not have been misunderstood by disciples to whom their Master spoke while yet alive on earth. That the Fathers intended their words to be taken in any other than a symbolic sense appears clearly impossible, since all alike acknowledge the Eucharistic rite to be but a figure, type, or emblem of the Passion. But they were speaking to very rude and superstitious converts, brought up by heathen parents to believe in many magical rites and ceremonies. The preacher said to them 'This Eucharist

* John xix. 14, see verse 31, and xviii. 28, Matt. xxvi. 17, Luke xxii. 7, Mark xiv. 16, Matt. xxvii. 62; Eusebius, 'H. E.' v. 24, 25.

'is to us instead of the sacrifices of Jews or pagans. It is 'the symbol of the Passion, the emblem of the Body and Blood 'of the Lord.' But many understood only that by consecration the oblations had become changed, and they regarded them with superstitious awe. The expressions of the Fathers cannot be taken as anything but figurative,* but the paganism of the age taught (in the rites of Mithra) a dogma of actual transubstantiation, which was well known to many converts. Justin Martyr said that the thank-offerings of bread and wine were the sacrifices commanded by Christ, and compared them to the meal-offering of the Jewish temple. Elsewhere, however, he speaks of the Body and Blood of Christ as the 'food whereby through transmutation our flesh and blood are nourished.' Irenæus said that the Eucharistia were the body of Christ and His blood, and not common bread and wine. Tertullian, though he spoke of sacrifices, said that the elements were the 'figure' of Christ's body, 'for Christ is life and bread is life.' Cyprian says that 'Christ is bread' to the believer; but also says, 'in all our sacrifices we make mention of His Passion (for the Passion of the Lord is the sacrifice we offer); . . . 'we offer the cup in commemoration of the Lord and of His 'Passion.' Origen only says that through prayer the elements are made a 'certain body,' holy and hallowing. Even in the fourth century Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of the Eucharist as the 'emblem' of the Passion, though adding that what has been touched by the Holy Spirit is 'transformed.' The earlier teachers thus guarded themselves against any material or magical interpretation; but that such a meaning was attached by the ignorant to the rite before 440 A.D. seems to be clear, or otherwise Theodoret would hardly have considered it necessary to state his belief that the nature of the oblations was still the same after consecration. If the words of the early Fathers have been in these cases preserved to us as they were first written—which is certainly not the case with all Cyprian's letters—the gradual growth of the dogma of transubstantiation, imposed as an article of faith on the West by Innocent III. at the end of the twelfth century, may be traced rather to

* Justin Martyr, 'Trypho,' and 'First Apol.' 66; Irenæus, 'Hæres.' iv. 18, § 5, v. 22, § 3; Tertullian, 'De Anima,' 17, 'Adv. Marcion.' ix. 14, 'De Orat.' 6 and 14; Cyprian, 'De Dominic. Orat.' 18 and Epist. lxiii. 17; Origen, 'Against Celsus,' viii.; Cyril of Jer., 'Catech. Lect.' v. 20, 22; Theodoret, 'Dial.' ii.

the superstitions of the flock than to the mystic language of their early teachers.

The second Christian sacrament—that of Baptism—presents to us a history of varying uses and gradual change, such as has been traced in that of the Eucharist or ‘thanks-giving’ of the Church. Baptism was the rite by which converts were ‘born again,’ and fitted to take part in the Communion. The question of baptizing children, or infants, did not arise till the second generation at earliest. The practice of appointing sponsors, or spiritual parents, was the natural result of the conversion of those whose real parents remained heathen, and who had no instruction in Christian teaching.* As the belief grew up that baptism atoned only for the previous sins of the convert it became a common practice to delay it till late in life—as in the case of the Emperor Constantine himself; and the word ‘infant’ did not always mean a babe, since in religious language the newly baptized was an infant of the Church.

It is clear, however, that when children were admitted to the Eucharist they must have been baptized, since none were allowed to take part in that rite before baptism. It was probably in the case of sickly children that Christian parents first sought for such early baptism. Tertullian discourages the practice, which was known to Irenæus and Origen, on the ground that the sponsors might die before the child could understand Christian duty. In the third century some bishops objected to baptizing an infant less than eight days old.† Gregory of Nazianzus a century later advised deferring till at least the third year, except in the case of weakly infants, and this was still the opinion in the fifth century in Syria. It is clear that the earlier Christians desired that the child should, if possible, have some understanding of the meaning of the rite.

The candidates for baptism were carefully instructed in Christian belief and custom before they were presented. The catechumen and his friends, as well as the bishop or other minister about to perform the ceremony, are said, among the Christians of Palestine in the second century, to have prepared themselves by fasting. In cases where neither bishop, priest, or deacon could be found any layman might perform the rite. In the third century it was a matter of debate whether those already baptized by some peculiar

* Tertullian, ‘De Baptism.’ 18.

† Cyprian approved; see Third Council of Carthage, Canon ex.

and heretical sect should be rebaptized when they joined the Catholic Church. The bishops of Rome did not insist on that rebaptism which Cyprian of Carthage urged, but which his successor, Augustin of Hippo, did not impose,* though Tertullian had apparently written on the necessity of this repetition. Baptism was administered in the name of Christ in the third century, and it appears that the insistence on a triple immersion in the name of the Trinity was never a Roman custom, but peculiar to the East, and as such charged, in 1054 A.D., against Rome as in error.†

Running water was preferred by the early Christians for the rite, and the convert stood in such water, and was either immersed or sprinkled with it. Tertullian speaks of baptism in pools, streams, fountains, lakes, in the sea, or in tanks. In the third century, however, it became more usual to resort to regular buildings, called baptisteries, covering in a reservoir, with steps, outside the basilica. In the fourth century such a tank existed outside the Martyrion of the Holy Sepulchre, and in the fifth another was built at the Pool of Siloam, by a chapel. The sexes were separated by curtains, and deaconesses led the women to the water. Cyprian says that 'it is important for the water to be first 'cleansed and sanctified by a priest,' and that the oil for the chrism should also be sanctified on the altar. In these directions we find the first introduction of holy water and consecrated oil. But such ceremonies do not belong to the true primitive age.‡ The baptized person was anointed afterwards with the chrism, and blessed by the bishop as he came up from the water—this being the original rite of confirmation. He then partook of the Eucharist; and the ordinary or normal rite down to a late period was that of baptism by immersion, received by adult persons, and conducted by a bishop. In the eleventh century one of the charges made against Rome by the Greeks was that the chrism was confined to the consecration of bishops in the West.§ The neophyte was given honey and milk to taste—as an infant newly born; and about 800 A.D. we read of the

* Didache, vii.; Justin Martyr, 'First Apol.' 61; Tertullian, 'De Exhort. in Castit.' 7, 'De Baptism.' 15; Cyprian, Epist. lxxv. 5, 6; Augustin, 'De Bapt. c. Donatt.' vi. 7, 10.

† Cyprian, Epist. lxxiii. 16.

‡ Didache, vii.; Tertullian, 'De Baptism.' 4, 'De Corona,' 3; Cyprian, Epist. lxx. 1, 2; Justin Martyr, 'First Apol.' 79.

§ Tertullian, 'De Baptism.' 6-8, 'De Corona,' 3.

use of oil and myrrh, it having become customary to anoint the candidates from head to foot before they entered the water.*

The great season of baptism, from an early age, was Easter or Pentecost. In the East it also took place at Epiphany, and in Gaul and Spain at Christmas. As the duties of the bishop increased it became impossible for his blessing to be given at once in places where, at the seasons, he was unable to be present. Jerome describes the bishops of the fourth century as travelling from town to town to confirm the neophytes, and for this reason a separate sacrament in time arose. The newly baptized were, however, received into the Church by the kiss following the chrism.

Cyril of Jerusalem, in his 'Lectures to Catechumens,' has given a full account of the ceremony at Jerusalem in 347 A.D. On Easter Eve the candidates assembled in the dark porch of the baptistery—of which only the foundations now remain at the site. They faced to the west, and solemnly renounced all the sins and superstitions of pagan days. Then, facing to the east, they repeated that simple 'symbol,' which was the germ of future creeds: 'I believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and in one baptism of repentance.' From the darkness of outer night they entered the 'house' of baptism, which blazed with light. They were stripped entirely and oiled; they descended into the water, and were thrice immersed. Then, coming out, they were anointed with the chrism on the forehead, ears, nostrils, and breast with consecrated oil. Clothed in white linen they tasted oil and honey, received the kiss, and the imposition of hands by the bishop, and were admitted to the Eucharistic rite that followed.

Such was the general developement by the fourth century of the simpler rite of baptism in running streams. The sprinkling of the sick at home, or of weakly infants, was a concession to the anxiety of parents, and not till about the twelfth century did infant baptism by affusion become the rule in the West. The Latin churches of the Crusaders in Palestine are distinguished by their fonts, fitted to hold four seated infants or children. But the Easterns preserved the ancient rite, and used instead the great tanks which adjoined their basilicas. The use even of honey and milk

* Apostol. Constit. vii. 22, 23; Cyril, 'Catech. Lect.' xx. 2, 3; Chrysostom, 'Ad Innocent. Epist.' 3.

continued, among the Copts and Abyssinians, down to the seventeenth century at least.

The Christian teachers down to the close of the third century were unable, in face of Scripture, to insist on the asceticism which developed later. Bishops like Cyprian, who was apparently unmarried, favoured celibacy. Earlier bishops, like Tertullian, who was married, held that Christians—or priests at least—should not marry more than once. In the Roman world generally the matron who was faithful to the memory of one husband was respected, and the fast lives of patricians of both sexes were regarded with disgust by others than the Christians of the age. After divorce Tertullian said there should be no second marriage. In 365 the Council of Laodicea discouraged such a practice, but could not, in consideration of the Scripture, deny communion to those who had married again. Celibacy of the clergy was not enforced by the Council of Nice, and the proceedings of later times showed great variations. In Thessaly the custom was regarded as novel even in the fifth century. In the East it has never prevailed. In the West, even Hildebrand did not succeed in entirely establishing it as late as the close of the eleventh century. We have in earlier times, still extant, the tombstones of married deacons in Rome, dating from 295 and 472 A.D., and one of a married priest in 389 A.D. The Orientals continued to acknowledge marriage before ordination, and in the early years of the fourth century both bishops and priests were forbidden to put away their wives on the pretext of piety. They were not to marry twice after baptism, nor to take widows or women of other than decent character. The old terms *diacona*, *presbytera*, and *episcopa* appear to have belonged to the wives of deacons, priests, and bishops, and the rules which Cyprian sought to enforce at Carthage were not those of the Church as a whole.*

But the asceticism which at first distinguished the Montanists and other heretics in the second century spread in the Catholic Church in the third. The hermits of Egypt

* Matt. xix. 9, 1 Cor. vii. 25–40, 1 Tim. iv. 3; Tertullian, 'De Monogam.' vii. 11, 'De Patient.' 12; Apostol. Canons, v. 11, 17; Socrates, 'H. E.' v. 22; Eusebius, 'H. E.' ii. 17; Sozomen, 'H. E.' i. 13; Tertullian, 'De Veland. Virgin.' ix. 13, 'De Orat.' i. 17, 21, 22; Cyprian, Epist. v. 4 and 5, 'De Habitu Virg.' 14, 15, 21; Chrysostom, 'Against Subintroductæ'; Jerom, 'Ep. ad Eustoch.' 22; Greg. Nyssa, 'De Virginitat.' 23; Basil, Ep. 55.

became the objects of superstitious reverence, and created round themselves communities of monks. Regular orders of such were, indeed, unknown in the fourth century; but the wealth and worldliness of the Church were then driving many good men to the monastic life, and Palestine was becoming full of monks and nuns, vowed to chastity and poverty. A hundred years later the extravagances of these ascetics, while regarded with superstitious awe by the ignorant, recalled the ordeals of Indian Yogis and of the pagan priests of Hierapolis in Syria. Women who followed and almost adored such ascetics—as Paula followed Jerome to Bethlehem—took on them vows of chastity, which were not, however, regarded as irrevocable. Even in the time of Tertullian they had begun to sit in church with the recognised widows over sixty years of age, and desired to lay aside their veils, as though they remained yet children. In Cyprian's time there were no nunneries, and such devotees were obliged, for security, to live with or near a monk. But this gave rise to many scandals, and was severely condemned. They as yet had no religious habit, and appeared like other women, wearing jewels and with painted faces. The association of monks and nuns was long beyond the power of Councils to repress. Chrysostom regarded these 'subintroduced sisters' as a new and inexplicable phenomenon a century after Cyprian had threatened them with terrible punishment. Basil would have excommunicated them; but neither Church law nor civil enactments succeeded in putting them down till the sixth century; and the establishment of nunneries was the only means found of regulating the life of virgins.

With the growth of an asceticism which was condemned by the Church of the first two centuries the custom of mutual confession of sin arose in the monkish communities, which gathered in caves or huts round some famous hermit, and the fasts became longer and more strict.

Fasting was a Jewish and a Scriptural custom of immense antiquity, but Irenæus, writing to Victor of Rome, speaks of only one or two days' fast before Easter. Tertullian speaks of a fast before Good Friday; and in the fifth century at Rome this Lenten fast lasted only three weeks, and Saturdays and Sundays were excepted. Ambrose speaks of fasting by day (like the modern Moslems), except on Sunday, and sometimes on Saturday. The Council of Laodicea, in 365 A.D., directed that during Lent the

Eucharist should be taken only on Saturday and Sunday, so that apparently it was not celebrated fasting.*

The sign of the cross was a secret symbol as early as 150 A.D., by which the persecuted brethren recognised each other. Tertullian repelled the heathen accusation that Christians worshipped the cross.† They dared not mark their monuments with the sign which they used in baptism, and in the third century the epitaphs of Fabian and of Lucius, Bishops of Rome, are unmarked by a cross, though one has been added to that of Cornelius, apparently by the later hand which wrote 'Martyr' after his name. The cross first appears in Syria on Greek inscriptions in 350 A.D.‡ No true cross is found in any early catacomb text, for it is remarkable that the monogram of Christ, called the *Chryσμα*, which appeared on the standard of Constantine was not of Christian origin. It marks coins of Trajanus Decius, the persecutor, in 249 A.D., and occurs much earlier on those of Herod the Great. Christians confined themselves to less distinct emblems—the fish, the anchor, the palm, the lamb, or the monogram X.M.Γ.

Such, then, was the growth of the Catholic Church down to 300 A.D. It was no longer what it had been in Apostolic times, for great changes in organisation had occurred, and superstitious beliefs had grown up among the laity round the Eucharistic rite. The claim of power to exorcise demons still survived, and the dignity of bishops, who were tacitly recognised even by the Roman Government as early as 272 A.D., had become great. But in the Churches of Origen, Cornelius, and Cyprian there was no tendency to make terms with heathenism by any concession to idolatrous customs. Why Christians, who led such quiet, humble and inoffensive lives, should have been persecuted, not only by the mob or by wicked emperors, but also by able and wise rulers of Rome, does not at first seem clear; but down to 118 A.D. they were hardly distinguished from the Jews, and their punishment by Nero, Domitian, Trajan, and Marcus Aurelius occurred exactly at those periods when the Jews were either in open rebellion or in a state of seething agitation. After that time, when half a century of quiet growth

* Tertullian, 'De Orat.' 18; Socrates, 'H. E.' v. 22; Sozomen, 'H. E.' vii. 19; Ambrose, 'De Jejun.' 10.

† Tertullian, 'Ad Nationes,' i. 12, 'Ad Uxor.' ii. 5.

‡ Justin Martyr, 'Second Apol. ;' Cyprian, 'De Pass. Christ. ;' Chrysostom on Matt. xvi. 23, Hom. liv. ; on Col. iii. Hom. viii. ; on Timothy iv. Hom. xii.

had made them an important element in the population, and when men of all ranks had begun to join them, it will be found that they were persecuted when the Empire was engaged in serious foreign wars. Severus, in 230, issued an edict against new converts during the Persian war; Decius, in 250, which was the year of his defeat by the Goths on the Danube; Valerian, in 258, when Persia again attacked the frontiers; Aurelian, in 272, when Palmyra was in arms against him; and, finally, Diocletian, in 303, punished Christians who refused to serve as soldiers. Perhaps this latter instance explains what the danger apprehended really was; for if the Christians persisted in preaching the wickedness of war, and became numerous and powerful in the State, it must have seemed to the emperors that Roman rule would fall to pieces before the barbarians.

Nevertheless they finally won their way to toleration. In 305, Galerius, in the East, made terms with the 'deluded Christians,' permitting them 'freely to profess their private opinions, and to assemble in their conventicles without fear of molestation, provided always that they preserved a due respect to the established laws and government.' Eight years later came the edict of toleration at Milan, and in 325 A.D. Constantine presided over the Council of Nice.

But imperial favour was not a blessing to the Church. The Council of Nice resulted in the terrible Arian schism. In 431 A.D. that of Ephesus expelled the Nestorians. In 451 A.D. that of Chalcedon separated Greeks and Romans from the Jacobites and Armenians, who in turn separated from one another. The differences between Rome and Constantinople grew steadily greater till the final schism of 1054 A.D. From the fourth century the term 'Catholic,' if claimed by any one branch of the Church in general, has been denied by all other branches, save as far as Protestants acknowledge the fundamental unity of belief underlying the differences of each.

Great Churchmen like Jerome and Chrysostom, Augustin and Basil, who did not spare the ruling bishops of their age, seem to have looked with little less than dismay on the changes and corruptions which followed so fast after the conversion of Constantine. Imperial favour had opened the road for worldly men to power and wealth as bishops. The Church, reconciled with heathendom, developed a policy which Augustin describes and Hildebrand details.* Men were to be persuaded to join the faith by the reconsecration

* Augustin, Ep. 29; Greg. VII. Epist. xi. 76, eleventh century A.D.

of popular festivals to the memory of saints and martyrs, and by the reconsecration of heathen temples as churches. It naturally resulted that rites of heathen origin were adopted as Christian, some of them before the great schisms of the fifth century, others locally, by various Churches in different countries, after separation.

When Queen Helena visited Jerusalem in 326 A.D. she set the fashion of pilgrimage, which rapidly spread, till in 333 we find the Pilgrim of Bordeaux walking across Europe to the Holy City. During her visit she was shown only two holy places—the cave under the Temple of Tammuz at Bethlehem, which seems to have been the same known to Justin Martyr, about 150 A.D., as the cradle of Christ; * and the scene of the Transfiguration and Ascension on Olivet. But ten years later a great basilica had risen on the site of the Temple of Venus, in Jerusalem, where the lost tomb of Christ was supposed to have been discovered by miracle. In another ten years the wood of the true cross was shown in this basilica, and pieces had been scattered all over the world as relics. In 333 A.D. it is unmentioned; and the only sacred object was then a pillar, on Mount Sion, to which Christ was supposed to have been bound. Holy places and holy objects increased rapidly in number. The sacred foot-print on Olivet is soon mentioned. In the fifth century the lance and crown of thorns were shown; and in the sixth the cup of the Last Supper. About 450 A.D. the relics of St. Stephen were believed to have been discovered at Gamala, west of Jerusalem; and this discovery was followed by innumerable others of relics belonging to saints or Apostles, which were believed to work miracles like the cross itself, or the bread of the Eucharist, or holy water, or holy oil. Processions, illuminations, and the use of incense were adopted when the ancient festivals of the heathen were sanctioned by the Church under new names. Christmas-day was fixed in Rome on the old birthday of the ‘unconquered Sun.’ The dances by torchlight at martyrs’ tombs replaced older Roman feasts. The vestments of the clergy, which originally were the dresses of the patrician class, became distinctive through their archaic fashions as time went on; but they were not the same in East and West. After 450 the use of images and pictures was tolerated in all Churches, except that of the Nestorians, on the understanding that they were but ‘books of the ignorant,’ and no longer idols.

* Justin Martyr, ‘Trypho,’ 78; Origen, ‘Against Celsus,’ i. ch. 4; Cyril, ‘Catech. Lect.’ xii. 20; Jerome, ‘Ep. ad Paulin.’ 13 and 49.

Lucina and her babe became the Christian Virgin with her Child; but the ancient superstitions clung to these *icons*, and even in the fourth century wonder-working portraits were believed in by many, though as yet the walls of churches were adorned only by the cross. Symbolic figures were first painted, portraits of saints, scenes of martyrdom, and Old Testament episodes. New Testament miracles followed as subjects on sarcophagi or on the walls of churches, and finally portraits of Christ, representing many diverse types, and of His mother, and even of God Himself. In the eighth century the Iconoclasts of Constantinople strove, in vain, to root out the idolatry which had invaded the Church in general. The Popes gave them no help; and the *icons* were restored, even in the East, for adoration, though statues were forbidden by the Greek Church.

The exclusion of the laity from the Lord's Table began to be customary in the fifth century. The crucifix was introduced into Roman churches about the seventh century, but was not used in the East. The elevation of the Host and the adoring chant of the *Agnus* belong to the eighth century; the mitre and the stole to the ninth—in the West. Rome continued to multiply ceremonies and sacred emblems, even more than did the Orientals, till by the time of the Crusades her ritual, her teaching, and her customs were quite distinct, and peculiar to Western Churches. The various liturgies, which, from the fourth century onwards, were constantly modified according to the distinctive doctrines of the five great Churches, were superseded in the ninth century by the Gregorian Liturgy at Rome; but even in the East we have no early manuscripts to tell us the original forms of those services which are now called by the names of St. Cyril, St. James, St. Mark, St. Basil, St. Gregory, or St. Chrysostom. All that we know is that they bear evidence of very late revision to express particular tenets, and that they do not retain the ancient prayers of the second century, as given in the 'Teaching of the Apostles,' any more than they represent the simple rites of that age.

In the ninth century, in the West, the original wooden table, which is still sometimes preserved in the East, had become a stone altar containing relics, and on which was placed the pyx for the reserved elements, the chalice, and the missal, with burning lights. But even then the altar was not as a rule built against the wall, and the priest did not stand before it facing east. The 'Mass,' which was peculiar—in name at least—to Rome, and which preserves a word of which the meaning is not clearly explained by

modern writers, was rapidly becoming a mystery to the people. The worship of the Virgin had grown up in East and West alike in the fifth century, but new dogmas were added concerning her which are peculiar to Rome. The Roman tonsure of her close-shaved priests, and their vestments, were alike distinctive, as contrasted with the bearded and married bishops of the East, who wore crowns instead of mitres.

When we turn back from such ritual to the words of Tertullian we see how far-reaching were the changes. He tells us, in the second century, that the Christians used no incense; * and other Fathers, including Augustin, late in the fourth century, say the same. Tertullian speaks † of holy water as carried round by pagans to 'expiate country places, 'houses, temples, and cities.' None who have read anything of classic literature can fail to admit that these ceremonies, like the processions, relics, votive offerings, the use of images and pictures, and of many vestments—such as the amice for instance—were heathen customs as late as the time of Constantine, and yet later. It was the fatal policy of conciliating pagan populations which brought these things, and the superstitions which clung to them, into the ritual of the Christian Church.

Thus to-day we see side by side two pictures very like those which we first considered as contrasts. The simple building with dark wooden walls; the single light shining on the black-gowned figure in the pulpit, and on the open Bible; the wooden table before the minister as he faces his flock. Or, again, the great fane with its storied windows, its incense, its crosses and banners, its gleaming vestments of gold and silver, its altar, and its storm of sacred song. The one offers to a harassed world the peace proclaimed in the Gospel: the other, the venerable rites of consolation of mother Church. Both are in their way beautiful to the eye, and both appeal to the heart; but the latter brings with it the dangers of superstition, in an age which is ready to believe in marvels, whether at Lourdes or in the preachings of a 'Mahatmah' or a 'Christian Scientist.' The danger is no less than it was when the dogmas of Rome were denounced by Luther, and the King's Book of Common Prayer made lawful alone in the Reformed Church in the second year of Edward VI. of England.

* Tertullian, 'Apol.' 43, cf. 30; Clemens Alex. 'Strom.' VII. 6, § 32, 'Pæd.' ii. 8, § 67.

† Tertullian, 'De Baptism,' 5.

ART. VI.—*Odes and Epodes of Horace.* Translated by Sir STEPHEN E. DE VERE, Bart. With Preface and Notes. Fourth Edition. London: 1893.

THE popularity of Horace is proved by the number of his translators. They were numerous long since, and as the years have passed their number has greatly increased. Not a few of our earlier poets addressed themselves to the task, including one, Ben Jonson, so skilful in his use of lyrical metres that a large success might have been expected from him. It can scarcely be said to have been attained. Milton, in the first stanza of his '*Quis multa gracilis*,' is eminently successful; and those that follow have much charm about them; but in one, alas! the idiom ceases to be English, a fault to which a valorous enthusiasm may make us insensible, but which in a contemporary would not easily be pardoned. Dryden's version of '*Tyrrhena regum*' is a memorable success. It is considerably longer than the original; but then it professes to be, not a translation, but a paraphrase. It is more difficult to justify the poet when he speaks of ancient Rome in connexion with her Lord Mayor, or to deny that the most striking stanza in his version is gravely damaged by the epithet which he applies to Fortune, and which is as unjust as it is opprobrious and indecorous. The Roman conception of that Goddess included much of the inconstant and the cruel, but nothing of the sensual, the mercenary, or the vile. The extreme lack of refinement in sentiment which Dryden combined with robustness of intellect and energy of language is nowhere more painfully illustrated than by this blot upon what would otherwise have been a noble stanza.

Before we come to the moderns we must give a specimen of an early translator of Horace. Among the best of our earlier translators of his '*Odes*' is certainly to be counted Cowley. His version of '*Odi profanum vulgus et arceo*' is named a '*paraphrase*,' not a '*translation*,' but in its fire and energy it is probably at the head of the early translations:—

'Hence, ye profane! I hate you all;
Both the great vulgar and the small.
To virgin minds, which yet their native whiteness hold,
Not yet discoloured with the love of gold,
That jaundice of the soul
(Which makes it look so gilded and so foul)

To you, ye very few, those truths I tell;
The Muse inspires my song : hark, and observe it well.

We look on men, and wonder at such odds
'Twixt things that were the same by birth;
We look on kings as giants of the earth;
Those giants are but pigmies to the Gods.

Beauty and Strength, and Wit, and Wealth, and Power,
Have their short flourishing hour,
And love to see themselves, and smile,
And joy in their pre-eminence awhile.

Go, level hills, and fill up seas,
Spare nought that may your wanton fancy please;
But, trust me, when you have done all this,
Much will be missing still, and much will be amiss.'

Horace is to be counted among the fortunate poets. In almost all respects things went well with him. His father seems to have been a wise, laborious, and dutiful man, and to have paid liberally for a careful education bestowed on his son. That his early childhood was passed amid the lovely scenery of Southern Italy, on the borderland of Lucania and Apulia, is also certain. He evidently never forgot those beautiful scenes or the river Aufides, which winds among them to the sea. There, too, was the Fountain of Bandusia, or, as some think, near that Sabine farm in which he passed so many years. If beautiful scenery is a necessary part of a poet's education, as some have said, certainly Horace never lacked it. That it was not thrown away upon him is proved by the extraordinary felicity of his minutest touches when he describes Nature; while it is equally plain that he appreciated the manly and simple ways of the mountain peasantry. He was evidently attached to them, and that they honoured him we cannot doubt. It is hard to say whether we are to give credence to the legend that in his very early childhood he fell into a charmed sleep on Mount Voltore. He records it, however, in his 'Ode to Calliope':—

'Child of the Muse on Voltur's steep
Beyond Apulia's bounds I strayed;
Wearied with sport, I sank to sleep.
Doves, dear to legendary lore,
From woodlands far fresh flowers and leaflets bore,
And hid the unconscious infant 'neath their shade.

In myrtles wrapped, close-veiled in bay,
Secure from snakes and savage beasts I lay,
A fearless babe, protected from on high,
Sleeping the innocent sleep of infancy.'

The English 'Babes in the Wood' were thus, it seems, anticipated by the Roman poet. From a very early age to almost the close of his life that life had been a happy one, and happy chiefly because it was a contented one. He seems to have been on the most friendly terms with all the numerous poets of the time, and he regarded none of them with the slightest jealousy, although, like Virgil, he had abstained from themes for which others had received a part of their fame. Whether in the service of the Emperor himself, or of his humblest subjects, Horace seems to have gone on the principle of helping all whom he might help by giving them good counsel, as well as by kindly sympathy.

In recent times the number of honourable additions to Horatian translators has been also considerable, including Lord Lytton, Sir Theodore Martin, Lord Ravensworth, Mr. Conington, Calverley, and others. Among these the highest place seems to be now generally assigned to Sir Stephen E. de Vere by the best judges of classical literature. That is an estimate with which we entirely concur; and that it is a true one we shall endeavour to show by carefully selected quotations from such of these translations as illustrate the very various merits which have been especially attributed to Horace's lyrical poetry. The high estimate in which those translations are now held is the more likely to be a just one because it has been one of gradual growth. It has been thus expressed in a remarkable work, 'The Republic of Letters,' recently published.* Sir Stephen de Vere's translation is there spoken of as 'a unique instance of the inheritance of high poetic power, as shown in the admirable translations of Horace (far the most perfect we possess) of Sir Stephen de Vere.' The late Sir Henry Taylor, author of 'Philip van Artevelde,' expressed himself not less strongly in praise of such among Sir S. de Vere's translations as had been published in his lifetime.

That progressive appreciation which has attended these translations of Horace's 'Odes' appears to have been owing chiefly to the fidelity with which the translator has followed a few intelligible principles, in themselves both philosophical and simple. One of these is the maintenance of a closeness, not to the letter alone of the original, but to something more rare and more difficult than this. If a merely mechanical closeness has the effect of blunting the

* The 'Republic of Letters,' by W. Macneill Dixon, Esq.

meaning and marring the beauty of that original, it cannot claim more than a part of what should belong to a translation really faithful. A higher fidelity has in that case been sacrificed to a lower one; that is certainly not high art. The performance may be a very clever one. It may have been a very difficult one. The reader may marvel at the translator's ingenuity; but if his work does not bring to the English scholar a delight in any real degree analogous to that which the original poem imparted to the Roman, the enterprise is, after all, a failure. The translators of the merely realistic school are like portrait-painters who present us with every pimple or wrinkle that disfigures a fine face, but give us nothing of its meaning or its expression. Such a painter proceeds by a process of addition alone. He adds together all the accidents and oddities of the face, unconnected with what belongs to its essential character, and thus leaves behind but a caricature. The true painter proceeds by an opposite process. He begins with that ideal of the human face which abides habitually in the artistic mind; he subtracts from that ideal as much as is necessary to leave behind the individual; but he also leaves behind as much of that original ideal as suffices to ennoble and to interpret what remains. He cannot, as he well knows, give in his picture all that exists in the face, but he can more than compensate for what is lost. Thus with the translator. He must be a poet. The true poet alone truly understands the poem he translates, and makes it truly intelligible. He knows that what can be effected, writing with the grammar, the vocabulary, and the metres of one language, cannot be effected when writing with those of another time and country. It is not thus that the effect desired by the true translator can be produced. But a strictly analogous effect can be produced, and sometimes even a nobler one, if the language into which the translation is made be the nobler language of the two, and if its metres be the nobler. Sir Stephen quotes three great writers—Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Cardinal Newman—upon the principle on which that translator must write who would be faithful to the spirit, and not merely to the letter, of the original.

Wordsworth writes :—

‘I became convinced that a spirited translation can scarcely be accomplished in the English language without admitting the principle of compensation.’ *

* *Memoirs of Wordsworth*, vol. ii. p. 69.

Coleridge writes:—

‘There is no medium between a prose version and one on the avowed principle of compensation in the widest sense—i.e. manner, genius, *total effect*.’

Sir Stephen quotes thus from Cardinal Newman:—

‘Faithfulness may be considered simply to consist in expressing in English the *sense* of the original. . . . When something must be sacrificed, precision or intelligibility, it is better, in a popular work, to be understood by those who are not critics than to be applauded by those who are.’*

In illustration of the same principles Sir Stephen refers to Chapman, Dryden, Shelley, Boileau, and Bolingbroke. He refers also to Hallam and the saying of Denham: ‘It is ‘not his [the translator’s] business alone to translate ‘language into language, but *poesie* into *poesie*.’ Bolingbroke’s language is very strong:—

‘To translate servilely into modern language an ancient author, phrase by phrase and word by word, is preposterous; nothing can be more unlike the original than such a copy. It is not to show, it is to disguise, the author. . . . A good writer . . . will endeavour to write as the ancient author would have written had he writ in the same language.’

To illustrate those principles on which he most insists a few sentences in the preface on the subject of inversions may be quoted:—

‘This metrical necessity for the largest use of inversions was a misfortune which an English translator does not share. Inversion, in its proper place, may conduce both to dignity and to grace: but it should be used as a rare exception: it can produce no good effect where it has no special meaning; and its occasional charm is lost unless brought out by the contrast of a habitual directness of diction. Many things which we call inversions may, it is true, in another language, follow an order of thought as legitimate as our own; but inversions which obviously follow no law either of thought or imagination involve a great loss of strength in poetry; for poetry requires not only to be understood with clearness, but also with that electrical instantaneousness, in the absence of which there can be no intensity. . . .

‘If the obscurity of Horace is so easily condoned by his admirers, this can only be because it ceases at last for those who have read him so often that they almost know him by heart.

‘The rare exceptions to inversion found in his Odes gain so much by direct diction that they bear conclusive evidence against the rest.

To remedy this evil which probably was not felt by the Romans, is the essential duty of an English translator.'

Those who remember Dryden's stanza which begins

'When Jubal struck the chorded shell,'

or Byron's stanza in his 'Song of a Greek'—

'Ye have the Pyrrhic Dance as yet,'

will not need to be reminded of the immense force imparted to a poem by direct *versus* the inverted diction. A translator of Horace's 'Odes' must face the fact that as Horace's position gave him advantages which are denied to a translator, that translator has advantages which were denied to Horace; and he must use them, frankly turning to account all the aids afforded to him by the manifold metres of his country, instead of making it his boast that he has added to all the difficulties of translation by joining with them another, in forcing upon his fellow-countrymen metres their acquaintance with which will never be more than superficial, and with which they can never blend the poetic sympathies or associations of their youth.

Before leaving the subject of 'inversion,' exaggerated or misplaced, in connexion with the classical metres, it may be well to remark that it is often the most difficult to avoid inversion and all its evil effects where the theme of an ode is most exalted. This is probably one reason why the ordinary English admirer of Horace is often most indulgent to his inversions where the ode is on the most trivial subject. It is less mischievous there than elsewhere. The greatest odes are those that most need simplicity and directness, to which inversion stands opposed. The truth is that it is not Horace's *greatest* odes that most attract the ordinary reader, whether in the original or the translation. Horace assures us that Pindar is a swan that sweeps from heaven to heaven, while he himself is the bee that buzzes from flower to flower. The comparison is only just when the greatest of Pindar's poems are in question and the least of Horace's. Pindar, too, was often contented with his theme when it was nothing higher than the prize of the wrestler or the runner. If Horace's grandest odes were those most valued by his English admirers, they would quarrel with his inversions more, and admire less the metres forced upon him by the age in which he lived.

It is in dealing with Horace's noblest works that Sir Stephen de Vere insists upon turning to account all the

resources, as well of his country's metres as of her language. He writes in his preface:—

'In the case of the more elevated and impassioned lyric metre, the irregular, or, as it is often called, the "Pindaric," the poet is dealing with a measure at once far stronger and more flexible than the regular. Lyrical poetry is, and more than any other characterised by sudden changes both of thought and of passion, nay, of transient mood and half-developed emotion. Such changes in their finer movements can only be indicated by irregular metres which adjust themselves spontaneously to every movement of a subtle yet sound imagination, while never subjecting themselves to any mere technical regularity. There is a music in poetic thought; and the harmonies of a metre obedient but to its own interior law can alone be the echo of that music.' . . . 'The irregular metre is an incorrect expression. . . . It is various, not lawless, for all its several parts are harmonious. It is a metre which comprehends the harmonies of all the regular metres combined under a law larger than that with which any one of them is conversant. It is the most expressive of metres; and it falls into confusion only in the hands of those who have nothing to express.'

To that category belong many writers who brought discredit on the Pindaric metre; but our greatest lyrical poets have not failed on that account to avail themselves of the special advantages which it affords when used with a suitable theme. It might have been out of place if used in Wordsworth's 'Ode to Duty,' for which a stern regularity was fitter; but how entirely spoilt would have been his sublimer, while also more impassioned, 'Ode on the Intimations of Immortality' if he had discarded those irregular lines which mark its manifold changes of mood, or the sudden burst of exultation when we reach those short lines beginning—

'O joy that in our embers
Is something that doth live,'

and that solemn repose of peaceful thought when the lengthening cadence announces the poet's great conclusion, that man came from God, and must return to God.

Among the merits of the irregular metre another might have been added in Sir Stephen de Vere's preface—viz. the freedom which it reserves to itself. The regular metre binds itself to remain regular as the poem advances; the irregular binds itself to nothing. Among its many movements, it can at will introduce, as a stanza, some new and peculiar harmony there needed. An example of this metrical transition will be found in Shelley's 'Ode to 'Naples,' where a new movement is introduced by the lines,

'Then gentle winds arose,' &c., and in Coleridge's ode entitled 'Dejection,' where it follows 'A tale of less affright,' &c. The irregular metre is a larger thing than the regular, and therefore includes the lesser one; and when it does this skilfully it practically creates a composite metre.

It would, however, be a mistake to assume that all Sir Stephen de Vere's translations from Horace are made in an irregular metre. That would have been to have missed one special character of Horace's shorter odes. These are often by him translated into a regular metre, and the contrast between the two classes thus alike illustrated is a real gain to both. The reason that for a large proportion of Horace's 'Odes' Sir Stephen claims a higher English metre is obviously because he sees more in these odes than other translators had been accustomed to see. The picture of Augustan Rome presented to the thoughtful English reader is thus made far more many-sided than it could otherwise be—a picture more true to the very various elements reconciled and blended at that advanced period of Roman society. Many great periods of Rome's existence had then passed away. The period when Cincinnatus 'returned from his wars to follow his plough' was no more. The period of Marius and Sylla had fought itself out, and died in blood. The great, but vain, attempt of the Gracchi to save the oppressed plebeian order from destruction had failed also; and with it the Rome of old times had perished. A new period was beginning. An empire which possibly might have included all Europe had died when Julius Cæsar fell dead at the base of Pompey's statue. A new period was beginning—that of the 'Pacata Romana.' But the Emperor Augustus was not, like Julius Cæsar, a soldier, and he intended the empire he founded to be an empire of peace. The perils of war he knew, and perhaps he did not suspect that the perils of a prolonged peace, in connexion with a demoralised condition of society, might eventually prove more dangerous still. The enormous wealth of the Roman nobility and their long habits of idleness, luxury and vice were alike notorious. The manly middle and lower classes of old days had gone by; the great social and political duties of past times were no longer honoured as of old. Slavery had debased the land; slaves tilled it and reaped it; slaves served in the ranks side by side with mercenaries furnished by barbaric races, whose sons had fought with tigers and lions in the amphitheatres after their solemn salutation of the Emperor, 'Cæsar, morituri te salutant.' The same barbaric races

at a later time avenged the wrong. They descended upon Rome in force, and drove her degenerate senators into exile, with their arms bound behind their backs. The poet had foreseen the woe. It was in the hope of averting it that Horace, in part at the instigation of the Emperor, wrote his most memorable odes, such as 'Integer vitæ,' 'O Diva, gratum,' 'Parcus Deorum,' 'Justum et tenacem,' 'Cælo tonantem,' 'Delicta majorum,' 'Ne forte credas,' 'Altera jam teritur.' Few poets have left their country so noble a bequest.

A decided advantage accrues to Sir Stephen de Vere's translations from Horace owing to the circumstance that while the more impassioned and also the more thoughtful among them are translated in that metre which could alone do them justice, those of a humbler character are often presented to us in a humbler metre. The metrical contrast between the two different classes attracts the reader's attention to the corresponding diversity, intellectual, moral and imaginative, between the two classes of his poetry. The variety afforded by modern metres yields opportunities which should not be lost in deference to theories. The English poets owe much to Horace. They are bound to repay the boon. We know that Horace was most justly proud of that chief labour of his life which enabled him to introduce into Rome the best metres of Greece, except the Pindaric. He did not deem that he was slighting his country in thus providing an instrumentality worthy of its poetic genius. It is not thus that the translators of Horace act when they fancy that they would slight him if they translated his 'Odes' in any other metres than those which he himself used. This is not to follow the example of Horace, but an opposite one; for he put aside as irrelevant all considerations except one, viz. what metres are most harmonious and the most worthy of the greatest subjects. The ambition of Augustus was to bequeath to a plundered world an age of peaceful glories, and in that he succeeded, perhaps, more by the aid of Horace than of any one else, except Virgil alone, whose poetry was more high-hearted. The sudden outburst of literature at Rome in the days of Augustus is a thing almost as surprising as the outburst of the higher Greek drama at Athens on the failure of Persia's attempt to enslave Greece.

Had it but lasted, what might not have been the result! What a crowd of great men rose up nearly at the same time or in rapid succession! It is thus that Dean Milman

writes in his 'Life of Horace': 'Ennius had been domiciliated 'in the House of the Scipios. . . . Lucilius had been connected with the same family. Lucretius lived in the House 'of the Memmii. Messala was the host of Tibullus.' Among the other men of letters whom he names in conjunction with these are Propertius, Varius, Pollio, Martial, Plautus, and Terence. Had the Roman Empire advanced as it began! But it was not to be. A revival of Greek song on the Roman soil was apparently among the things of which Shelley had dreamed at one time as a possibility. In his 'Ode to Liberty' he wrote these lines:—

'Palatinus sighed
Faint echoes of Ionian song. That tone
Thou didst delay to hear, lamenting to disown.'

We know not whether Horace had ever read Virgil's 'Pollio,' addressed to the consul of that name, on the birth of his son; but in it he would have found not poetry alone, but prophecy also—the expression of a craving which was then beginning to possess many minds besides those of poets, a craving for a great and new order of things never before revealed to man. Dryden prefixed to his translation of Virgil's 'Pollio' a note with the statement that 'many of 'Virgil's verses are translated from a poem by the last of the 'Sibyls, who prophesied of our Saviour's birth some forty 'years before it took place;' and Pope, in his 'Messiah,' expressed himself as strongly with respect to what he regarded as Virgil's religious intention in his poem of 'Pollio.'* To it Virgil doubtless owed in part the quasi-religious place which in early Christian times he long held among the religious poets, as we know from Dante. The latest of the Sibyl race (those prophets of the pagan world) had held converse, it was reported, with another Roman poet than Horace respecting another child than Pollio's child, and another kingdom than any man had ever seen before, the only kingdom in the building up of which no lawless ambition had ever had a part, and which no latent corruption was destined to smite with premature decay. That kingdom was to be another thing than Plato's Republic, or aught that Solon or Lycurgus had designed. Neither Alexander nor Augustus had whispered of it to bard or sage. Yet, when the Babe was born in Pollio's house (so an early belief affirmed), an inspiration had fallen upon the great poet of the West,† and he had sung a song not wholly unlike one

* 'Teste David cum Sibylla.' 'Dies Iræ.'

† Virgil,

sung many centuries before by the great prophet of the East, * a son of the Hebrew race.

In justice to Sir Stephen de Vere's version of Horace, and not less to that poetic method which proved able to deal worthily with the grander and more heroic of his odes, it may be well to begin our extracts by presenting in its totality a single one of them, '*Altera jam teritur*,' written in his youth, and at the greatest crisis through which his country had ever passed. The passion which breathes through it is the strongest, the most generous, and perhaps the most religious, with which the pagan world was acquainted—viz. that of patriotism. For the illustration of that passion in all its various moods a single metre alone could have proved adequate; and though the irregular one did not exist for Rome, as it did for Greece, yet the metre upon which Horace flung himself when wrestling with the tragic theme of Philippi, where the great Roman Republic fought its last battle and died, reminds us of it in Sir Stephen's version more than in any other of Horace's other odes. The roughness and changefulness so striking in the first three stanzas of it impart to them a rude power essential to their effect. Still more essential to it is the contrast between the last three stanzas, not only with the earlier three, but with each other. The last stanza of all is stillness after storm. The passion has worn itself to rest. The battle of Philippi had probably a permanent effect on Horace's poetry, as, indeed, on his whole life. Part of his poetry has, no doubt, an epicurean character. A larger portion of it might have incurred that reproach but for that great sorrow which fell upon his youth. In age, as in youth, his country was infinitely dear to Horace. But calamity has often proved a stimulus to genius. The failure of the French Revolution was felt by both Wordsworth and Coleridge, in the days of their enthusiastic youth, as a profound personal calamity. It was thus with Alfred Tennyson also. His sorrow was not, however, for his country, but for his friend, and after the lapse of seventeen years that sorrow's monument ascended in '*In Memoriam*,' a work more beautiful even than '*Lycidas*,' because it had been prompted by a greater love and a deeper grief. That nearest of his friends, of whom he wrote,

'More than my brothers are to me,'
in that brief moment of his death had done more for him,

* Isaiah.

and for his genius, than the longest and most devoted life could have done. Unconsciously the poet once confessed as much. While 'In Memoriam' was still in progress he spoke thus to a friend:—'A poem suggested by a great sorrow could not fail to prove a great teacher. It enters a huge dark sphere; it makes its way to the centre of that sphere: if it still works its way on, it will issue forth at last, and meet the new sunrise at the gateway.' It may have been thus with Horace. The ruin of his country fell like a blight upon his youth: but it may have made a man of him.

This poem, historically the most memorable of Horace's life, was much more likely, considering with whom thenceforward political power was invested at Rome, to have marred than mended the fortunes of the poet. His grief seems to have at that time left him indifferent to misfortunes. It is as follows:—

EPODE XVI.

[Translator's Note.]

'This impassioned lament was written after the fatal battle of Philippi and the destruction of the Roman Republic. Though little known, it remains a record of that patriotic ardour which belonged to Horace. He foretells the dissolution of Rome, and recommends that the manly spirit, the *pars indocili melior grege*, should follow the example of the Phocæans and abandon Rome.'

'Altera jam teritur.

'Another age ground down by civil strife!
Rome by her children impious and accurst,
Down trampled out of life!
Great Rome, our Rome, our mother—she that erst
Rolled back the Marsian; scattered the array
Of old Etruria's monarch, Porsena;
Humbled the pride of Capua; braved the sword
Of Spartacus; the blue-eyed German horde;
The craft and fury of the Gaul;
And him abhorred by mothers, Hannibal.

Amid her streets—her temples nigh—
The mountain wolf shall unmolested lie;
O'er her cold ashes the Barbarian ride;
The war-horse spurn the tomb
Of Romulus, and from earth's sacred womb
Scatter the dust which storms and suns defied.
How meet this ruin? Swear as swore
The doomed Phocæan race of yore,
To leave their fields, their loved abodes,
The altars of their household Gods,

To tempt new seas, and stretch their sail
 Full-blown before the driving gale :
 Be yours, submissive still to Fate,
 Like them self-sentenced, yet elate,
 Fearless o'er Ocean's trackless waste to fly
 To lands unshamed, and liberty.

Romans ! Is this your will ? Then from the shore
 Launch forth your ships : the Gods approve : obey
 Yon bird of Fate that points the way :—
 But first make oath : swear to return no more !
 Sooner shall rocks rise from their ocean grave
 And float upheaved upon the wave ;
 Sooner shall Padus lave
 Matinus' summit crowned with pine ;
 Sooner shall cloud-capped Apennine
 Rush to the Tyrrhene sea : tigers unite
 With hinds, the ringdove with the kite—
 Than we return. Such, Romans, be your oath !
 Let cowards press their beds of sloth ;—
 Forth, manly spirits, womanish tears disdain ;
 Forsake th' Etruscan shores, and dare the boundless main !

Hence self-devoted go
 Ye who love honour best :—
 Visions of glory rush upon mine eyes :
 Prophetic voices rise :—
 See, see before us distant glow
 Thro' the thin dawn-mists of the West
 Rich sunlit plains and hill tops gemmed with snow,
 The Islands of the Blest !

There the grey olive, year by year,
 Yields its unfailing fruitage ; there the vine
 Ripens, unpruned, its clusters into wine ;
 There figs, ungrafted, their russet harvest grow,
 And fields unploughed their wealth on man bestow ;
 There from the caverned ilex sere
 Wells the wild honey trickling slow ;
 There herds and flocks unbidden bring
 At eve their milky offering ;
 There from the crag's embattled steep
 The laughing waters leap.
 No wolf around the sheepfold striding
 With nightly howls the sleeping lamb affrights ;
 No venomed snakes obscurely gliding
 Sway the tall herbage ; no destroying blights,
 Nor storm, nor flood, nor scorching suns, despoil,
 Such is the will of Jove, the teeming soil.

Blest summer shores untrod
 By Jason or the Colchian sorceress,
 By Tyrian rover, or the wearied crew
 Of sage Ulysses in their dire distress!
 Merciful gift of a relenting God,
 Home of the homeless, preordained for you!
 Last vestige of the age of gold,
 Last refuge of the good and bold,
 From stars malign, from plague and tempest free,
 Far mid the Western waves a secret Sanctuary!

Not wholly dissimilar in character is the following:—

[*Translator's Note.*]

'This Epode was written B.C. 40, about the same time as the 16th Epode, "*Altera jam teritur.*" The Perusian civil war was breaking out; the Parthians under the renegade Labienus had overrun the Roman provinces in Asia, driving the legions before them; and the combined armies and fleets of Sextus Pompeius and Marcus Antonius threatened the very existence of Rome.

'Quo, quo, scelesti.

'Murderers! where rush ye? Why with bloodstained hand
 Grasp ye the fratricidal steel once more,
 The sword late sheathed? Enough of Roman gore
 Darkens each sea, each land:
 Not as of old when the proud citadel
 Of vanquished Carthage fell;
 Not as when gracing Rome's triumphal day
 The fettered Briton trod the Sacred Way;
 But now when Rome crowning the Parthian's prayer
 Bleeds by her own right hand and dies in her despair!'

A kindred subject is treated in the ode which begins '*Delicta majorum.*' Again the inspiration comes from patriotic love; again expresses itself in the form of grief and wrath; and again these agitations find their reflex in the changeful moods of a perturbed and irregular metre.

In the fourth and last stanza the contrast is chiefly that betwixt emotion and reflection, a contrast marked by corresponding metrical fluctuations. Another ode—the longest of the series, and in some respects the most poetical—is the one entitled '*Descende cœlo, Calliope.*' Of this ode Sir Stephen de Vere remarks that in it the poet, by a solemn invocation of the Muses, distinctly asserts his claim to speak as their child, their daily companion, and their ministering priest, notwithstanding that in the earlier part of that ode it is only in a subordinate degree that he fully exercises his rights. It is also only then that the poet brings out his greater powers, and it is not either the poet or the Muses

who are then celebrated, but the gods doing battle with the giants :—

‘ Shuddered the Strong One at the sight
 One moment, when with giant might
 That Earth-born generation strove
 To pile up Pelion on Olympus’ height,
 And scale the Heavens : but what bested
 Rhætus, or Mimas, or Typhœus dread,
 Porphyryion’s towering form the Gods defying
 Enceladus who as a spear could wield
 Uprooted pines ? Amazed they fled
 Pallas with her echoing shield,
 Queen Juno, Vulcan burning for the fight,
 And him who by Castalia lying
 Bathes in the sacred fount his unbound hair ;
 That God whose shoulders ever bear
 The Cynthian bow ; Phœbus who honours still
 Delos, his natal isle, and Lycia’s bosky hill.
 Power, rest of wisdom, falls by its own weight :
 Wisdom, made one with strength, th’ Immortals bless,
 And evermore exalt : they hate
 Tyrannous force untempered, pitiless.
 Diana’s virgin dart
 Drank the black blood of foul Orion’s heart ;
 And hundred-handed Gyas met his doom
 Crushed ’neath the darkness of a living tomb.
 Earth, heaped upon those buried Portents, mourns
 Her monstrous sons. The insatiate flame
 Forever under Etna burns,
 Yet ne’er consumes its quivering frame :
 Forever feasts the vulture brood
 Remorseless upon Tityos’ blood ;
 The lover base, Pirithous, complains
 Forever ’neath the weight of his three hundred chains.’

It often happens that the higher greatness of a poem is hidden from the eyes of men who yet keenly appreciate the merit of another part of it. Lord Byron appreciated the merit of Horace’s grand ode, ‘*Justum et tenacem*,’ so far as its earlier stanzas went—those which describe the great and strong man ; but to the main scope of the poem—viz. the conditions under which a nation becomes great—he was apparently wholly insensible, and accordingly he did not translate the rest of the ode. He tells us that when at school he had suffered great things from Horace, and could not forgive him :—

‘ Farewell, then, Horace, whom I hated so !

Farewell ! Upon Soracte’s ridge we part ! ’

As a matter of political philosophy, however, this is quite among the greatest of Horace's poems. The true poetical beginning of it is not to be found in the lines so often quoted, and which must always retain a chief place in political philosophy. The true beginning is where a great imaginative conception dawns upon it—where Romulus, immediately on his death, in place of descending, like vulgar souls, to the banks of Styx, ascends to heaven wafted by the steeds of his father, Mars, and claims a place among the Immortals. They sit long in silence. At last Juno, their queen, the foe of Mars, rises, and gives her solemn consent to his demand:—

‘He claimed a throne among the Gods. They sate
Silent: then Juno rose, “Troy met her fate,
Her God-built walls down-crumbled into dust
By a strange woman and a judge unjust.”*’

The following is the introductory note by the translator:—

‘*Justum et tenacem.*

‘This ode, generally designated as Juno’s speech, but more correctly entitled by Sir Theodore Martin the Apotheosis of Romulus, commences by a noble panegyric upon the virtues of truth and fearless constancy, and adduces examples drawn from Heroic legends. It records the council of the Gods held to consider whether Romulus, the descendant of Æneas, should be received amongst them. . . . We know from Suetonius and Lucan that a project for rebuilding Troy was entertained at Rome, and it has been asserted that Augustus himself was at one time not averse to it. Horace, with his usual manly independence, and with true political foresight, denounces the scheme in this grand ode.’

The stern eye of the Queen-Goddess had fixed its regard upon Troy from the first. The carrying off of Helen—an immeasurable wrong inflicted upon Greece, the favourite of Juno—was not the earliest of Troy’s transgressions. From the first that city had been false. It was a God whose music-strains had raised her walls, and that God had been amerced of his pledged reward. There can be no help for the false and the feeble. Another empire there already existed, which had been founded on fidelity and strength. It was for her and hers that the prize of virtue had been reserved. But why? Because the ‘men who composed that ‘empire were’ men in the sense in which that term was used so many centuries later by the English poet, Sir William

* Laomedon.

Jones, whose famous ode made demand, 'What constitutes 'a State?' and which itself made answer thus: that '*Men constitute a State!*'

But the English poet had been anticipated by a Roman one. Horace here attributed to his country the virtue long hers, and which he longed to restore to her. He addressed her thus in another ode:—

'Great Nation that canst spurn
The gold that in Earth's bosom hidden lies;
(Wisely there hid) unlike the base, who turn
To uses vile of sordid avarice
The Temple's spoil; fearless your hosts send forth
To India's sun-scorched wastes, and the cloud-mantled
North.'

To restore Troy is to seek in gold and guilt a foundation for empire. This is treason against Rome.

'Strong sons of Rome, to you my law I speak.
Trust not your fortunes or your strength; nor seek,
Blinded by filial piety, once more
The sentenced walls of Ilion to restore.
If e'er again 'neath some ill-omened star
She rises, I, Jove's sister, I, his wife,
'Gainst her will lead the armies of my war
Closing in new-lit flames her new-lit life.'

That attempt is fated to fail because the permanence of a nation's greatness is founded on individual greatness. It is not in the many only that greatness is to be found. It is to be found in the individual man. While one great man remains there is hope for the land:—

'The righteous man, of purpose fixed and strong,
Scorns the depraved commands
Of angry Faction clamouring for wrong,
Nor fears the Despot's frown. Not Auster's roar
Whitening the restless wave on Adria's shore,
Not the red thunder hurled
From Jove's avenging hands
Can shake his solid will. Unmoved he stands
Erect amid the ruins of a world.'

Rome had triumphed over Antony and Cleopatra. The patriot poet did not forbid that triumph. On the contrary, he shared it. But he alone remembered at that hour that a true poet and a true patriot owes graver duties to his country than that of merely rejoicing with her in her triumphs. He has to teach her to venerate fallen greatness

also. It is thus that Horace celebrated the death of Cleopatra. Prosperity had debased her : calamity had ennobled her.

‘ She sought no refuge on a foreign shore.
 She sought her doom : far nobler ’twas to die
 Than like a panther caged in Roman bonds to lie.
 The sword she feared not. In her realm once more,
 Serene amongst deserted fanes,
 Unmoved ’mid vacant halls she stood ;
 Then to the asp she gave her darkening veins,
 And sucked the death into her blood.

Deliberately she died : fiercely disdained
 To bow her haughty head to Roman scorn,
 Discrowned, and yet a Queen ; a captive chained ;
 A woman desolate and forlorn.’

The circumstance that irregular lyrical metres lend themselves better than regular to the expression of patriotic passion is no reason for our assuming that they are not also fit to deal with humbler themes, no reason why they cannot yield us such an elegy as this :—

TO VIRGIL : ON THE DEATH OF QUINCTILIUS.

Quis desiderio.

Blush not for tears in ceaseless sorrow shed
 For one so loved. Melpomene, inspire
 The dirge low-breathed, the sobbing lyre,
 And pour from sacred lips the anthem of the dead.

Wrapped in the sleep of death
 Quinctilius lies. Ah, when shall spotless Faith,
 And Truth, and Modesty, and Justice, find
 A heart so pure, so constant, and so kind ?

He died bewailed by all, but most by thee,
 My Virgil, who with loving piety
 Forever dost the Gods implore
 Quinctilius, lent not given, to restore.

Ah, fruitless prayer ! not even thy hallowed tongue,
 Sweet as the magic lute by Orpheus strung
 That charmed the woods, could wake the dead once more,
 And through cold phantom veins the living current pour.

Hermes, he whose fatal wand
 Relentless leads the shadowy band,
 Mocks at our vows. What then remains !
 The strength that Fate itself disdains ;

The soul to Fortune's worst resigned ;
Th' unconquered heart, and equal mind.

A dirge of a wholly different sort is that which Horace breathed over Archytas when shipwrecked in the plenitude of wisdom and manifold knowledge, and lying on the sea-shore with no reverent hand to sprinkle over him that sea-sand believed to make the departed mariner free of the milder abodes of the dead—

TO ARCHYTAS.

Te maris et terræ.

Archytas ! on the bleak Matinian shore
Beneath a scanty drift of shingle lie
Thy bones unburied. What avails it now
To thee, that thou could'st mete the sea, the land,
The wastes of broad illimitable sand ?

That with all-grasping vision thou
Could'st count the stars, th' aerial depths explore ?
What profit this to thee fated so soon to die ?

One night awaits us all, and all must tread
The road unknown, the pathway of the dead.
On some by Furies driven the War-God bends
A glance that kills : o'er some the storm-blast sends
The cold embrace of the insatiate wave.

The young, the aged, throng the grave.
Alike on hoary head and golden braid
The pitiless hand of Proserpine is laid.

Me, too, the Southern storm
Following Orion's downward course malign
Whelmed in the Illyrian brine.
Pause, sailor, pause ; and o'er my naked form
And strengthless head,

A pittance of poor sand in reverence shed :
Sailor, beware !

Not unavenged shall fall my slighted prayer.
Thy babes shall rue thy sin ! No sacred rite
Shall on the horror of thy night
Vouchsafe one healing beam of expiatory light.

Stay, stranger, stay !
Let fall with pious hand
A three-fold gift of sacrificial sand,
Then take thy way.

One of the noblest among Horace's odes is that which bears the title of '*Odi profanum vulgus et arceo.*' It is, indeed, but poorly represented by the few specimens for which we can here find room.

'Odi profanum.

'Away, ye herd profane!
Silence! let no unhallow'd tongue
Disturb the sacred rites of song,
Whilst I, the High Priest of the Nine,
For youths and maids alone entwine
A new and loftier strain.

The lord of wide domains
Unsated still his ample bound disdains,
And through the bosom of the deep
Drives the huge mole, down-sinking heap on heap.
The finny race behold the new-born land
Amazed, see towers arise, and fields expand,
And 'mid his hireling crew th' usurper stand.
Proudly he stands; but at his side
Terror still dogs the steps of pride:
Behind the horseman sits black Care,
And o'er the brazen trireme bends Despair.

Sleep hovers with extended wing
Above the roof where Labour dwells;
Or where the river, murmuring,
Ripples beneath the beechen shade;
Or where in Tempe's dells

No sound but Zephyr's breath throbs through the silvan glade.'

A similar note is struck in the following ode, but in a milder measure:—

'Th' ancestral salt-vase shines with lustre clear,
Emblem of olden faith and hospitable cheer;
Nor greed, nor doubt, nor envy's curses deep
Disturb his innocent sleep.
Why waste on doubtful issues life's short years?
Why hope that foreign suns can dry our tears?
The Exile from his country flies,
Not from himself, nor from his memories.

Care climbs the trireme's brazen sides;
Care with the serried squadron rides;
Outstrips the cloud-compelling wind
And leaves the panting stag behind:
But the brave spirit, self-possessed,
Tempers misfortune with a jest,
With joy th' allotted gift receives;
The gift denied to others frankly leaves.

A chequered life the Gods bestow:
Snatched by swift fate Achilles died:
Time-worn Tithonus, wasting slow,
Long wept a death denied:
A random hour may toss to me
Some gifts, my friend, refused to thee.

A hundred flocks thy pastures roam :
 Large herds, deep-uddered, low around thy home
 At the red close of day :
 The steed with joyous neigh
 Welcomes thy footstep : robes that shine
 Twice dipt in Afric dyes are thine.
 To me kind Fate with bounteous hand
 Grants other boon ; a spot of land,
 A faint flame of poetic fire,
 A breath from the Æolian lyre,
 An honest aim, a spirit proud
 That loves the truth, and scorns the crowd.'

Still more spirit-stirring, however, is '*Cælo tonantem*,' as often named '*Regulus*.' Among Horace's odes none better deserves to be known. The 'prefatory note' is to this effect:—

'An appeal had been made to the Roman Senate for the ransom of the survivors of the army of the Consul Crassus, conquered by the Parthians, and enslaved in many parts of the East. Horace in that ode insists on the ignominy of the proposed treaty, and cites the noble address of Regulus, who sacrificed his life by dissuading the Romans from ransoming their fellow-countrymen enslaved at Carthage.'

'With warning voice of stern rebuke
 Thus Regulus the Senate shook :
 He saw, prophetic, in far days to come,
 The heart corrupt, and future doom of Rome.
 "These eyes," he cried, "these eyes have seen
 Unbloodied swords from warriors torn,
 And Roman standards nailed in scorn
 On Punic shrines obscene ;
 Have seen the hands of freeborn men
 Wrenched back and bound ; th' unguarded gate ;
 And fields our war laid desolate
 By Romans tilled again."

From the chaste kiss, and wild embrace
 Of wife and babes he turned his face,
 A man self-doomed to die ;
 Then bent his manly brow, in scorn,
 Resolved, relentless, sad, but stern,
 To earth, all silently ;
 Till counsel never heard before
 Had nerved each wavering Senator ;
 Till flushed each cheek with patriot shame,
 And surging rose the loud acclaim :—
 Then, from his weeping friends, in haste,
 To exile and to death he passed.

He knew the tortures that Barbaric hate
 Had stored for him. Exulting in his fate
 With kindly hand he waved away
 The crowds that strove his course to stay.
 He passed from all, as when in days of yore,
 His judgement given, thro' client throngs he pressed
 In glad Venafrian fields to seek his rest,
 Or Greek Tarentum on the Southern shore.'

In this ode the translator has for the most part used a regular metre; but the contrast to the rest afforded by the last two stanzas enhances the effect of the poem taken as a whole. Another of Horace's Odes, the '*Ne forte credas*,' more often quoted under the name of '*Lollius*,' to be appreciated must be read as a whole. Its character is stateliness, not passion:—

Ne forte credas.

'Think not, my Lollius, that these strains can die;
 Strains linked by arts unknown before
 With chords of lyric harmony
 Which from far-sounding Aufidus I bore
 Where foams the mountain flood down to the Adrian shore.

The poet dies not. Homer reigns alone;
 Divine Alcæus clangs his vengeful lyre:
 Stesichorus still chaunts in graver tone;
 And Pindar's glowing hymns the soul inspire.
 The generations pass away,
 But spare Anacreon's sportive lay;
 And love still breathes where Sappho sings,
 And still the soul of rapture clings
 To the wild throbbings of th' Æolian strings.

Not Spartan Helen, false and fair,
 By passion blinded, driven by Fate,
 First loved a stranger's braided hair,
 His golden robes, his princely state;
 And, lost to shame, to honour dead,
 From home, from country, fled:

Not Hector, not Deiphobus,
 Died first their wives, their babes, to guard;
 Idomeneus and Sthenelus
 Not first defied the foemen's sword:
 Not Teucer first bent the Cydonian bow;
 Nor once alone Troy's god-built walls lay low.

A race of heroes brave and strong
 Before Atrides fought and died;
 No Homer lived; no sacred song
 Their great deeds sanctified:

Obscure, unwept, unknown they lie,
Opprest with clouds of endless night :
No poet lived to glorify

 Their names with light.

Virtue from human eye concealed,
Unsung, unhonoured, unrevealed,
Like buried sloth forgotten dies.
Thy toils, my Lollius, shall defy
Oblivion pale, foul obloquy ;
Thy fame shall live, and star-like rise
On songs immortal blazon penned
By me, thy Poet, and thy friend.

Thine is the strenuous will, the constant mind,
The soul serene in calm or storm resigned :—
CONSUL FOR LIFE ! for, while one pulse survives,
In thee the Roman Consul's spirit lives,

 Spirit of justice, which disdains
 The fraudulent wile, the miser's gains,
 The proffered bribe ; which loves the light,
 Scorns the expedient, grasps the right ;—
 Spirit heroic, which when foes
 Unnumbered round the legion close,
Measures the peril with untroubled eye,
And bursts through circling hosts to victory.

Who dwells on earth supremely blest ?
Not he of wealth and power possess ;
But he alone to whom is given
Wisdom to use the gifts of Heaven ;
Who fears to sin, but not to die,
Most rich when steeped in poverty,
Exulting when his native land,
Or friends beloved, his life demand.'

We have remarked that there is no reason why a regular metre should not suit some poetic subjects, though not generally the greatest, as well as an irregular one. Sir Stephen de Vere has selected regular metres for not a few of his translations, especially from Horace's shorter odes, though he has preferred the irregular for his nobler. In this matter translators have often made a serious mistake, confounding together two very different things—viz. a translation into English from the classical languages alone, or from the classical languages and classical metres also. The former has often proved successful; the latter seldom. Collins' 'Ode to Evening' is a beautiful poem, but it is not a translation, and does not aim at being one. The fact is that there is a strong sympathy between the mind poetic and poetic metre, for the simple

reason because metre is not a mechanical thing, but a thing at once intellectual, moral and musical. In a true poem the mind, the heart, and the ear commonly work conjointly and sympathetically. Such a triple union is by necessity a difficult matter, and it is by no means a wise thing to add to that difficulty by adding to its arbitrary character; for which reason, while many a man with but a small poetic equipment may write poetry with at least a certain degree of success, a man with the intellect and imagination of a Bacon or of a Jeremy Taylor often fails wholly for want of a metrical ear. Alfred Tennyson greatly admired Browning, and called him the most hard-headed of poets; while another admirer said of him, 'He is a true poet, but was 'near being none. He thinks in shorthand, and his ear is 'seldom in sympathy with his thought.

We speak, of course, exclusively of the classical lyrical metres, for as regards the hexameter no one can question its immense grandeur. As to its fitness to be used by a translator, that is another question. England has not been fortunate in the chief metres used by her translators. Few will say that Pope made a wise choice in selecting the 'Heroic couplet,' the favourite metre of an artificial age, when translating Homer into English verse.—Homer, the most simple of all poets, and the most free on the one hand from the epigrammatic style, and on the other from the inflated. As few will affirm that where a translation is false to the spirit of the original, fidelity to the letter can compensate for the defect; Keats, in his famous 'Sonnet on 'looking into Chapman's "Homer,"' tells us where was found a translator for Homer's 'Iliad.' The best translator of his 'Odyssey' is Philip Stanhope Worsley. We possess one very remarkable English hexameter poem, viz. Coleridge's 'Hymn to the Earth,' and another poem by him in a classical metre, and with much charm about it, which begins :

'High and embosomed in congregated laurels.'

The poet was successful in both those poems because, although in writing them he submitted for sport to the metrical laws of a remote place and time, he surrendered nothing besides, and claimed an entire freedom for his own imagination and intellect. If he had claimed less he would have worked 'sine numine,' and the result would have been something cold and constrained, unmusical and unnatural. Not a few even of Horace's metres are very inferior to the rest—at least if Latin was pronounced in his time as it is now, a subject on which we are very imperfectly informed.

Sir Henry Taylor used to call some metres occasionally found in Moore's poetry, such as

‘The time I lost in wooing,
In watching and pursuing,’ &c.

‘saltatory metres.’ He affirmed also that they were too arbitrary to be musical. So were several of the ancient metres, though wholly unlike them in all things else. Another reason for the failure which has generally followed a servile imitation of classic metres is their artificial and elaborate character. For an ear accustomed to the simplicity of our English metres, to their quietude, their continuity, their long and inwoven harmonies, their comparative absence of the abrupt and the conventional, translation based on the retention of the classical metres is unsatisfactory. We cannot afford to make mistakes in this matter of metres. We have much to be grateful for; and if we prove ungrateful in deference to whim, we shall repent it too late, when we have lost the skill with which our English metres were written of old. The truth is that our metres are better than the metres of the old Romans. Our ballad metres are admirable from their simplicity and pathos. Our Blank Verse comprehends a multitude of metres in one—the meditative blank verse, the dramatic, the idyllic; these are all of them essentially different metres, though called by a single name. There is the Spenserian stanza, and the cognate stanza metres, including six, seven, and eight lines in each. There is the magnificent Italian ‘Rima,’ immortalised by Dante. These metres combine a greater freedom, a greater spirituality, a greater variety, a greater pathos, and a greater seriousness than the metres of the ancient world.

It is a mistake to think that the loftier forms of versification are suitable only to philosophical or impassioned themes. On the contrary, they are especially fitted by their imitative harmonies both for descriptive poetry, and for that which is most eminently human-hearted. An example of this will be found in Sir Stephen de Vere's versification of ‘O fons ‘Bandusiae,’ and not less in other descriptive passages in which the sound is the echo of the sense:—

‘*O fons Bandusia.*

‘Fount of Bandusia, crystal spring,
To thee with wine and flowers I bring
A kid whose budding horns prepare
For wanton gambols, or for war:—
Prepare in vain! His victim blood
Shall stain thy pure and gelid flood.

When the red Dogstar flames on high
 It harms thee not. Th' o'er-laboured steer
 And panting herds that wander by,
 Draw from thy loving breast draughts cool and clear.

Thou too, O sacred spring,
 Shalt have thy place with founts long-loved, far-known;
 Whilst I, thy poet, sing
 The ilex hoar thy margin shadowing,
 The runnels from thy moss-grown caves that flow
 Whispering in murmurs light and low
 A language all their own.'

In the last stanza the metre is far more true to the sounds of nature than any ancient metre could be.

In the following ode the descriptive is finely blended with the mythological:—

' Quo me, Bacche.

' Whither through wastes unscanned by mortal eye
 Bear'st thou me, Bacchus; through what paths untrod?
 Evoe! spare me! spare thy votary
 Filled with the fierce, swift, spirit of the God.

From what deep cavern to the listening pines
 Great Cæsar's anthemed triumph must I fling,
 And point his star amid celestial signs?—
 A portent strange, a mystery, I sing!

I wandered, lost: a vision on me fell:
 A glory bursting from the broad-rimmed sun
 Smote with strong light the phantom-haunted dell:
 Then thro' the reddening fir-stems distant shone

Green fields, and sparkling banks, and rivers deep—
 Mine eyes were opened! motionless I gazed;
 As some Bacchantè starting from her sleep
 On thunder-riven mountain stares amazed

At snow-clad plains of Thrace beneath her spread,
 And Rhodope with all its barbarous horde,
 And Hebrus foaming o'er his rocky bed.
 Hear me, Lenæan Bacchus! hear me, lord

Of Mænada, and the Naiad race whose floods
 With mighty arms down rugged gorges bear
 Uprooted oaks, the monarchs of the woods:
 Lead on, resistless God! I know not fear:

Peril is sweet near thee, when o'er thy brow
 The bleeding grape and glistening ivy twine.
 Soft notes, and dulcet lays beseech not now;
 I chant immortal Pæans, hymns divine.'

The modern world is justly proud of the great importance which it has imparted to descriptive poetry and the skill with which it has treated that form of verse. Certainly it has painted to more advantage than men had ever painted before the walls of man's earthly dwelling-place. The ancients took a view of Nature very different from the moderns. They regarded it chiefly in subordination to man, his works, his ways, his affections, and his beliefs; and such a poem as that quoted above makes us feel that that is no unworthy way of representing Nature, though it is far from being the only way. Our next quotation shall be a political one.

[*Translator's Note.*]

'The opinions of commentators differ as to the date and purpose of this ode. There can be little doubt that it is a political allegory, and the more probable date is about B.C. 38, when a fierce naval war was waged between Octavius Cæsar and Sextus Pompeius, the fleet of the former having been twice defeated. It is a dissuasion against renewed war.'

'O navis.

'Ship of the State, beware!
 Hold fast the port. Cling to the friendly shore;
 Lest sudden storms, and whirling eddies bear
 Thy shattered hull to faithless seas once more.

See how the rower faints upon his oar!
 Hark to the groaning of the mast
 Sore stricken by the Libyan blast!
 Thy shrouds are burst; thy sails are torn;
 And through thy gaping ribs forlorn
 The floods remorseless pour.

Dare not to call for aid on powers divine;
 Dishonoured once they hear no more:
 Nor boast, majestic pine,
 Daughter of Pontic forests, thy great name,
 Old lineage, well-earned fame,
 The honours of thy sculptured prow:—
 Sport of the mocking winds, nor feared, nor trusted now!
 Alas, my country, long my anxious care,
 Source now of bitter pain, and fond regret!
 Thy stars obscured, thy course beset
 By rocks unseen, beware!
 Trust not soft winds and treacherous seas
 Or the false glitter of the Cyclades.'

This poem proves that Horace had severe patriotic anxieties in his later as in his earlier days. It is probable that he was never long without them. Horace had a pro-

found conviction that the fortunes of a nation were as her merits were, and he never flattered his country by concealing from her his conviction that her offences were great and grievous.

'Quem tu, Melpomene.

'When on the Poet's birth
Melpomene looked down with placid eye
She gave him but one gift, the gift of Poesy.
The Poet scorns the glories of the earth,
The athlete's strength, the runner's speed :—
Never shall fiery steed
Bear him a victor in the Achaian car ;
Never shall Rome for mighty deeds in war
Crown him with laurels in the Capitol,
And with one voice, one heart extol
Him who his country's foes defied
And smote the Despot in his pride.

But him, the Bard, rich Tibur's sparkling rills,
And waving tresses of thick-wooded hills,
With thousand voices clear and strong
Proclaim the monarch of Æolian song.
Me, me,—henceforth less galled by Envy's tongue—
The world's great mistress lifts amid her choir,
The honoured master of the Roman lyre.

Pierian maid, whose vocal art
Tempers the sweet clang of the golden shell,
Goddess, who might'st impart
To Ocean's voiceless tribes the swan's expiring knell,
If still I sing, and still such strains as mine
Can please, Melpomene, the gift is thine.'

To this poem an English metre imparts a pathos which a Latin one could never have bestowed. This is only one proof among many supplied by this volume that the merit or demerit of a translation from classical poetry depends far more on other things than on the use of classical metres in a language for which they were not intended. It may also be regarded as a farewell—Horace's grateful adieu to that one of the Muses who, though little given to smiling, had never failed to smile upon him.

True!
ART. VII.—1. Report of the Royal Commission on Vivisection.
 London : 1876.

2. *Cruelty to Animals Act*, 1876.

3. *Return of the Number of Experiments performed on Living Animals in 1897 and 1898.* London : 1898 and 1899.

4. *The Essentials of Experimental Physiology.* T. G. BRODIE, M.D. London : 1898.

5. *Physiological Cruelty, or Fact and Fancy.* 'Philanthropos.' London : 1883.

6. *Bacon's Novum Organum.*

7. *Life of William Harvey.* Dr. MONK (Roll of College of Physicians. 2nd Edition. Vol. 1). 1879.

8. *Report of Church Congress, Folkestone.* London : 1892.

THE method of investigation into the phenomena of life, popularly known as vivisection, has been in this country under more or less acrimonious discussion for twenty-four years. The report of the Royal Commission appointed in 1875 opens thus :—

'We find that until a comparatively recent period physiology—the science which treats of the phenomena presented by living animals—had been for some time past but little cultivated in this country, but that there has been of late years a great movement in advance. This movement is not special to physiology, but embraces physics, chemistry, pathology, and all the other branches of physical science. . . . There is then . . . what has been termed a great scientific revival.'

All along the line teaching began about thirty years ago to be made as far as possible practical. Students were no longer allowed to work things up from books only, to pass examinations by dint mainly of a good memory. They were expected to show that they did positively know something of chemistry, physics, pathology, and physiology, something which could not be learnt from books, which necessitated a direct personal training in experimental methods. A very strong feeling was excited in the country against experimental physiology, and it must be admitted that abuses had grown up in the work of individuals. It was recognised that if the method was to be widely extended it needed careful overlooking, and to be subjected to such checks as might be found necessary to prevent the increase or even the continuance of such abuses. The Royal Commission recommended, in effect, that experiments upon living animals

should only be done by skilled and approved persons, and that their work should be under inspection. They admitted the necessity for experimental research and its immense value, and they urged that every care should be taken to minimise the resulting suffering.

‘Our conclusion, therefore, is, that it is impossible altogether to prevent the practice of making experiments upon living animals for the attainment of knowledge applicable to the mitigation of human suffering or the prolongation of human life. . . . That the greatest mitigations of human suffering have been in part derived from such experiments. . . . That the abuse of the practice by inhuman and unskilful persons is justly abhorrent to your Majesty’s subjects generally, not least so to the most distinguished physiologists and the most eminent physicians and surgeons; and that the support of these eminent persons, as well as of the general public, may be confidently expected for any reasonable measures intended to prevent abuse.’

The Cruelty to Animals Act of 1876 was based on the report of the Commission. There has been no evidence of the Act having been evaded. Physiologists do not for the most part like it, for the regulations imposed on them give trouble and take time; but they have submitted loyally, and on the whole it has been less unpopular than it was expected to be. The agitation, however, in favour of the total abolition or still further restriction of experimental physiology has not altogether subsided, and it is proposed to introduce into the House of Commons a bill to amend the Act of 1876 in the direction of still further stringency. The proposals made by the promoters of the amending bill will more conveniently be studied later.

It is necessary, in the first place, to look at the subject somewhat broadly. A particular method of studying vital problems is under discussion. What is the judgement of well-informed and reasonable people as to its merits or demerits, its value or its worthlessness? Is the method one which can be justified by humane and sympathetic people, or is it not? No one should attempt to answer these questions without a distinct mental conception, which should accord with the facts of the case and not be evolved solely from his own imagination, of what he means by the words ‘vivisection,’ ‘pain,’ ‘torture,’ ‘medical science,’ and ‘cruelty.’ It is impossible to think clearly unless all these terms are taken out of the cloudy atmosphere of rhetoric and looked at calmly till their meaning becomes visible. If we do this, it is seen that ‘vivisection’ means ‘the cutting up or dissecting of living animals.’ It ought not to include the prick of a needle or

even so slight a cutting operation as vaccination. It certainly does not include any feeding operation or the giving of drugs by the mouth or under the skin. 'Pain' does not lend itself readily to definition. To say it is an unpleasant sensation conveyed to the brain by the sensory nerves and received by the brain is, perhaps, as nearly correct as any definition is likely to be. 'Torture' means severe and prolonged pain. 'Medical science' is that which is positively known as to the structure and functions of the bodily organs, their disturbances, and the true methods of correcting those disturbances. The word 'science' means *real* knowledge, not theory or imaginative guessing. 'Cruelty' refers to the attitude of mind of the person who gives pain. It is only pain given needlessly and uselessly that is 'cruel.' Pain given for a beneficent purpose is not cruel. 'The whole creation groaneth and travaileth together;' pain is part, and a large part, of the life of all sentient creatures and of the economy of the universe. The birth of every child, at any rate under the conditions which prevail in civilised races, causes to the mother severe and prolonged pain, but we do not think of it as cruelty. It is not useless or purposeless. Cruelty begins when pain is inflicted without adequate cause. It is a misapplication of language to call the spider cruel for catching flies, the cat for living upon mice and birds, or man for killing and eating sheep, chickens, or whitebait. In each of these cases the pain given is not purposeless, and it is therefore not cruel. When the purpose of pain is transferred from the advantage of the one who inflicts it to the advantage of others, when pain is given not merely to satisfy a craving appetite or a natural animal instinct, but from the higher motive of desiring to be able to relieve the sufferings of others, it cannot be more cruel than it was in the former case. By becoming less selfish it must be less ignoble and further removed from cruelty. It is, however, possible that pain given at first for a motive which justifies it may in time and with the deadening effect of custom degenerate into cruelty. The wild beast is closely related to all of us. Cruelty cannot be said to be foreign to the nature of even civilised human beings. It has to be guarded against, in most people, as a bad possibility. The cat may play with the mouse and enjoy its terror and suffering, and in so far as it does so it is cruel. If a physiologist or a surgeon enjoys giving pain, instead of only giving what is inevitable to attain a beneficent end, he is cruel, but not otherwise. If it be true that from our

position among animals cruelty is not far away from us, no one should dare to say in his heart, 'I could not be cruel.' History is full of the terrible possibilities of cruelty seen in otherwise right-minded persons. Quite a short time ago harmless old women were burnt to death as witches, Non-conformists were tied to stakes and drowned by the incoming tide, and prisoners were tortured by methods which now we can scarcely bear to imagine or describe.

Even at the present time, and in this country, over 28,000 cases of cruelty to children were investigated last year by Mr. Waugh's society. The number of children involved was nearly 76,000. In 2,873 cases the society's warning was disregarded, the offenders were prosecuted, and in over 2,700 cases the charges were proved in court. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals procured the conviction of 2,503 persons for gross cruelty in the first third of the present year. At the same rate the convictions for the year would amount to 7,509.

It must be remembered also that the whole trend of educational influences at the present time is to make pain of as little account as may be. Great part of the training of the young is specially concerned with the developement of fortitude, and this implies the power of putting up with and making light of pain. Boys are expected to bear without grumbling many things that hurt them considerably. Girls, in a less degree, are now in school playgrounds and hockey fields, learning the same lesson, and with beneficial results. In boys and girls alike we recognise that character gains by the developement of endurance and fortitude, and that to take pain lightly is a finer thing than to shrink from it as the worst of evils. The same influence is continued later on in life. In the hunting-field, in mountain-climbing, at Henley and Putney, in football matches and in the cricket-ground, there are endless demands upon the qualities which are summed up as 'pluck.' The mountaineer endures frost-bite and other evils, the football player often gets a broken nose or shoulder, the oarsman rows out his race and faints at the winning-post. They all brave acute pain, which not rarely leaves its mark for life. But, in spite of this, no wise person wishes to see healthy young men shrink from efforts of the kind on account of the immediate suffering or possible risk of damage. The suffering and risk are the price paid for a more important benefit, the developement of fortitude—that is, the power of holding on to the work in hand in spite of pain, and almost to the

extent of ignoring the fact of pain. Every one recognises the value of this quality in soldiers. But they have no monopoly of heroism; it is wanted everywhere, and by those who put character in the forefront of what education should aim at producing, the training which makes for development of self-control and heroism is accepted as the best for individuals and for the nation.

It has, however, to be admitted that fortitude, like everything else in this complex world, has its drawbacks. The possession of endurance—i.e. the power of taking pain somewhat lightly—tends to make the giving of pain less difficult than it would be to a person who could see nothing in the world more important than pain. One who is himself ready to endure when necessary does not encourage other people or other animals 'to make a fuss about nothing,' as he would mentally put it to himself. He tends to discount their pain as well as his own. This is probably in the main useful, so far as it regards his fellow-humans, who are more often harmed and broken down by excessive sympathy than by the absence of demonstrations of sympathy. It does most of us good to be expected to be brave. The kindest thing we can do for those who have much to bear is to sustain their courage or spirit and to nourish their fortitude. But in the case of animals, with whom, at the best, spiritual contact and the influence of mind upon mind are so much more imperfect than they are between man and man, the result of the man's own discipline in fortitude may, undoubtedly, be to make him shrink less than he should from giving pain to the creatures who have nothing, so far as we know, to gain from enduring it.

It is also probable that the sympathy which is born of imagination is not specially developed by concentration of mind on the search for the facts of physiology. The whole desire of a physiologist is to reach the ultimate truths of life in every direction. The power of realising mentally that which is not under direct observation is imagination, and it is not cultivated with at all the same assiduity as the power of observing.

There is, then, a combination of influences all tending to make it possible for physiologists to lapse into carelessness as to the infliction of pain. It is not surprising if in a certain proportion of cases a disregard of the suffering involved in the experimental study of physiology is the result of such a combination.

It is impossible to deny that both in England and on

the Continent much that can only be described as reckless disregard of pain has been shown by some physiologists. No one can read the descriptions of Majendie's operations and very many others without recognising, though we do not know precisely how to compare suffering in the lower members of the animal world with what we know to be pain in our own more developed nervous systems, that suffering there doubtless was, and that it was often inflicted in a cruel and reckless spirit. The practical points to consider are, however, not what has been done in the past and by individuals, but whether, looking at the search for physiological truth as a whole, under existing conditions and as aided by anæsthetics, the experimental method can now be followed without cruelty, or whether it should be absolutely condemned. Certain elementary facts of physiology must be accepted as proved before this question can be settled. In the first place, it is certain that pain, as has been said in attempting to define it, is an impression conveyed to the brain by the nerves. It is not a property of the nerves themselves, or even of the brain apart from the nerves. Even the brain feels only what is brought to it by the nerves. If the brain be destroyed, or the connexion between the sensory nerves and the brain be interrupted, pain is impossible. There is no such thing as pain to an animal or man after cutting off the head or cutting through the upper part of the spinal cord, or crushing it, as when a criminal is hanged. Then, again, it is certain that even in the higher animals, and to a greater extent in the lower ones, many actions can be, and are, performed after the head is removed, without consciousness, and, therefore, without feeling. An impression made upon sensory nerves is conveyed towards the brain, but when its upward progress is stopped by the spinal cord having been severed, or the brain destroyed, the sensory impression is conveyed or 'reflected' through the cord to the motor nerves, and movements result which seem to the onlooker to indicate pain, though they are really entirely automatic and apart from consciousness. So that 'signs of pain' in an animal are absolutely misleading when its brain is away, or when it is benumbed by an anæsthetic, or when its spinal cord is severed. Then, again, it is certain that the sensation of pain is far smaller in the less intelligent animals than in the more intelligent, and that in all animals it is less than in man. Horses, for instance, are relatively to their size stupid animals. A horse with a compound fracture of the

leg, while waiting for the knacker to kill it, will often be found standing on its three legs quietly grazing and even moving about. To a human being the smallest movement of a broken bone produces pain of such an agonising character that voluntary motion and eating a meal would be quite impossible. A thoroughbred horse, again, feels pain far more than does a horse with no breeding. The perception of pain both in humans and animals differs, probably, almost as much as does the perception of sound. What we call 'an ear for music' is almost an added sense in some people as compared with others. Even in animals of relatively high intelligence, such as dogs and monkeys, there seems to be reason to think their perception of pain is much less acute than in humans. After serious operations under chloroform they are often frisking about a few minutes after recovering consciousness, and even jumping from the floor on to the operating-table in a way which forbids the notion that they are then suffering. In all animals the skin is probably less sensitive than the human skin is. It is covered with insensitive hair, and though, no doubt, more sensitive than any other part of the body, it is presumably on a quite different plane of sensitiveness to the human skin. In human beings the sensitiveness of the internal organs is very small as compared with that of the skin. Examples of this are familiar to every one. While in health no one knows anything of his 'inside;' he has no sensations from it. Even disease of a very serious kind can, and often does, go on for years in the internal organs without causing any sensation. The nerves of the internal organs are much more concerned with regulating functions and controlling the size of the blood-vessels than with the conveyance of sensory impressions to the brain. Life would, in fact, be unbearable if the functions of animal life in a normal condition caused sensation, and they would cause it if the organs were richly supplied with sensory nerves. Every surgeon knows, for example, that the human intestine is, when its muscular coat is at rest, almost as insensitive as the hair or nails. In the operation of opening the intestine, often required in the presence of malignant disease, the cut in the skin and the business of fixing the gut to the skin would be very painful, and deep anæsthesia is required. Two days later, when the gut in its new position has to be opened, the patient is told to shut his eyes, and he feels nothing—he does not even wince—while a wound nearly two inches long is made in the intestinal wall with either knife or hot

iron. This has been proved by many hundreds of cases, and certainly it is not to be explained as due to stoicism on the part of the patient. Other important operations have been done without anæsthesia except for the skin cut, and without giving rise to suffering of at all a severe kind. It is most improbable that even the highest of the lower animals would feel pain where man feels none. On the contrary, from their smaller brain developement, they probably always are less sensitive than man.

Then, as regards the pain of the healing of wounds, it should be remembered that this varies immensely with the skill of the surgeon and with the perfection of his methods for keeping the wound aseptic. When he succeeds in this there is very little pain, even in human beings; after operations which involve a large skin incision one dose of morphia will usually tide the patient over the first few hours, and later on there is no pain worth mentioning. When pain is great the day after an operation, the wound is almost certainly not aseptic.

Animals, too, are spared in great part the suffering human beings get from their imaginations. Surgeons are very often told by patients how much less terrible an operation has been than they had thought it would be. They have said, 'Pray do tell other people not to be afraid; 'it is so easy to think it much worse than it really is.' 'I had no idea there would be so little pain; I tortured myself much more in thinking about it than I need have done had I known the truth.'

From all these considerations it seems to result that physiological research on living animals is not impossible without anything that can fairly be called torture. If the operator sets himself to minimise suffering, he can reduce it, in almost all cases, to a point which is not out of proportion to the advantage to be gained. If he does not seriously and honestly do his utmost to avoid pain, he is cruel.

This brings us to the question, What are the regulations under which physiological research is now being carried on in England? How far has the Act of 1876 protected animals from useless suffering? Physiologists can no longer do what they like in silence, and at any cost in the matter of suffering. What we have to ask is, Does the Act in practice sufficiently check the giving of unnecessary pain, and do the higher interests of mankind justify some sacrifice of animal life, even with pain, provided always that every care is taken to minimise pain to the utmost?

The Act made private vivisection a penal offence. No experiment on a living animal is legal except on premises duly registered under the Act and open to inspection by the Government inspector. The suggestion that almost all medical practitioners and students spent their leisure hours in dissecting living animals was always known to the initiated to be in the last degree absurd; but since the Act was passed, even people most enthusiastically opposed to scientific advance have not dared to make it. Experiments can now be made only in registered places and by licensed people. Any one applying for a licence must be recommended as qualified for research work by a president of one of the great medical corporations and by a professor of physiology. A licence when taken alone is limited in the following ways:—

1. The animal must be completely anæsthetised.
2. It must be killed before it can recover from the anæsthetic.
3. The experiment cannot be used to illustrate class teaching.
4. It must not be a mere repetition of what has before been done.
5. The animal must not be a cat or a dog.
6. It must not be a horse, mule, or ass.

Thus, under a licence only very little can be done. The repair of wounds cannot be studied, it is impossible to make inoculations, or to work at the diseases of horses and dogs.

The Act provides six separate certificates, marked A to F, to meet and remove these various restrictions. None of these certificates can be obtained except by holders of the license. Each certificate removes one restriction only, and for a limited time only. Certificate A permits operations to be done without anæsthetics, but in practice it is given only for inoculations and the giving of drugs or poisons. In operations of this class the initial pain is quite trifling—the prick of a needle only—the real experiment lies in the after-effect of the prick. When pain results from an inoculation the animal has to be at once killed. Certificate B permits keeping the animal alive after an operation if not in pain. The operation itself is made under complete anæsthesia, and every care is taken to ensure the wound being aseptic. Certificate C permits the chief facts of physiology to be illustrated before a class. In all cases the animal is anæsthetised and killed under the anæsthetic. Certificate D

is to enable an experiment to be repeated. It has been out of use for many years, and it is now scarcely ever asked for. Certificate E allows experiments on cats and dogs. It is marked 'Without anæsthetics,' but this applies only to inoculations and feeding experiments; other operations are done under the conditions imposed by Certificate B, i.e. anæsthesia and aseptic surgery. It does not in the least follow that all experiments done under Certificate E have been without anæsthesia. On the contrary, for many years, in spite of protests from experimenters, all persons wishing to make an experiment on a dog or cat were compelled to classify their work under Certificate E. During the last four or five years a further certificate, E E, has been introduced to cover all such experiments performed, as they always are, under anæsthesia. Certificate F allows experiments on horses, asses, and mules, and it also is marked 'Without anæsthesia,' to cover inoculations.

The use of inoculations has very largely increased during the last few years, both for the diagnosis of disease in man or animals, and for therapeutic purposes. For example, the antitoxin of diphtheria is now made on a very large scale, and as far as possible of a definite strength. It all has to be tested by experiment before it can safely be used upon human beings. Each inoculation of a rabbit or guinea-pig with this in view counts as a vivisection experiment. The large increase in the annual number of experiments reported to the Home Secretary is mainly due to the increase in the number of inoculations for diagnostic or therapeutic purposes. The inspector's report for 1897 shows that 7,360 experiments were made in which the operation consisted only of an inoculation or a hypodermic injection. In 111 cases the animals operated upon were cats or dogs, in 14 they were horses, mules, or asses. Every supposed case of rabies in a dog is tested, on rabbits or guinea-pigs, by means of such inoculation.

There were in the same year 866 experiments under the licence alone, and 207 under Certificate C. In both these cases the animals were fully anæsthetised before the operation began, and they were killed while still insensible. Three hundred and eighty-nine animals were allowed to live after operation; and of these 190 were cats, dogs, horses, asses, or mules. In 1898 there were 7,333 experiments which were inoculations only, in addition to 307 cases in which the inoculation involved an operation and was done under an anæsthetic. These last were for the diagnosis of

rabies. Their number has decreased from 687 in 1896 to 307 in 1898, thanks probably to the useful, though unpopular, muzzling order. There were 443 experiments performed on animals under an anæsthetic and allowed to live. In all the rest, excluding the inoculations, the experiment was made and the animal killed under anæsthesia.

Any charge of 'torture,' therefore, can only refer to 389 animals in 1897, or to 443 in 1898. In the great majority of these the wound was aseptic, and after the first operation, which would be done under an anæsthetic, the pain would be quite trifling. 'Torture' would be a most misleading word to apply to a human being after an operation involving even a long skin wound, when the wound is aseptic, and, as we have said, no one contends that the nervous system of dogs and cats is as fully developed as that of man. The opponents of research by way of experiment do not appear to distinguish with sufficient care between experiments which cause pain and those that do not. They are also too fond of using what may be described in mild language as 'misleading phrases,' such as 'cutting up live animals,' 'dissecting animals alive,' when less harrowing words would be far more appropriate. An example of this may be quoted. The report of the National Anti-Vivisection Society for 1898 gives the terms of a resolution which was passed unanimously at the meeting of the society's council on May 18, 1898. It begins thus: --

'That the committee of the London Hospital having determined to divert from their funds which are given to support a hospital for the sick, 2,000*l.* a year as a subsidy to a medical school wherein animals are dissected alive, this council herewith records its solemn protest against such action, which might be considered by many a positive breach of trust,' &c.

Here the language cannot be said to have the lucidity proper to writing that deals with scientific matters. The words are, indeed, so unfortunately chosen that they convey a meaning which is very far from the truth.

The facts as regards experiments on living animals in the Medical School of the London Hospital are easily discovered from the inspector's report to the Home Secretary, and they appear to be as follows:—Two members of the teaching staff of the school hold licences. One of the two is restricted to work at his own school. He obtained in 1897, in addition to the licence, two B certificates and one C certificate, neither of which he used. Under his licence alone he performed

thirty-two experiments, none of them upon the more sensitive animals; in all of these the animal was anæsthetised during the operation and killed while unconscious. The other London Hospital teacher is permitted to work in two laboratories, and it is not said in the report how much of his work was done in the two places respectively. He performed forty-four experiments in all under his licence (i.e. animals anæsthetised and killed while insensible), and five under certificate B + EE, which means that five times in the year he operated upon a dog under anæsthesia, but kept the dog alive afterwards. All the five were aseptic wounds, and probably, therefore, gave rise to very little pain in the process of healing. Is it just to describe such work as this as 'dissecting animals alive'? Every operation on a human being might with equal accuracy be spoken of as 'the dissecting of a living man,' but we know that if the patient is unconscious such a phrase would suggest that which is untrue. Is it right, moreover, to suggest that when people of good repute say they have used anæsthetics they are saying that which they know to be untrue and misleading? It should not be forgotten that physiologists have feelings as well as frogs, and that pain can be inflicted through the mind as well as through the skin. Men who are giving up their lives to the difficult and often disappointing work of searching for truth, mainly for the love of truth, and secondarily, in the hope that presently every new truth will bear fruit for the good of their fellow-men; who deliberately turn their back upon the far more profitable work of medical practice, and accept for themselves what is by comparison poverty, that they may help others to better methods and sounder knowledge; who in private life are known to be humane and honourable people; men of this class should not lightly be called 'inhuman devils.' More especially should this not be done at the bidding of some two or three members of their own profession, who would be fortunate, indeed, could they change places in general esteem and respect with those whom they defame. The episode at the Church Congress at Folkestone in 1892 has not been forgotten. Mr. Victor Horsley then proved that in the famous (or infamous) 'Nine Circles' all mention of anæsthetics having been employed had been omitted in twenty out of twenty-six cases, and that in several of the remaining six the animal had been killed before the experiment began. No one can approve Mr. Horsley's language. Nevertheless the severe castigation administered by him

was deserved, and its effect has been wholesome. When David the stripling, with his wallet full of stones, advanced to meet Goliath, some of the onlookers, no doubt, thought him too forward for his years. But David very naturally felt it was an occasion for setting aside the ordinary rules of decorum. It was much the same at Folkestone. No consideration of what is fitting as 'company manners' can be expected from people who are continually smarting under unjust and most damaging imputations, and who see that these are sustained by the omission of all-important facts. Dukes, bishops, canons, and ladies learnt at Folkestone what would befall them if they suppressed important evidence while bringing grave charges against people of whose real work and its value they are completely ignorant. To live in charity with our neighbours includes taking care not to malign them, and it is surely a more important duty not to bear false witness against men than it is to show exaggerated sensibility about frogs, rabbits, and guinea-pigs. Dogs, cats, and horses ought not to take precedence in our affections over the interests, welfare, and sufferings of our fellow-men.

Much indignation has been felt about the use of curare, and the Act of 1876 expressly forbids its use as an anæsthetic. When it is used, it must be supplemented with some other drug to relieve pain. A good deal of misconception exists as to the actual physiological effect of curare, or woorali, or oorali, as it is variously called. It is the arrow poison of Guiana. It undoubtedly shows its effects first upon the muscles and their nerves. It kills by arresting respiration, by paralysing the respiratory muscles. It is a powerful poison, and unless respiration is maintained artificially the animal dies asphyxiated. Claude Bernard believed that it did not in any way affect the sensory nerves, and he described in theatrical terms the animal as being unable to stir, but suffering horrible torture. Tennyson unfortunately committed himself in a rash moment to the support of this view, speaking of it as the 'hellish woorali.' It is satisfactory to be told now that before his death he repented of his mistake, and said so to his greatest medical friends. It is pretty certainly known now that Claude Bernard was wrong, and that, though curare acts first upon the motor nerves, it also, though less rapidly, paralyses the sensory nerves, always supposing that by artificial respiration the animal is kept alive long enough for the less rapid effect to be produced. It would be out of

place here to give the experimental evidence which satisfies physiologists upon this point. One case only is known to have occurred in which the full influence of curare could be studied upon a human being, and in which at the same time the presence or absence of anæsthetic effect could be noted. The case is reported by Mr. Joseph White,* late of Nottingham, and a former President of the British Medical Association. A servant girl accidentally transfixed her arm with a poisoned arrow while dusting a 'trophy' of Indian arms in her master's hall. The arrow was withdrawn within two minutes, and the girl was seen by Mr. White half an hour later. She was then collapsed, and was breathing very badly. Artificial respiration was kept up, aided by faradisation. The wound was freely excised along its entire length. Two hours later reaction set in, and the patient gradually recovered. On regaining consciousness she expressed the utmost surprise at seeing the wound in her arm, as she had felt nothing of the operation. She had, in fact, been unconscious from within half an hour of the introduction of the poison. Had Claude Bernard's dictum been correct, she ought, though paralysed as to her muscles, to have been throughout the whole time conscious and sensitive. Probably the truth is that, like all other nerve poisons, the effect of curare varies with the dose. The muscular nerves are the first affected, then the sensory, and finally the central nervous system. As a matter of fact, however, morphia or some other narcotic is always given in addition to curare when it is used in laboratory work in England. Even this does not satisfy the opponents of research. They try to maintain that morphia does not remove operative pain. Whether it does or not is also a question of dose, as it is in relieving the pains of cancer or neuralgia. It is very easy to give too little when pain is considerable; but it is always possible to destroy consciousness of pain with morphia if the dose given be adequate.

The bill intended to amend the Act of 1876, drafted by the Victoria Street Society, and approved by the Duke of Portland, proposes to permit all that is now done under the licence only and under Certificate C. It is to be lawful to do anything under chloroform provided that the animal is killed before it can recover consciousness. In the interest of the animal we may doubt if it would prefer to be killed after any trifling operation, and in the interests of science

* 'British Medical Journal,' 1889, vol. i. p. 598.

and humanity it is certain that researches so limited would be of the smallest possible value, if of any. All inoculations would be illegal, nothing could be learnt from animals of the action and powers of new drugs, nothing about the power of repair, nothing as to the mode in which disease extends along defined tracts in the central organs of the nervous system, as to which we still have almost everything to learn. If it is cruel to perform an operation on an animal under anæsthetics and to let it recover, what can be said in defence of the many other ways in which animals suffer in the service of man without the solace of anæsthetics? Pain is caused in many ways other than research. Surely the only sound rule is that needless and useless pain should everywhere be avoided by humane people. Pain deliberately inflicted upon animals for mercenary motives, for sport, for the destruction of noxious animals, and for the advancement of science, all stands upon one platform, and must be judged by one standard. It is to be justified if the animal world is placed at the service of man, and if the pain inflicted is the least possible, but not otherwise.

It cannot be right to give pain to animals in order to improve their flavour as food, to make them more docile as servants, to furnish us with food, fur, feathers, and skins, or to give us pleasure in trapping, killing, or wounding them, to rid our fields and gardens of their depredations, and to do all this on a gigantic scale and often in most unskilful ways, if it is wrong to give a fractional part of the same amount of pain to animals, often of a lower grade of sensibility, in order to improve our knowledge of the laws of life and of disease, and to search for new remedies. Let us consider the two classes of cases more in detail—experiments performed on animals for the sake of getting wider and surer knowledge of life, disease, and measures of healing, as contrasted with all the other forms of suffering imposed by man upon the animal world.

It is absurd to suppose that the mutilation of animals, as done on a very large scale by farmers, shepherds, breeders, &c., for the sake of profit or convenience, does not hurt them. It is a serious operation done without anæsthetics, and it involves the removal of important and sensitive organs. Professor Kramer, of Zürich, calculated from the German cattle census the number of animals so vivisected in the German Empire in one year. His figures are—65,000 horses, 650,000 cattle, 2,000,000 lambs and sheep, 8,000,000 pigs. There are, in addition, the operations

for docking the tails of horses, dogs, and sheep. The torture inflicted upon animals in badly organised cattle markets, in long journeys, often in hot weather and without water, and by unskilful butchers, is also enormous. The late Sir B. W. Richardson used to testify to the distress caused to animals by the sights and smells of unsuitable slaughterhouses while waiting their turn to be killed. In sport we have to consider, not only the animals killed, but those who are wounded and escape, often to die slowly of starvation. The snaring and trapping of hares and rabbits frequently results in their being alive and in suffering for hours, their cries in the night being at times heard at some distance from a warren. Sir James Paget instances ligger fishing, where the hook is baited with a live fish and drawn through the water till the impaled fish is eaten, as involving more pain than most physiological experiments. He further says that playing a large salmon for hours probably gives 'more pain than any experiment on fish or reptile.'

Then in stag-hunting the stag often suffers what is equivalent to many deaths. If he is expensive, the hounds are not allowed to kill him; he is kept alive to be hunted again and again. The suffering connected with seal-fishing and with the collection of osprey feathers is well recognised. Ospreys are not a necessity. They cannot be had without killing the mother bird and leaving her brood to die of starvation; the business of getting them promotes the growth of none of the higher qualities of character. They feed vanity, as Strasburg *pâtés* feed gluttony, and both involve an amount of suffering out of proportion to the value of the thing gained. Yet we see fashionable ladies, who are strongly against vivisection, wearing aigrettes, and *pâté de fois gras* is not believed to be unwelcome to their husbands. Let us clear our minds of cant and look facts frankly in the face. A duke going to preside at a meeting against vivisection dines off animals who have been vivisected; he may even eat live oysters and the livers of geese in whom disease has been artificially induced. The ladies with him wear furs, feathers, and ospreys. He drives to the meeting behind vivisected horses. In fact, the only form of vivisection he objects to is that which furnishes, not luxury, amusement, or vanity, but knowledge. Everything else is sanctioned by immemorial custom; this alone is unfamiliar to him, and he tries to destroy it. Fifty years ago anæsthetics were a novelty. Much the same fight was made against them, and by the same type of objectors.

Further back, human dissections were resisted. Anatomists were called as many hard names then as the physiologists are now, and with as much reason. The truth is that, in point of numbers, the animals who lose their lives or who suffer pain in the service of man in the laboratories are as units compared with the millions who do both in other places. We have anæsthetics and morphia in the hands of the physiologist, nothing of the kind to help the farmer, the shepherd, the butcher, the sportsman, and the game-keeper.

Now and again the inconsistency of his position seems to dawn in a dim way upon an anti-vivisectionist, as when the Bishop of Manchester said at Folkestone that but for the necessity of living and keeping his big voice he would eat no more meat. What is a bishop and a big voice compared to doing right? If to eat meat is cruel, let us all be vegetarians and dumb! But our contention is that suffering imposed upon the animal world in the service of man is not opposed to high morality; that it is not cruel, but lawful and right, if done in the right way and for worthy objects. The instances of suffering we have named above are not advanced in any *tu quoque* spirit. Two wrongs do not make a right. Our argument is that man is justified in using the lower animals in his service, in killing them, and even in giving them pain, for an adequate cause and with careful avoidance of recklessness as to the pain inflicted.

There remains the question, 'Are the results gained by the experimental method in physiology worth what they have cost, and what they will continue to cost?' It is admitted that they have in times past involved taking the lives of a large number of animals under conditions of considerable suffering. At the present time, with the aid of anæsthetics and in the light of a more compassionate spirit, life will still be taken, and there will still be a certain, though much smaller, amount of inevitable pain. Are the results adequate? There are two ways of looking at this question. We may say, 'Is truth in every direction valuable? Is it really worth any more than the crudest hypothetical explanation of everything we do not understand? Is there anything in truth which justifies sacrifice in striving to attain it?' To this the truth-seeker says, 'Yes, truth in itself is precious; it is that for which I am in search.' Or we may ask of any one truth, 'What is the practical good of knowing this—how has it affected the general well-being of the world? Show me specific instances in which

'this particular truth has done good, and when you show them I shall be able to prove to you that it has actually been worthless, and that hypotheses did practically quite as well.' It is the glory and distinction of the scientific spirit to recognise that truth, in all directions, be it theology, history, philosophy, or science, is in itself, and apart from its practical results, 'the pearl of great price,' the one thing worth seeking. The prayer of those who feel thus is for light as light—not merely that it may ripen peaches. To a physiologist or to any one acquainted with scientific medicine it seems as reasonable to ask what is the good of research into the problems of life as it would be to say, 'What has been the good of the Copernican system?' The world would have gone on somehow if Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, and Newton had never lived.' It is impossible for seekers of truth to argue with people who think in this way. If they do not care to know what *is*; if they prefer vague hypotheses of what 'may be,' they must remain in the mists and darkness they love.

Four hundred years ago Copernicus studied astronomy as a necessary introduction to medicine. To be able to cast a horoscope was in those days an important part of the medical art. Witch medicine still prevails over large portions of the world. Everything in this system is accounted for by the malign influence of the evil eye, and the witch doctor cures, not by diagnosing disturbed conditions and getting them brought back to the normal, but by finding the witch and getting him or her burnt or stoned or buried alive. It is only by searching for truth as to bodily structure and function, as to the causes of disease, and as to methods of preventing disease or of correcting abnormal conditions of body, that we have advanced away from astrology, from medical incantations and baseless hypotheses.

Bacon's method as applied in recent years to medicine and physiology has, in fact, absolutely revolutionised practical medicine and surgery. It has in many directions taken them out of the region of fanciful theories; it has justified for the first time their claim to be called scientific. The physician now recognises that there are certain things absolutely known, that there are many other things of which the only honest thing to say is, 'I know as yet nothing solid about them.' The art of the 'concealment of ignorance and the ostentation of apparent wisdom' is no longer his main stock-in-trade, though under the

name of 'a good bedside manner' it is still occasionally practised. Bacon taught the world to distrust hypotheses, and to seek the truth not from 'fruit-bringing but from 'light-bringing experiments.' Harvey exhorted the Fellows of his college 'to search out and study the secrets of nature 'by way of experiment.' Physiologists and biologists working in the way indicated by Bacon and Harvey have brought to light the ultimate causes of many diseases and the mode of avoiding them; they have enriched practical surgery with antiseptic methods and with anæsthesia; with control over hæmorrhage while operating; with a rational and successful treatment of aneurism and of glaucoma; with the power in not a few cases of removing a tumour even from the brain itself.

In medicine proper, all that is summed up in the phrase 'heart disease,' all knowledge of arterial tension and its influence on the whole organism, have all been evolved gradually from the basis of Harvey's discovery. All our knowledge of nervous disease is based upon vivisectional experiments, from Charles Bell to Hitzig and Ferrier. Almost all our knowledge of the digestive processes, of angina pectoris and of methods of relieving it, has been gained through experiment. Practical medicine has been enriched through experimental research with such drugs as digitalis, cocaine, croton-chloral, nitrite of amyl; with the method of auscultation; with a knowledge of the cause of tuberculosis, typhoid fever, cholera; with the life history of parasites; with the cause of myxœdema and related conditions and how to relieve them, and with a life-saving remedy for diphtheria. Our knowledge of the essential nature of fever, and of the related conditions of sunstroke and hyperpyrexia in rheumatism, is based upon Claude Bernard's much-reviled experiments on the mechanism of animal heat. These experiments are spoken of as 'baking alive,' as if the animals had been roasted before a slow fire. In reality there was no scorching of skin, which is what gives pain, but a gradual elevation of the temperature of the blood to a degree incompatible, first with consciousness, and then with life. There is no acute pain in sunstroke; the patients quickly become stupefied, and then quite insensible. Thanks very much to Claude Bernard's experiments we know now that high temperature kills by paralysing a certain part of the nervous system. One practical result of the knowledge has been to emphasise the importance of not weakening the vasomotor centres with alcohol in the presence of tropical

heat. Another result has been the cold-water treatment of sunstroke and of hyperpyrexia. Six dogs and a good many rabbits, &c., were used in Bernard's experiments. A very large number of men and women have every year a better chance of not dying of heat than they would have had but for the knowledge gained at that price. Was the price too high?

It is, in fact, no figure of speech, but the simplest of truths, to say that everything of solid value in medicine and surgery is based upon knowledge gained by the experimental method. What should we know of the heart, the pulse, the action and influence of any one organ, but for experimental observation? The opponents of the experimental method have declared their willingness to make no use themselves of medical knowledge gained by its means. If they intend to be as good as their word they must join 'the Peculiar People' and do without doctors, unless they can find one who does not know the fundamental facts which Galen, Harvey, Haller, and Malpighi made plain through experiment. Even some of those members of the medical profession who go to anti-vivisection meetings admit the value of experiment by inoculation. The late Mr. Lawson Tait, for instance, disapproved of vivisection experiments, but he attended a meeting in support of the British Institute of Preventive Medicine, and supported a resolution cordially approving the objects of the Institute. He said that 'bacteriological experiments on animals have proved of great value.'* This declaration was received at the time with amusement and applause, and we can well believe it.

Evidence as to the kind of practical physiological work required from students may be obtained from any modern text-book, as, for instance, 'The Essentials of Experimental Physiology.'† The object of the book is to show the student or original investigator how to verify most of the more important facts as to muscular contraction, fatigue, the supply of nerves to the heart, lungs, and glands, and reflex action. All these subjects lie at the basis of any real knowledge of the working of the body in health. It must surely be better for students to get absolutely clear notions about them on living tissues, or even on living bodies, than only to cram up the facts from books. In the

* 'British Medical Journal,' February 11, 1895, p. 317.

† By T. G. Brodie, M.D., Lecturer on Physiology St. Thomas's Hospital. London: Longmans, 1898.

case of students all the lessons are given upon frogs, and the frog is killed as the first step in the lesson. Generally it is pithed—i.e. its spinal cord is divided just below the brain; sometimes it is beheaded. In the few exceptional cases of demonstrations by the teacher or investigator, the fact that the animal is to be anæsthetised is mentioned as the first step. A hasty reader might easily overlook these important facts, and consider the whole book a tissue of horrors; whereas in truth it probably represents scarcely any pain at all, none absolutely in the pithed or beheaded frogs, except at the moment of the operation, very little in the anæsthetised animals. Similarly, in another modern book on 'Surgical Shock,'* 148 experiments on animals are detailed, which would no doubt have given great suffering but for anæsthesia. In all but two or three cases, however, it is specially mentioned that complete anæsthesia was produced, and in almost every case the animal was killed while still unconscious. Even where the anæsthesia is said to have been 'incomplete' it does not follow that there was suffering of an acute kind. Every lying-in woman who is helped by anæsthetics knows what an immense effect even a little chloroform has in dulling pain and making it tolerable. Full anæsthesia is very rarely produced in these cases; the patient knows, to a certain extent, what is going on, can answer questions, and do what she is asked to do, and yet she is aware that an occasional whiff of the anæsthetic keeps 'a thick blanket between her and the pain.' There is no reason to doubt that in animals also partial anæsthesia represents a very large amount of relief from pain. The subject of surgical shock is one of the greatest practical importance. Many lives are lost every year in a way that has hitherto been very imperfectly understood; can it be doubted that it is right to try to determine what causes these deaths and how they can be prevented, even at the cost of 148 animals?

It is idle to say to physiologists that they should learn from the dead. The problems of life can only be studied on living tissues. Happily for students, the tissues of many cold-blooded animals live for a considerable time after the death of the animal, so that many of the most important facts of physiology can be demonstrated in them soon after death. There are, however, many other things like 'surgical

* 'An Experimental Research into Surgical Shock.' By G. W. Crile, M.D. Cleveland, U.S. 1899.

'shock' that can only be studied in living bodies. It is purely a question of scientific fact whether vivisection is useful or necessary in physiological and pathological research. Those who have absolutely no knowledge of either subject ought not to pretend to decide the point. Sir George Duckett, the foremost man on the original Anti-Vivisection Society, told the Commissioners in 1875 that 'medical science has arrived probably at its extreme limits, and has little to learn, and nothing can be gained by repetition of experiments on living animals.' Just at the time this sapient utterance was made the great science of bacteriology came to light, to show how very little had hitherto been known as to the nature of the most commonplace maladies. People have been looking for centuries from the outside, as it were, at cancer and malaria. What do we know even now of cancer? How long have we known anything solid about malaria? The truth is that medicine has been empirical guesswork till quite lately; much of it is nothing better now, and if it is to improve and take its place as a science it can only be by toiling along the stony and weary path of experimental investigation. Nor need we fear that too many people will press into this path. Human nature is mostly indolent and ease-loving. Research by experiment is difficult and costly; it requires almost infinite patience, infinite hopefulness. It brings in a mere pittance of income; it requires a degree of absorption which prevents any other work being done. There need be no fear of too many people undertaking it.

The promoters of the Amendment Bill insist greatly on the necessity for more constant inspection. They propose that operations shall only be done in the presence of an inspector. They assume that the Government inspector cannot possibly overlook the work of the laboratories in anything but a perfunctory way. There is no ground for supposing that they are right in this assumption. The inspector has an assistant, and he himself only visits the laboratories in London and within a moderate distance from London. His visits are always surprise ones, and at each visit he looks carefully into the condition of the animals, the provision for their housing and comfort, and their state after operation. In his absence there are many people who would be able, and very likely willing, to give information if the law were being disregarded. Every laboratory must have servants and porters, who are probably well aware that information of any departure from the letter of

the Act would be gratefully accepted in Victoria Street. Is it likely that people in the position of those at the head of a laboratory would put themselves in the power of their subordinates in this way? In practice their aim is to conform strictly to the law, for they recognise that only by doing so are they safe from watchful and unsparing enemies. The proposal now made would necessitate an inspector being appointed for each laboratory. If his whole time were wanted, the salary of each inspector would need to be at least 1,000*l.* a year. A very good man, such as the present inspector, will take work for a moderate salary if he can combine it with consulting practice; but if he can have no practice, he would require three or four times as much. If it be said that the inspector need not be a scientific man, the rejoinder is, How could he criticise experiments, the very meaning of which would be entirely unknown to him? It would be as reasonable to have the work of astronomers in an eclipse expedition inspected and reported on by a cab-driver as to have such an inspector. To be worth anything at all the inspection must be done by some one who knows what is being aimed at, and who has sufficient acquaintance with methods to see that the best precautions possible are taken to avoid useless pain, and to arrive at valuable results.

In conclusion we would venture to commend to all who desire to form a wise judgement on this difficult subject the need for care on the following points:—

Do not receive harrowing narratives of cruelty without noticing their date and address. We are responsible only for what is done at the present time in Great Britain and Ireland. What we wish to know is whether there is anything that can fairly be called cruelty here.

Do not suppose that narratives taken from the pre-anæsthetic days, even in England, apply now. They do not.

Bear in mind that to no one is the absence of pain on the animal's part more advantageous than to the operator.

If not satisfied, ask for leave to visit some four or five English laboratories. Much more will be learnt that way than by attending many meetings in St. James's or Exeter Hall.

We would call to remembrance the words in the Commissioners' Report: 'Knowledge goes before the application of knowledge, and the application of a discovery is seldom foreseen when the discovery is made,' and the older words: 'The Spirit of Man is the Lamp of God wherewith he searcheth the inwardness of all secrets.'

- ART. VIII.—1. *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire.* By SAMUEL DILL. London: 1898.
2. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* By EDWARD GIBBON. Edited in seven volumes with Introduction, Notes, and Appendix, by J. B. BURY. London: 1896–99.
3. *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica. Auctores Antiquissimi.* Thirteen volumes. Berlin: 1877–98.
4. *Ostgothische Studien.* Von Th. MOMMSEN. Hanover: 1889.

IT is just two centuries since Tillemont died without completing his enormous histories of the Emperors and early Popes of Rome. It is rather more than half that period since Tillemont's greater successor, Gibbon, one summer night, in a garden at Lausanne, wrote the last words of his far more splendid work, the 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.' The learning of the one and the genius of the other were immediately recognised by their contemporaries, yet they exercised curiously little influence. They awoke no lasting interest in their subject; apart from theological wrangles, they provoked no discussion or research, and since they wrote, neither students nor ordinary readers have troubled themselves much till lately about the Roman Empire. So far as they have taken heed of ancient history, they have preferred other periods. The Roman Republic has been discussed till there is hardly anything left to say about it. Specialists have been allured by the puzzles of its earliest age; others by the wrestle of privileged patrician and unprivileged plebeian, or by the downfall of the oligarchy which was for years misinterpreted and sanctified as the downfall of a constitutional democracy before the blows of a soldier-tyrant. Greece has received even more notice, at least since Gibbon's contemporary Winckelmann rediscovered Greek art, and since Greece herself regained her freedom. Excavations round the shores of the Ægean have startled and attracted scholars, and the old Greek artistic ideals have been found to suit that superficial, emotional or æsthetic temperament which characterises our hurried age.

But for some years signs have been visible that the Roman Empire will not be much longer neglected. A vast accumulation of archæological evidence, most of it new and all of it needing interpretation, offers to the student the

prospect of original work, while the period itself presents problems which closely concern ourselves, the problems of the organisation and the vitality of a great and complex Empire. Therefore much has been written lately about the Empire, and not least about that aspect of it with which we propose here to deal, the measure of its vitality and the stupendous spectacle of its downfall in Western Europe. We need not here stay to notice the flood of French and German monographs which is rising high round the unhappy specialist. But it is significant that the greatest of living historians, Theodor Mommsen, has devoted the later years of his life largely to this subject, and that under his guidance the German Record Society, as we may style it, has republished, in a row of stately quartos, the ancient authors who best describe the Fall of the Western Empire. In England a new edition of Gibbon * is all but complete; writers like Freeman and Hodgkin have helped notably to advance knowledge, and still more recently Mr. Dill has given us a delightful sketch of the fifth century Romans in Italy and Gaul, which is deservedly receiving the compliment of a speedy second edition. We propose in the following paragraphs to review the causes and the character of the overthrow which Rome suffered in Western Europe, as recent writers have portrayed them for us.

Many causes have been suggested to account for that overthrow, and, indeed, many causes are required to explain so great and so protracted a catastrophe. But the main issue can be stated briefly. Two groups of facts were material, the internal disorders of the Empire and the assaults of the barbarians from without. Which of the two was really decisive? We may hold that the Empire decayed within, and fell before the barbarians as a rotten tree falls from its own utter rottenness in a passing squall. Or we may hold that it was still a comparatively sound tree, likely to have stood for years, when the fierce and persistent tornado broke it down. Many recent writers take the first of these two views, and maintain that the Empire was doomed before the barbarians came upon it. It is a natural view to-day. We have in this generation no barbarians to fear. We feel doubts about the soundness of our own civilisation. At least in England, we cherish an instinctive belief in the inevitable rottenness of a despotism. Of course, we conclude that the ruin of the Roman Empire

* See 'Edinburgh Review,' April, 1897.

came from itself. But though recent writers take this view, recent research does not seem to justify it. Recent research suggests very different conclusions—that the Empire was, in the main, a sound and healthy State until the barbarians attacked it, and that even at the last its civilisation and political order possessed a vitality which precludes the notion of a protracted organic decay commencing from within. We shall consider first the internal disorders—intellectual, physical, economic, and constitutional—which appeared, or have been thought to have appeared, inside the Empire. The survey will show that some of these disorders have been exaggerated or misinterpreted by the critics of the Empire, and that the rest, the real evils, came comparatively late. The barbarians first knocked at the gates of the Empire about A.D. 150; after eighty years of continuous and increasing pressure, they forced the gates slightly open, and then, during the third century of our era, the internal disorders showed themselves multiform. Then, but not till then, they begin to take rank as causes or as indications of a failing Empire.

We have classed the forms of internal disorder as intellectual, physical, economic, and constitutional. The intellectual or rather the literary decay of the Empire is almost proverbial. No great writer succeeded Juvenal and Tacitus. For three centuries the higher intellect of Rome seems to have been overtaken by paralysis. No scientific discovery, no fresh movement in native Roman literature, can be detected. No orator rivalled Cicero, no poet explored the unexhausted possibilities of the hexameter as Virgil left it in later books of the ‘Æneid.’ Despotism is said to have muzzled free speech, and rhetorical training to have strangled literary genius. That is not nearly the whole truth. Bad traditions of the schools are not omnipotent, else some of our best English poets would never have written. Despotism does not forbid all forms of intellect, else there were no great Russian names in modern literature and science. We can give other and better explanations of the poverty of Roman Imperial literature and intellectual development. The absence of scientific discovery is a defect, not of the Empire only, but of all classical antiquity. The ancients knew something of botany and zoology and what we in general style natural history, but, as Du Bois Reymond and other modern scientific writers have noticed, they made no progress in physical science or in its practical applications to such things as machinery. The absence,

again, of oratory was not merely due to despotism; it resulted largely from an improved judicial standard which rejected the ornamental irrelevances of Cicero and demanded matter-of-fact argument. And, beside such special considerations, there is the broad fact that the men of the Empire, like crowds of able Englishmen to-day, were absorbed in the work of practical administration, and their intellect did not take book shape because it was otherwise occupied. So far as it did express itself on paper, its works were splendid legal treatises, the foundation to this day of most of modern law. If literature languished it was not without excuse.

We pass to the question of physical decline. Under the Empire, we are told, the human harvest was bad, the population decreased. The assertion is most certainly untrue of the first three or four centuries. The evidence often adduced to prove it proves nothing of the sort. Thus it is alleged that the distributions of cheap corn, which commenced in B.C. 121, attracted the rural population from the country into Rome; Cicero and Virgil are quoted to show the desolation of Italy and Greece; the marriage laws of Augustus are detailed, and so forth. Two faults underlie these evidences. In the first place, they belong to the period before or when the Empire was established; the evils they imply might conceivably have prevented the Empire from ever existing, but they cannot be made responsible for its downfall three or four hundred years later. And, secondly, they refer mainly to Italy and to special classes or districts in Italy; they neglect the vast extent of the provinces. A survey of the whole area, such as Mommsen has made possible for us, shows a general prosperity and populousness which lasted in many lands till the fourth or fifth century. There were, undoubtedly, exceptions. Parts of Italy decayed, though we know that the small farmer was not at all wholly annihilated. The Greek lands present a sorry spectacle. Greece was half desert, even in its fertile districts where life can be easily supported; Sicily and South Italy, the old Magna Græcia, were little better. There were certainly vacant places where transplanted barbarians could be settled. But Egypt was more populous even than now; the provinces of Syria and Africa (by the latter we mean Tunis and Algiers), Gaul and Spain, had no lack of inhabitants even in the fourth century. Let anyone who doubts read some such book as the charming poem which Ausonius of Bordeaux wrote in 371 to describe his visit to the

Moselle. That is no picture of a failing population, but of vineyards on the hillsides and ploughland in the valleys, of farms and country houses and towns looking forth from ancient walls, of ploughman and vinegrower and fisher and boatman, of a rich and fertile and populous countryside.

The economic condition of the Empire is harder to discuss. Of late years much has been written about this subject, but not always with wisdom, and, indeed, the facts are few. Our literary evidence, such as that we have just quoted, and, still more, our archaeological evidence, permits us to discern much prosperity at various times and in various places. On the other hand, the basis of wealth was mostly agricultural, and the absence, noticed above, of improvements in machinery and the manufacturing arts must have impeded its increase. Gold appears to have appreciated during the second and third centuries, though it is unnecessary to suppose, with one modern economist, that the supply of the precious metals actually ran short. Gold and silver were, indeed, used much less than under modern conditions. There was more production for home use and more employment of natural objects as money. The French singer who toured years ago in the Pacific and received an honorarium of pigs, turkeys, chickens, cocoanuts, and bananas, might have lived under the Empire. On the whole, it appears probable that the wealth of the Empire was adequate without possessing much margin of insurance against crises, and accordingly, when the barbarians burnt the crops and more troops were needed to repel their raids, the taxpayer failed to respond. The unit of taxation was usually the town, and the over-taxation therefore brought a further evil in its train, for the municipal system came near to collapsing under the burthen. But all this was because of the barbarians, not antecedent to their advent.

Finally we come to the constitutional evils of the Empire. Under this head we class the evils which are sometimes described as the supremacy of the army, a phrase which really covers two distinct facts or sets of facts. First, there is a curious feature in the constitutional position of the Emperor. The Roman Empire was in its origin a compromise. In theory the Republic still existed; the Emperor was merely a special ruler, named for life, and his death did not legally imply the nomination of a successor. Such a constitution naturally possessed no rules of succession, and the want was emphasised by the strange fact that few Emperors had sons and still fewer had grandsons. No

dynastic system therefore grew up, and, if an Emperor did not select an heir in his lifetime, the throne at his death was open to all competitors. And, secondly, the provincial system encouraged competitors. By that system each province was an independent unit, with its own governor, who might rule it for several years, and its own even more permanent army. The regiments composing this army were rarely changed. Legion did not relieve legion or cohort relieve cohort, as if they had been English regiments in India or South Africa. The common soldiers usually served their twenty or twenty-five years in the same province, and likely enough in the same fortress. Accordingly each provincial army possessed a unity which made it a ready weapon to an ambitious and popular governor, and pronunciamientos were easy. Yet so strong was the framework of the Empire that for two centuries and a half such revolts were rare. Provincial governors joined prominently in the civil wars which followed the deaths of Nero and of Commodus; one governor also revolted against Domitian and one against Marcus Aurelius. At last, in the third century, the pressure of barbarian invasions changed things for the worse. These invasions imperatively required a strong and able general on the throne, and the vicissitudes of the warfare taught the provincial armies their strength and the provincial governors their opportunity. Then, after the death of Severus Alexander in 235, the plague of sedition broke out. In fifty years nearly fifty soldiers claimed the throne. Some were good, many bad, all ephemeral. None died in their beds: the barbarian or the mutineer or the assassin slew most of them. In 284 Diocletian restored a more permanent government, and his and Constantine's reforms saved the Empire from pronunciamientos for a hundred years. When the evil once more appears the Roman power in the West is near its end.

We have surveyed the evils which have been alleged as instances of organic internal decay. We have found that, so far as they are evils, their commencement dates after the first coming of the barbarians. We can now sketch the fortunes of the Empire and its gradual fall in orderly sequence. Let us begin with the period before the barbarian attacks—the first two and a half centuries, ending in 235. The prosperity of this period is proverbial, and admitted even by those who assert its hollowness. The Emperors were not all virtuous men, but they were nearly

all able administrators. They mounted the throne one after another in due series, though according to no Act of Succession, and the two civil wars which arose were brief and limited in area. Never in the history of mankind has so long a peace and so continuous a government blessed so many lands. Never has so large a portion of the globe been permanently opened to commercial, social, and intellectual intercourse with so few barriers of custom houses, language, or political frontiers. The result was not sloth or stagnation. The world of the Empire was, indeed, an old world. Behind it lay the dreams and experiments, the self-convicted follies and the disillusioned wisdom of many centuries. Before it lay no untravelled region, such as was spread out to our forefathers at the Renaissance or our fathers half a century ago. No new continent rose up beyond the western sea. No forgotten literature suddenly revealed its splendours. No amazing discoveries of science transformed the universe and the interpretation of it. The inventive freshness and intellectual confidence which are born of such things were denied to the Empire. Its temperament was neither literary nor æsthetic nor scientific; it was merely legal and administrative. But in virtue of that temperament it did a unique work. Someone has well observed that Greece taught men to be human, and Rome made mankind civilised. For two hundred and fifty years we trace the rulers of the Empire advancing, some of set purpose, some perhaps unconsciously, towards this goal, extending the political franchise, establishing municipalities, reorganising local government, encouraging the spread of Roman speech and customs, assimilating the provincial subjects of the Empire in an orderly and coherent civilisation. It was a splendid aim and it was reached. In 212 Caracalla conferred the full franchise of Rome on every, or almost every, freeborn provincial who was not already in possession of it. Doubtless he was not actuated to this step by sentimental motives. He ranks with his father, Septimius Severus, among the ablest and most brutal of the Emperors, and sentiment weighed little with him. More probably he wished to readjust the recruiting system, and to strengthen the army which kept back the barbarian. But the simple fact that the step could be taken demonstrates how near to the Roman the provincial had then been brought. The Empire took up and completed a task of which no Greek or Roman of the Republic ever dreamed.

The task was scarcely done when barbarian invasions and

internal disorders threatened the life of the Empire. We have indicated above that the internal evils were the results of barbarian pressure, and before we pass on to that we may pause a moment to speculate what might have been the future of Rome if no barbarians had ever assailed her frontiers. The speculation is not quite baseless. Among the institutions and practices of the time of Caracalla's edict—that is, of the opening third century—we can detect the germs of a future. They are few and faint and undeveloped, and they have been frequently overlooked, but they suffice for our purpose. The future they suggest is neither an eternity of the splendour and development of the first two centuries nor a calamitous downfall due to internal disease and rottenness; it is a long survival, peaceful, stately, contented, but gradually losing life, elasticity, and vigour. We seem to detect the 'cake of custom,' as Mr. Bagehot used to call it, just commencing slowly to form over the Roman world. The seeds are being sown of a caste system. It is becoming hard for ordinary individuals to choose or change their professions. Many men in many ranks of life—town councillors, members of trade-guilds, soldiers—are tending to inherit almost mechanically their positions or their occupations. On the Imperial domains, which formed, as it were, enormous crown lands, the peasants are turning into cultivators hereditarily attached to the soil. The lawyers of Caracalla's time went so far as to affirm that a town councillor who left his town could be forcibly reconducted thither by the provincial authorities. The rigidity was increased by the growing centralisation of the Empire. The government at Rome interfered with the independence of the local municipal authorities and extended the number and scope of its own officials. The object was, no doubt, the object which prompts similar interferences in modern England—namely, administrative efficiency. The result was the destruction of freedom. But the whole movement proceeded a very little way. It was almost at once crossed by the invasions of the barbarians, and only its scattered results can be traced in the institutions of the fourth and fifth centuries. We can only guess what might have been. But if we are to guess, an obvious parallel arises. Had Rome, we think, been surrounded, like China, by hundreds of miles of mountain and desert, the slow procession of the centuries might have transformed her into something akin to the China of seventy years ago. But the barbarians saved her from that fate or fortune.

The barbarian attacks commenced in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, soon after the middle of the second century. The natural increase of population was then rendering Central and Eastern Europe too narrow for the German tribes who inhabited it, and at the same period obscure movements of multitudinous hordes in Asia were compelling a westward march. For seventy or eighty years the Roman Government maintained its long frontier from the mouth of the Rhine to the mouth of the Danube. But the external pressure increased; the efforts made to meet it overstrained the Empire and produced the internal disorders already mentioned, and in the third century bitter trouble ensued. The invaders plundered the Balkan peninsula and the Rhenish border, and slew an Emperor with all his men in the marshes of the Dobrudja. The central authority broke down and pretenders sprang up in many provinces. The Persians appeared with hostile arms along the Euphrates. The peasantry rose in Gaul and Africa. The plague walked to and fro in the Empire. Commerce declined, and amid the fluctuations of the currency coins ceased to bear any definite value. But the anarchy was not absolute. Some provinces were but slightly affected; some Emperors displayed real ability, and even usurpation seemed useful when Gaul enjoyed prosperity for ten years under a Postumus and Britain for six years under a Carausius. Finally, Diocletian and Constantine reorganised the whole Imperial system, and throughout the fourth century strong men preserved peace with few serious interruptions. We have already noticed the witness of Ausonius to the flourishing condition of the dwellers by the Garonne and the Moselle. Similar evidence could be quoted for many other districts from literary or archæological sources. But the new system, with its enlarged army and bureaucracy, had increased the weight of taxation beyond human endurance, and was ruining the towns which formed the local units for the collection of taxes. The last good Emperor died in 395; under his most worthless sons the East and the West were definitely divided. The want of men and money grew more and more disastrous. The barbarians attacked the West with increasing force. A fatal *lustrum* commenced on the winter's night which divided 406 and 407, when a wild multitude crossed the Rhine to carry havoc across unravaged Gaul throughout its length and breadth. Soon Alaric the Visigoth plundered Italy and stormed and sacked the sacred City of Rome; then, he being dead, his tribesmen passed into Gaul and

Spain, there to settle and reign. When the five years' tempest passed by, it left a wrecked Empire. The sack of Rome was not the worst disaster. Jerome might well apply to it the wonderful verses in which Virgil described the sack of Troy, but Troy perished and Rome survived. The Goths retired at once, and in a few weeks city life resumed its wonted ways. Here and there ruins remained as mementos of a terrible night, but, as Augustine rather dolefully remarks, none troubled themselves further about the incident. There were more serious things than this, but, like so many serious events of the Empire, they occurred in the provinces, not in Rome. The great raid of 407 stamped into fragments the Roman administration of Gaul. Its place was taken by the leaders of the Visigoths, and effective Roman rule in Western Europe ceased for ever.

It had been a long struggle. The most protracted fighting known to English history is the intermittent quarrel called or mis-called the Hundred Years' War. Rome had faced the barbarians for more than two centuries. She had enjoyed few intervals of quiet, few chances to recover her wearied strength, and the barbarian assaults had all the while grown fiercer and fiercer, and their numbers greater and greater. What wonder that the Empire was exhausted? The perpetual struggle had strained the framework, and every component part had been tried to the uttermost. No State, we suppose, has ever been subjected to so long and so severe a crisis.

The barbarians have sometimes been described as too weak to have endangered a really efficient Empire. This description seems to us to imply a great under-estimate of their numbers and fighting powers. Even in the second century their armies must have been large, for the campaigns in which Marcus Aurelius defeated them were at once recognised as draining the resources of the Empire. In the third century they were not smaller. The Goths who made a dash at Greece about A.D. 270 numbered 320,000, most of them fighting men. Ten years later 400,000 Germans perished in Gaul. Such figures are ominous, and they do not stand alone. But the fighting power of the invaders was even more formidable. The barbarian assailants of the Empire were not, indeed, inspired with the religious fanaticism of Dervishes, nor were they even animated with any hatred of civilisation, but they possessed the dangerous strength of brave and vigorous savages. Man for man, such savages fight better than civilised soldiers, and, when their

numbers are superior, the defects of skill and discipline are readily supplied; the losses of a few thousand men do not affect them, and, if other things are equal, their ultimate triumph is assured. The civilised army may win individual battles or campaigns, but fatigue and fighting thin their ranks; the civilised soldier is an elaborate product of time and money and training, and the gaps are hard to fill. One thing alone ensures him victory—superiority in weapons, the superiority which European troops possess to-day over the savages of Asia or Africa. The Romans had not that superiority. As we have pointed out, the whole ancient world was slow to make mechanical improvements, and the military engines which various Roman writers invented or suggested to repel the barbarians are proof enough of this deficiency. They represent just the same order of intellect as the curiosities of a modern bicycle show.

Not only did the Romans lack this crucial superiority: they were in some matters actually inferior to the barbarians. Much has been written lately in England and abroad about the Imperial army and the general conditions of ancient warfare, and this inferiority has become clear. The barbarians came from the plains of central and eastern Europe, and they came as riders and bowmen. The Imperial forces were principally heavy infantry. A few cavalry squadrons, it is true, were posted at suitable frontier posts, but they were merely border police, totally unable to repel invaders who came in thousands and scores of thousands. The brunt of the defence fell on the heavy infantry, and even the famous legions proved inadequate to face the new cavalry. The battle of Adrianople in 378 summed up the long conflict. On that day a Roman Emperor, nearly all his chief officers and 40,000 men—two-thirds of his army—were overwhelmed by an avalanche of Gothic cavalry. It was a disaster as ruinous as Cannæ, and it was won, not by the genius of a Hannibal, but by sheer fighting. Centuries passed before any competent leader ventured to pit infantry against cavalry. The Romans had already made efforts to increase their cavalry, and this battle stimulated their efforts. They tried now, more freely than before, to enrol barbarian riders to fight the barbarians. When in 450 Aetius won the last Roman victory in the west, in desperate wrestle with Attila, he won by his cavalry: the heavy Visigothic troopers who were with him rode down the light horsemen of the Huns. But it was too late. The increase of cavalry should have been made two centuries earlier, and,

even if it had been made, it must remain uncertain whether it would have been effective without a corresponding improvement in weapons. Renan once uttered the curious prophecy that the survival of modern civilisation would one day depend on the superior skill of the educated classes in the invention and use of explosives. There in an odd French epigram you have the military reason why the Roman Empire fell.

We have now pointed out, as we believe recent research to justify us in pointing out, that external causes overthrew the Empire. The numbers, the skill, and the bravery of the barbarians were irresistible, and the protracted struggle produced serious evils in the state. But though the state fell, it did not fall all at once, nor all of it one way. A small community may be destroyed by a single disaster, as the plague slays a man in a night, but the death throes of great empires last through centuries. In one sense, indeed, the Empire did not die. The new Rome which Constantine founded at Byzantium was impregnable: it could neither be stormed nor starved, and the provinces which lay south and east of it were shielded by the sea from the northern barbarians. There the Roman Empire continued a reality, while in the exposed provinces of the west it gradually ceased to be more than a name. For a little while facts were invented to justify the name. Till 476 it was thought necessary that an Emperor should rule in Italy, and Emperors there were, though they can hardly be said to have ruled. But this was a sham—a mere inferior instance of the power of political custom. The really striking fact of the fifth century in the west is the abiding vitality of the Roman civilisation. The great complex coherent force of that civilisation had never ceased through all the troubles of the third and fourth centuries. None recognised this better than the invaders themselves: none appreciated so well, in their own rough way, the stately dignity of the Empire, and the power of its intricate orderly fabric of political and moral and material life. In two hundred years of struggle they had learnt something of Rome, and they did not, at the last, come as destroyers.

The continuity of the old world was naturally not the same in every province. In Britain the invaders drove the Romanised population more or less completely out of what is now England. In the Balkan peninsula the Huns, and after them the Ostrogoths, nearly annihilated the Latin-speaking population which had hitherto occupied Bosnia,

Serbia, and much of Bulgaria. They left, indeed, only that Rouman people which is so interesting and—it must be confessed—so irritating to the historian. There was even a moment in the sixth century when Rome itself, the Eternal City, was left desolate and empty for six weeks, but that is rather picturesque than important. We shall get from another source a better idea of how provinces came to be lost to Roman civilisation. In the third quarter of the fifth century there lived in Rhætia—more exactly, in the district between Vienna and Passau—a saint called Severinus, whose biography has lately been edited by Mommsen. Severinus was not a very wise man, if we may trust his biographer, Eugippius. He preached fasting and penance as the sole and infallible defence against enemies, and, indeed, against drought also; and the miracles attributed to him, which may be used to illustrate his character, were as useless to his generation as those of any spiritualist quack. But his biography gives us a good idea of the state of the land during his life. A Roman population lived in four or five walled towns, originally fortresses, not without some sort of garrisons, though by whom provided is not clear. There was some little trade on the Inn and Danube, and some cultivation of crops. The people owed nominal allegiance to the Roman Empire, which still ruled the West in a titular fashion, but they had more to do with certain Rugians, who alternately oppressed and protected them and were only too apt to regard them as potentially their slaves. Gradually the situation became intolerable. As one town after another was raided, its inhabitants withdrew from it to the remaining strong places; at last, about 487, they abandoned their last settlement and bodily migrated into Italy. That is why no Romance tongue is now spoken in Upper Austria.

But the greater districts of the west, Italy and Gaul and Spain and Africa, fared differently. Here no abrupt change severed the continuity of civilisation. The constitution, the language and literature, the agrarian system, and much more, survived almost intact. The barbarian chiefs who established themselves in the fifth century considered themselves, and were considered, as no more, at first, than successors of barbarians who had previously taken service under the Empire. Especially was this the case in Italy, where naturally Roman influences were strongest. Theodoric and Odoacer, and the other Gothic chieftains who ruled Rome from the deposition of the last Western Emperor till far into

the sixth century, were Roman citizens and, as such, styled themselves Flavii; they were also Roman officials, Masters of the Soldiers, consuls, patricians, and they had the old Roman bureaucracy under them. They were, of course, more than that. They ruled their Gothic adherents as kings, and in many ways showed that they realised the differences between the two races which obeyed them. But in this curious double position—to which we might perhaps trace contemporary parallels in Egypt or in China—the Roman element was the stronger; and if Justinian's generals had not subsequently chased the Goths out of Italy, it is likely that they would have merged in the Italian population, as the Normans did in England, and that their Gothic king would have become a half-hereditary Roman official.

Similar political arrangements were made in the Frankish, Visigothic, and Burgundian principalities which superseded the Roman provincial administration in Gaul and Spain. These lands were naturally dominated far less than Italy by the influences and associations of the Eternal City and of the old central government, and their organisation was in consequence less essentially Roman and more definitely German. But even the Franks in the north of France, furthest removed from Italy, recognised and accepted the Empire. Their first king, best known to us under the name of Clovis, was a titular Roman officer, and when a Christian bishop wished to write to him in 486, he alluded not to his kingdom or his palace, but to his *Provincia* and *Prætorium*, as he might have done to any Roman provincial governor. The thing, of course, was a sham. The seat of the Empire was too far away; the Franks themselves too numerous, and the Roman administrative machinery in Gaul had been too violently shattered, to let it be otherwise. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy. It shows clearly enough the anxiety of the new-comers to fit themselves into the existing political system of the Empire.

These constitutional compromises are neither the most picturesque nor the most permanent features in the change which the fifth century brought over the Western world. But they are the most significant. Conquerors entering on a rich country might not unnaturally accept much of the material life which they found there. That they should also accept the political order, so far as it could be preserved usefully, is in some sense astonishing, and we have, therefore, emphasised it in the case before us. But the survival of

the Roman civilisation in other less official ways is hardly less remarkable. It is less surprising, as we have said, but it produced more lasting results and affected more departments of European life and thought. Its precise force and limits have been long and often disputed. The same kind of controversy has raged on the Continent as that which exists in England between believers in the Germanic purity of our early English institutions, and believers in the survival of Celtic or Roman institutions and manners. But the Continental controversy has been embittered by national hatreds. Since 1871 French scholars have been biassed against admitting Germanic influences as any serious part of the elements which went to the making of France. They minimise the numbers of the invading barbarians, or explain them away as raiders who plundered and passed on. They emphasise every title and place-name and little detail which mediæval or modern France may seem to have inherited from her majestic ancestor. Their prejudices carry them much too far. But they are not wholly wrong. Modern research is perpetually providing fresh instances of the survival of the Imperial civilisation on the Continent of Western Europe. Let us look at one case, as we know it from abundant literary and archæological evidence, especially in Gaul—we mean the agrarian system.

The soil of Roman Gaul, except the Southern area which we call Provence, was mainly owned by great landlords, who lived in the country, in the middle of their estates, managing their property, hunting and hawking for amusement, and entering a little into the public business of their district or of the Empire. The estates, doubtless, varied in size and value, and were often distributed over various districts, just like the estates of country gentlemen in our own island to-day. A French writer who has collected the available evidence suggests that a thousand acres formed a very small property, while the average may have been as large and differed as widely from the extremes as the average territory of a modern French commune. But the evidence is not very decisive. In one case we learn that two country houses were a longish walk but a short ride apart, which may mean anything or nothing. In another case we find a property near to Epernay in Champagne sold, about 480, for 5,000 pounds of silver, but this again, though plainly a large amount, is somewhat uncertain. Mr. Dill adds a passage in which Ausonius calls a friend's estates *regna*, kingdoms, but Ausonius was here imitating

Virgil and Cicero, and does not seriously indicate area or acreage. The demesne or home farm of these estates was chiefly worked by slaves, the bulk of the land by serfs who might be either Gaulish peasants or immigrant Germans, granted homes on conditions closely resembling serfdom. This system outlasted the Germanic conquest of Gaul. Some of the invaders, at least among the Visigoths and Burgundians, may, perhaps, have annexed to themselves portions of the lands of Gallo-Roman nobles, but it is more probable that they laid a kind of tribute upon them. In any case the landholding system continued with little alteration, and can be traced clearly enough in the documents of the sixth and seventh centuries. Nor did it cease there. It has often been pointed out that numerous French villages derive their modern names from the designations of Gallo-Roman estates. Thus, an early Frank document names a property called Germiniacus, and there seems to be no doubt that this is Germigny, a village in North-Eastern France. So Issy, outside Paris, was Isiacus, and Vitry was Victoriacus, and so for hundreds of instances. Nor is the identity merely in name. There is reason to think that in some cases at least the actual boundaries of these estates correspond to the boundaries of the modern village territory. Boundaries, of course, are very permanent, when no political reason arises for their extirpation. There are four or five spots in Italy and one outside it, at Carthage, where the field roads, intersecting one another at right angles, in chessboard fashion, indicate the survival of the old Roman 'centuriation,' or division of allotments. They have somehow escaped the chances of the long years, and at Carthage even the deluge of Oriental life has spared them. It will not surprise us to find that the boundaries of Gaulish estates have been equally permanent. The extent of these survivals may have been exaggerated by enthusiastic Frenchmen, but they were unquestionably frequent, and their frequency is significant enough. The Gallo-Roman land system passed safely through the storms of the fifth century.

One element was added to it by the Germanic invaders—the village. In Western Europe there are, roughly speaking, two forms of habitation of country districts—the village and the isolated farm or hamlet. You can see the two forms in England. In the east, south-east, and midlands the rural population occupies more or less compact villages, each built round a village green or along a main road or in a little network of lanes. In Cornwall and Wales it occupies scattered homesteads and hamlets; and villages,

save of modern growth, are wholly absent. In Hampshire, for example, there is a Hursley parish and church and village; in Cornwall there is a Tintagel parish and church, but no village nor any place of the kind which has any right to be called Tintagel. Of these two types of habitation the former is the German, the latter is the Celtic, and, as Celtic, was the original type of rural habitation before the Germanic invasions were effected. But the English brought the village with them to our island, and the Franks and other invaders brought it into Gaul. Hence villages are now common all over north-eastern France, and occur in other parts, generally in oases which suggest small areas of German settlements. The introduction of this village system must, however, have been a gradual process, as Frank settlers filtered into and extended over northern France, and to a great extent it is long subsequent to the establishment of the Frank Kingdom. No sudden breach of continuity is involved between Roman and what came after Roman.

In the preceding paragraphs we have tried to illustrate the true character of the great transition which is usually styled the Fall of the Empire in Western Europe, and we have explained the continuity between the Roman civilisation and the beginnings of the modern world at least in Italy and France. This continuity was not unobserved, though it was sometimes misinterpreted by contemporary Romans. The reader who examines the Western literature of the fifth century, or who gathers the essence of it from Mr. Dill's delightful paragraphs, will find himself confronted by two facts. The writers whom he studies, at least so far as they belong to Italy or Gaul, show no great fear or dislike of the barbarians, and, in the second place, they regard the Roman civilisation as sound and quite secure of long prosperity. There are exceptions to both statements. Attila the Hun, with his terrible horsemen, his *terrificæ turmæ*, as Sidonius styles them, was too emphatically a Destroying Angel to be named without deep horror, and the Vandal tyranny in Africa ranked almost with the Huns for cruelty. And as there were bad barbarians, so there were despairing Romans. The priestly authors of the orthodox Christian confession were largely pessimists. Trained as monks, working in a world of powerful and persecuting Arians, expectant of the Second Coming of Christ, they had no inducement to praise their generation, and many of them regarded it as that last and worst age which was to precede the Archangel's

trumpet and the crack of the dissolving world, when the whole fabric of Nature should shake into dissolution and eternal ashes. Their pessimism has branded their age, and induced later writers to believe in its internal rottenness. But against their gloomy and awful expectations may be set the milder and maturer judgements of men with fewer professional prejudices and a wider, saner outlook.

One of the most interesting verdicts of the time is that of Sidonius—in full, Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius, Gaulish noble and bishop. His style is self-conscious and affected: perhaps Mr. Dill is right even in calling it decadent, but it is vivid, capable of striking portraits and brilliant miniatures. We see through it a great noble, who became a great ecclesiastic of that Prince-bishop type which probably survives nowhere to-day unless in Austria. He had leisure and pleasure enough, an abundance of friends, and time to write careful letters to them. He was a noble who met the Gothic chieftains of his day on equal terms. If he had political aspirations, which we doubt, they went back to the days of Postumus and the independent Empire of Gaul, which an alliance of Goth and Gallo-Roman seemed likely to realise in the first half of the fifth century. But he seems rather to have regarded the existing order as a continuation and development of the old order. Rome, he admits, had fallen, but Porsenna, Brennus, and Hannibal had threatened as much as the worst Goth or Vandal. Porsenna (as he spells the name) had retired in fear from the broken Tiber bridge: Brennus and Hannibal were alike dead, and Rome had outlasted them. So, after the present troubles, Rome would again revive, and the infusion of Gothic blood and Gothic energy might even restore Gaul and the Empire.

Less famous, less important among his contemporaries, but not uninteresting as a counterpart to Sidonius, is a certain Rutilius Namatianus. He is probably less even than a name to most modern scholars; but he is almost the last of the Pagans who gave voice, and whose voice has been remembered. Three years after Alaric sacked Rome, he was præfect of the city; some months later he had to journey to Gaul and protect his estates there against pillage by stray barbarians, and he describes his journey in some seven hundred neat elegiacs. He strikes the same notes as Sidonius—that Rome fell to rise higher. As Mr. Dill eloquently words it:—

‘There is hardly a hint that any serious event has occurred. The temples of the gods are still standing in their dazzling radiance under the serene Italian sky. The cheers of the spectators in the Circus reach

his ears as his ship still lingers in the Tiber. He feels a passionate regret at quitting "this fair queen of the world," so mighty, so merciful, so bounteous, whose visible splendour is only the faint symbol of her world-wide and god-like sway. Certainly there is here no querulous and faint-hearted lamentation over a crushing and appalling disaster. The troubles of the time, referred to in a few vague phrases, are treated as merely vicissitudes of fortune, such as Rome has known before, and from which she has always risen with renewed vitality.'

Rutilius has a good deal of rhetoric on this special point, and occasionally bursts out in such neat conventional apostrophes as his idea of poetry permitted:—

Ages untouched by sorrow shall be thine,
Long as this earth shall stand and stars shall shine.
Thy law it is that joy must follow pain,
Thy losses like the sun's shall turn to gain,
The fiery stars set but to rise once more :
The moon hath bounds, her radiance to restore.

and so forth. It is poor verse, as verse, and does not deserve a fine translation. The undertone of defeat is plain enough here, as in Sidonius, and perhaps Mr. Dill slightly underestimates its reality. But in both writers there is a notable absence of any ill-will to the new-comers, as such, and in both a steady confidence that the Roman civilisation was not dead or decayed. One was a Pagan, one a Christian; we cannot explain the coincidence by their religion or their sympathies. The only assumption—or fact—which will solve their attitude is that the period of transition was proceeding slowly, and that the survival of the Roman civilisation seemed to them secure.

What the barbarians thought about it all we know less fully: they were not men who put their criticisms on paper. But we know the policy of their chiefs in accepting the Roman system, and we possess the despatches which Cassiodorus wrote for his master Theodoric, and which Dr. Hodgkin has made accessible to English readers. Cassiodorus was a pompous windbag, and it would be foolish to press his language. But it must be more than rhetorical verbosity when Theodoric, through him, urges Gaulish provincials to obey the Roman customs and put off the barbarian, or, writing to the Jews in Genoa, orders that everything conducive to the old Roman civilisation should be held fast. But perhaps a more striking instance of barbarian feeling can be detected in a curious out-of-the-way chapter in the history of legend. Everyone knows that the Romans delighted to derive their descent from Trojan ancestors. Everyone equally knows that later, when Rome dominated

mediæval Europe, the early English chroniclers claimed the same origin for the first inhabitants of Britain. It is less well known, perhaps, that the Franks in the seventh century sought also to connect their race with Troy. One of their historians avers that, after the fall of Troy, the Trojans under King Frigia (the Phrygian) crossed the Black Sea to the Danube, migrated across Europe, and finally, led by King Francis, founded a new Troy on the banks of the Rhine. The new Troy is really an old Roman town, called after the Emperor Trajan, and the whole story is a pure fable, wholly devoid of that historical substratum which underlies some legends of migrations. But it and other legends like it show that some at least among the Franks desired to claim kindred with the empire from which they had won a kingdom and inherited a civilisation. The art of inventing ancestors was not unknown in those days, and it was no more then than now a noble art. But its applications may interest the historian, and in this case they illustrate the admiration of the barbarian for the empire into which he entered.

The meaning of all this is plain. It was not internal weakness or decay, but the long storm of barbarians which wrecked the Empire in the west. Evils of many kinds distracted the Roman Government and the citizens of Rome before the wreck was complete; but those evils arose out of the external storm, and neither the one nor the other were sufficient to sap the soundness of the inner life of the Empire. Even the political structure, first reared by Augustus, and repaired by Diocletian, was still powerful upon men's minds, and the fabric of habit in which men had lived was still fit to shelter them. It was able to protect the new nations of the south, the kingdoms of Spain and France, the cities and principalities of Italy, as they rose into life; and its direct influence and its traditions and the magic of its fame and name were potent through the Middle Age. Now it has gone. The title of Roman Emperor, long a mere shadowy title, the mere reflexion of a name, vanished from Europe when this century opened, and, as the same century closes, vigorous Teutonic thinkers are wondering whether the Latin civilisation itself, in France and Spain and Italy, has not at last reached the end of its developement. At such a moment it is not ill to struggle even through difficult historical details to catch an accurate glimpse of how that civilisation passed from the Roman Empire to that modern world which is before us.

- ART. IX.—1. *Actes et Documents relatifs au Programme de la Conférence de la Paix. Publiés d'ordre du Gouvernement.* Par VAN DAEHNE VAN VARIOK, Docteur en Droit. La Haye: 1899.
2. *Der Krieg.* Von JOHANN VON BLOCH. (Uebersetzung des Russischen Werkes des Autors.) Der Zukünftige Krieg. Band VI. Berlin: 1899.
3. *Der Ewige Friede.* VON KARL FREIHERR V. STENGEL. München: 1899.
4. *L'Arbitrage International.* FERDINAND DREYFUS, avec une préface de Frédéric Passy. Paris: 1894.
5. *History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to which the United States have been a Party.* By JOHN BASSETT MOORE. Six volumes. Government Printing Office, Washington: 1898.
6. *A Scheme for the Establishment of International Courts, submitted by the London Committee of the International Peace Crusade to the Representatives of the Powers at the Hague Peace Conference.* London: 1899.

THE Conference at the Hague has not, as we write, completed its labours. There is the prospect of other conferences being held to continue the work begun in May; and it is much too soon to pronounce a decided opinion as to all the future results of the heroic attempt to lighten the burdens of an armed peace which has become scarcely less costly and heavy than war itself. But however far the results may fall short of the Czar's design—even though history should class it with the many schemes, praiseworthy, but for a time futile, emanating from princes, statesmen, or thinkers to bring in the reign of peace—the Conference will stand out as one of the memorable events of the century. It is folly to try to belittle the gathering at the Hague. Its shortcomings are obvious. But it is a unique event, about the ultimate effects of which one may not dogmatise, and as to which the most hopeful may prove the wisest.

Everything connected with the Czar's Rescript has been dramatic. It appeared when England was waiting with breathless interest the news of the Sirdar's advance into the Soudan. The Czar issued his call for peace, real and durable, his plea for an arrest in the competition of armaments, which paralysed progress, on the day of the unveiling of the monument in the Kremlin to the Emperor 'the Deliverer.'

Alexander II. He chose Whitsuntide, the season of enlightenment and peace, as the occasion for the gathering of nations. He selected as the place of meeting Holland, the fatherland of Grotius, the chief founder of modern international law. The delegates have been welcomed in the quietest of capitals by the young Queen, whose reign had been looked forward to with hope and desire by her subjects.

To the whole world the Czar's Rescript came as a surprise. The inclination of many persons who sympathised with the object in view was to deride it as a piece of Utopianism, creditable to the heart of the young ruler, but far removed from the regions of practical politics. Many persons saw in the proposal a cloak for crafty and ambitious designs. Russia wanted time to complete the trans-Siberian railway; she needed money for extending military railways generally; the Conference was intended to lull the suspicion of her adversaries. When the work of reorganisation was completed she would begin again her old ways of perfidy and aggrandisement. They pointed as evidence of her insincerity to the reorganisation of the Russian artillery, the increase of the Russian fleet, the policy of intrigue and advance in China, and the rude assault on the constitutional liberties of Finland, mainly because they interfered with the unity of the administration and the military organisation of Russia, at the very time that preparations were being made for holding a Conference of Peace. On the other hand, enthusiasts hailed the Rescript as a priceless boon bestowed by an unlooked-for hand, the harbinger of brighter days for humanity, and the beginning of the long-deferred reign of peace. There seemed no limit to the beneficent possibilities of the near future when the Czar of Russia, the master of the largest armies of the world, became the advocate of peace, earnestly pleaded for disarmament all round, and declared that 'mettre un terme à ces armements incessants et rechercher le moyen de prévenir des calamités qui menacent le monde entier, tel est le devoir suprême qui s'impose aujourd'hui à tous les Etats.'

In Count Mouravieff's circular of December 30 eight subjects were stated as worthy of consideration. In the first place was mentioned 'entente stipulant la non-augmentation pour un terme à fixer des effectifs actuels des forces armées de terre et de la mer, ainsi que des budgets de guerre y afférents; étude préalable des voies dans lesquelles pourrait même se réaliser dans l'avenir une réduction des effectifs et des budgets ci-dessus mentionnés.'

The main business of the Conference was to be disarmament. The last place was given to arbitration and mediation. It was the Czar's ambition to accomplish what has been the dream and aspiration of many statesmen. Students had conceived schemes of a European concert which would terminate all differences in a great council of the nations, and would one day make war an impossibility. Men acquainted with affairs—Walpole, Metternich, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Cobden, to name only a few—had thought that it might be practicable to terminate, in the words of Lord Beaconsfield, 'a disastrous system of wild expenditure ' by mutually, with no hypocrisy,' agreeing to a reduction of armaments. It seems a confession of impotence and failure that the Conference should end without having accomplished this object, without having put limits to the ruinous rivalry in military expenditure of the great States of Europe. That confession must be made. Long before the Conference met it became plain that the difficulties in the way of any large measure of disarmament were, for the present, insuperable. All the nations represented at the Hague raised objections. To take our own case, Great Britain could not consent to abandon her traditional policy of keeping her fleet equal to the two fleets of any other two powers; and other nations, with aspirations towards the formation of a colonial empire, were not prepared to see this proportion permanent. To take again France and Germany, the military advisers of the latter country saw in the preparations of its neighbour reasons for increasing its army and fleet. The *status quo*, the natural basis of any arrangement, might be acceptable to States well prepared for any contingency; it was intolerable to others. At a late stage in the proceedings M. de Staal brought forward a proposal that the States of the world should pledge themselves not to increase their armies or navies or their military or naval budgets for some years, an exception being made in the case of Indian and Colonial troops. The exceptions were large and elastic enough to reduce the promise to a nullity, even if it were given by all the States.

To ensure the carrying out of any agreement there must be inspection or control. No one was able to suggest how that could be honestly carried out without intolerable interference. And yet the proposal for a measure of disarmament met with encouragement from practical statesmen. Lord Salisbury, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Goschen uniformly spoke of it in sympathetic, hopeful terms; and Mr. Goschen gave proof of the sincerity of the Government's

good wishes by announcing that they were prepared not to increase our fleet if other countries did likewise. The new President of the French Republic was well affected and sympathetic. Conversing with a distinguished stranger who had expressed doubts as to the feasibility of the Czar's designs, M. Loubet is reported to have said: 'Monseigneur, les utopies de la veille sont souvent les vérités du lendemain.' But it is a far distant to-morrow. Partial disarmament on a small scale may be carried out. Local disarmament—such as that agreed to by England and the United States at the close of the last war, both countries agreeing not to maintain ships of war on the great lakes—may, at no distant date, be possible. But on a large scale disarmament can be carried out only as a supplement or consequence of measures going to the root of some of the causes which divide and perturb, irritate and inflame. The war budgets of the world are the expression of the fears, hopes, ambition, and conflicting aspirations which are abroad. While Germany regards Alsace and Lorraine as 'the glacis of the Empire,' while Frenchmen still talk of revenge, while the Eastern question is still open, and in the Far East an ancient empire is being dismembered, there is little prospect of disarmament.

We are not of those who believe that arbitration can remove or smooth over all the difficulties which imperil the peace of nations. Many controversies lie outside the region of arbitration, and any scheme worthy of serious attention frankly acknowledges this. There are worse evils than war, and one of the greatest would be a craven spirit of readiness to consent to any concessions in order to be able to make money and live at ease. Peace at any price may mean the bankruptcy of national virtue, the great surrender of duties. Nor even where arbitration would be expedient can we look for it being always resorted to. No stipulations in treaties can bind nations when once their passions are aroused. Statesmen who are bent on the aggrandisement of their country will risk all to carry their point, and they will become heroes in the eyes of many of their countrymen by tearing up such compacts. Can the readers of Herr Busch's book fancy Prince Bismarck consenting to submit to any tribunal all outstanding difficulties with France? Would Lord Beaconsfield have been a party to arbitration on some of the points on which he insisted at Berlin? Almost all arbitration schemes—certainly all those seriously discussed, with, perhaps, the exception of the Italo-Argentine Treaty of 1898—

exclude matters affecting the honour of a country or the integrity of its territory.* Under cover of these elastic exceptions any questions can be withdrawn from the region of arbitration when national passion demands it. No more instructive discussion of the advantages, and limitations to the uses, of arbitration in international controversies can be found than in the correspondence between Lord Salisbury and Mr. Olney with respect to the Anglo-American Treaty which the Senate refused to ratify. Lord Salisbury pointed out that a large class of controversies could not be settled by arbitration; and he drew the following distinction:—

‘Cases that arise between States belong to one of two classes. They may be private disputes in respect of which the State is representing its own subjects as individuals, or they may be issues which concern the State itself considered as a whole. A claim for indemnity or for damages belongs generally to the first class; a claim to territory or sovereign rights belongs to the second. For the first class of differences the suitability of international arbitration may be admitted without reserve. It is exactly analogous to private arbitration; and there is no objection to the one that would not apply equally to the other. There is nothing in cases of this kind which would make it difficult to find capable and impartial arbitrators. But the other class of disputes stands on a different footing. They concern the State in its collective capacity, and all members of each State, and all other States who wish it well, are interested in the issue of the litigation. If the matter in controversy is important, so that defeat is a serious blow to the credit or the power of the litigant who is worsted, that interest becomes a mere or less keen partisanship. According to their sympathies, men wish for the victory of one side or the other. Such conflicting sympathies interfere most formidably with the choice of an impartial arbitrator. By whatever plan the tribunal is selected, the end of it must be that the issues in which the litigant States are most deeply interested will be decided by the vote of one man, and that man a foreigner.’†

Accordingly, Lord Salisbury proposed to exclude from the provisions of the treaty the graver class of international disputes: ‘Any difference which in the judgement of either power materially affects the honour or integrity of its territory shall not be referred to arbitration under this treaty except by special agreement.’ Replying to Mr. Olney’s criticisms, Lord Salisbury said:—

‘Her Majesty’s Government are not prepared for this complete surrender of their freedom of action until fuller experience has been acquired. In their view obligatory arbitration on territorial claims is,

* See article by M. Ferand-Giraud, ‘Des Traités d’Arbitrage Général et Permanent’ (*Revue de Droit International*, 29, 332).

† Parliamentary Papers, 1896 (C.—8105), p. 4.

in more than one respect, an untried plan, of which the working is consequently a matter of conjecture. In the first place, the number of claims which would be advanced under such a rule is entirely unknown. Arbitration in this matter has never as yet been obligatory. Claims by one neighbour of a portion of the land of the other have hitherto been limited by the difficulty of enforcing them. Hitherto, if pressed to the end, they have meant war. Under the proposed system, self-defence by war will in these cases be renounced unless the claim can be said to involve "the national honour and integrity." The protection, therefore, which at present exists against speculative claims will be withdrawn. Such claims may, of course, be rejected by the arbitrators, if there is no great harm done to the claiming party. . . . The first result, therefore, of compulsory arbitration on territorial claims will not improbably be an enormous multiplication of their numbers.*

Mr. Olney objected that some of the reservations and changes proposed would destroy the value of international arbitration. In the end Lord Salisbury came round to Mr. Olney's view, and then—strange piece of irony—the Committee of the Senate virtually restored the qualifications and reservations proposed by Lord Salisbury.

Experience of arbitration in private matters does not make one confident as to its complete success in public disputes. In business affairs it is found to have many limitations and shortcomings. It is apt to be tedious and expensive, the results are uncertain, and often the arbitrators, thinking it their duty to be advocates, do not conform to the standard of impartiality observed by judges. There are no signs that arbitration is superseding, or will ever supersede, the action of the ordinary courts of law. A few years ago, when complaints of the 'law's delay' were loud and general, it was suggested that such a change might one day come about on a large scale. We heard much of the Chamber of Arbitration in London, which was to decide promptly and cheaply, and in the light of good sense, questions which the courts failed to deal with or decided tardily and at great cost. The scheme, which promised so much, accomplished little. The business of the courts was unaffected, and at present more commercial cases come before them than at any other time in this generation. This change is mainly due to the ability of Mr. Justice Mathew, who has rendered in the Commercial Court (which is virtually his creation) services of inestimable value. The failure of attempts to oust the courts

* Ibid. p. 12.

from their ordinary work is also due to the necessary limitations of arbitration even in private disputes. For some classes of questions it is the best, and indeed the only satisfactory, mode of settlement. Whether goods are up to sample, whether they are of the quality bargained for, whether a mercantile usage has been complied with, whether conduct is that which business men expect from each other—as to such matters arbitrators are the best tribunal. They do not answer where grave matters are in dispute; where the questions are of law rather than fact; where the manner of procedure is as important as the accuracy of the decision; where guidance in future controversies is needed; and where the parties are too angry to agree to anything. Some of these limitations apply to public arbitration, and others are peculiar to it.

The weakness of all schemes of international arbitration is that perfection of machinery counts for so little, the existence of good faith and goodwill for so much. As Herr von Bloch remarks, the experience of the past goes to show that a peaceful solution of the most complicated questions can be found, provided there is goodwill; without it diplomacy labours in vain. However carefully worded a treaty of arbitration may be, however wide its terms, a State that is disinclined to proceed to arbitration will find plausible grounds for refusing to submit to what is and must be a voluntary jurisdiction. Almost all treaties of arbitration exclude from the jurisdiction of the court or tribunal a large class of important disputes, and a statesman who desires to withdraw the case of his country from that tribunal will be singularly lacking in ingenuity if he fails to show to the satisfaction of himself and his countrymen, who are too often ready to be convinced by appeals to their prejudices, that it is excluded from the operation of the treaty. Even while the Conference was in session the world had an object-lesson as to the limitations of arbitration. The Alaska boundary question was at a deadlock because Canada would not agree to go into arbitration on the terms proposed by the United States. The Conference at Bloemfontein between Sir Alfred Milner and President Kruger failed partly because Great Britain refused to enter into arbitration on any terms. The scheme which the Conference is understood to have agreed upon excepts many subjects from the jurisdiction of the permanent court. Each exception is an open door to those who wish to ignore the spirit of any treaty.

Arbitration is not a panacea for the evils which the Czar deplored; it is a remedy, limited and uncertain in its operations. Undoubtedly, of late there has been no disposition to forget those limitations and its defects as a preventive of quarrels. On the contrary, in the comments on the Czar's Rescript and the Conference there has been a disposition to dwell on them and to exaggerate them; to ignore the teaching of experience, and to forget how much arbitration has become part and parcel of the structure of modern society. When the Conference met there was no widespread knowledge of the good work which arbitration had already performed in international disputes, and no recognition that the Conference was a step forward in a long process of development. In six interesting volumes, enriched with maps, plans, and copies of all important documents, Professor Bassett Moore has compiled an elaborate history of the arbitrations in which the United States have been concerned. Every reader must be struck by the number and variety of the controversies settled without resorting to arms, the growing habit in modern times to refer to arbitration as a matter of course disputes which diplomacy used to allow to drag on interminably, and, not least, the readiness of nations to carry out awards adverse to them.

No sanction secures the enforcement of awards between nations; no court says, 'Obey them or be punished.' Nations which have been worsted in an arbitration may refuse to submit to the award. But the instances in which this has been done are singularly few. Dr. Darby, the Secretary of the Peace Society, has compiled a long list of arbitrations between States from 1815 to 1897—a list beginning with the arbitration relating to certain islands in Passamaquoddy Bay in 1816, and ending with the disputes as to the frontiers of the Argentine Republic, Chili, and Bolivia in 1898. The list is imperfect; * some statisticians have given very different figures, according as they include special arbitrations and commissions or mediations between Governments. But in the lists prepared by M. Bellaire, M. Donnat, and Dr. Darby the only clear case of refusal to abide by an award is to be found in the dispute between this country and the United States in regard to the North-east boundary. The Americans declined to accept the award of the King of Holland, and the dispute remained open until

* See the note on these figures in Hall's 'International Law,' 2nd ed. p. 381n.

it was settled under the Ashburton Treaty. Nations murmur against decisions which are not to their mind, but they abide by them. The truth is that generally with respect to a large class of disputes—such as uncertain boundary lines, or private claims by the subjects of one country against another—States do not assent to a submission unless they are prepared to obey an adverse award; and that while always averse to admitting liability, or openly making concessions, Governments are not unwilling to substitute for an interminable, irritating, and fruitless correspondence a reference to some arbitrator, and thus relieve themselves of the responsibility of making an inconvenient decision.

Such a question as that referred by Great Britain and Portugal to Signor Vigliani, as to the boundaries of their possessions and spheres of influence in Eastern and Central Africa—a question turning on the meaning of phrases used in the treaty by persons not conversant with the region described, and involving difficult technical questions of geography—could never properly be determined by diplomacy; it might be kept open for centuries. What other way than an inquiry before experts and jurists could be found out of the controversy as to the boundary line between Guiana and Venezuela, a controversy involving the study of some 6,000 pages of documents written in Dutch and Spanish? The dispute between this country and Portugal as to the sovereignty of the island of Bulama depended on obscure facts ranging over a period of four hundred years, and it had been the subject of diplomatic correspondence for nearly half a century. It was promptly and satisfactorily decided by President Grant. We do not agree with those who maintain that only questions admitting of a strictly juridical solution or turning on principles of law ought to be referred. Of a large number of international disputes dependent on complicated and technical geographical facts, a reference to arbitration is the only reasonable solution.

Justice is not done to the labours of the Conference, their significance is not understood, until we recognise that they continue a process of development which has long been going on, and that they are one of many steps taken of late towards extending, systematising, and organising arbitration in disputes between nations. At the beginning of this century, when difficulties arose as to which States were reluctant to go to war, they were referred to a hastily

improvised tribunal. Few rules of procedure were laid down, or rules, if any, were badly drawn. Probably no statesman thought that a negotiation of a general treaty of arbitration between several States was practicable. By some of the earlier treaties containing arbitration clauses it was provided that the selection of an umpire, always a delicate matter, was to be determined by lot. The seventh article of the Jay Treaty, for example, provided for the appointment of two British and two American commissioners, and for the appointment of a fifth arbitrator or umpire by lot. In the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 was a similar provision. In some treaties concluded in the earlier part of this century the reference was to two commissioners, a friendly State or sovereign being called in to decide in the event of differences between them. For many years the practice was to refer to a sovereign. In the dispute between Brazil and England in 1862, as to the ill-treatment of English naval officers, the question was referred to the King of the Belgians; the dispute as to the sovereignty of the Caroline Islands was submitted by Germany and Spain to the Pope, who decided in favour of the latter. That method has proved inconvenient; there is generally a suspicion that the sovereign's award is prepared in the Foreign Office of his country, and under the advice of permanent officials, who may or may not be capable, and who are rarely able to be absolutely impartial. Of late the tendency has been to nominate as arbitrators well-known jurists or judges of the supreme courts of the world. Thus the dispute as to the Costa Rica 'Packet' was referred to M. de Martens, the well-known jurist. The determination of the dispute as to the Manica boundary was left to Signor Vigliani, formerly President of the Court of Cassation at Florence. According to the recent treaty for the settlement of outstanding differences between the United States and Canada, the High Commission was composed of ten members, most of whom were specialists, five being designated by each country. According to the treaty for the settlement of the Behring Sea seal fisheries, seven arbitrators were nominated—two by the British Government, two by the United States, and one each by the King of Italy, the King of Sweden and Norway, and the President of the French Republic. 'The seven arbitrators to be so named shall be jurists of distinguished reputation in their respective countries, and the selecting powers shall be requested to choose, if possible, jurists who are acquainted

‘with the English language.’ According to the Venezuela Treaty the reference is to ‘five jurists.’* In short, the day of the amateur is over; the tendency is to employ specialists—one among many points in which international arbitrations are approximating to the procedure of ordinary courts of law.

We may note another stage of development. The early treaties rarely made provision as to the procedure to be followed by the arbitrators or the principles which were to guide them in deciding. All was left to their discretion. The Treaty of Washington of 1871 was the beginning of a new practice. In that treaty were inserted elaborate and minute rules as to procedure—rules borrowed in the main from the English system of pleading—and in deciding the arbitrators were instructed to apply the famous ‘three rules.’ That treaty also marked an important step in the approximation of the proceedings in public arbitrations to those in courts of law; a tendency which is certain to continue.

In the last ten years a further development has taken place. Until lately the conception of a treaty between two countries providing for the settlement of all sorts of differences, or even certain classes of differences, by arbitration was familiar only to a few theorists. In recent years we have seen treaties of arbitration between two or more nations by which they bind themselves to submit all questions in difference, with certain exceptions, to arbitration. Switzerland and the United States entered into negotiations in 1883 for a treaty of arbitration with a view to the determination of all disputes. In 1898 Italy and the Argentine Republic concluded a treaty by which they consented to submit to arbitration all disputes, whatever their nature, no restriction being made even as to territorial claims or questions affecting the honour of the country.

The Conference has made a further advance along the same route. The advocates of international arbitration have always said, ‘Nothing of much value can be done until an ‘international court is established.’ But the difficulties in the way of creating such a court, even in a rudimentary form, long seemed insuperable. Even an enthusiast for arbitration, such as Professor Corsi, lately rebuked the ‘impatience’ of his friends, who desired such a tribunal:

* The General Act of the Brussels Convention as to the Slave Trade provides that the arbitrators are to be as far as possible chosen from the diplomatic, consular, or judicial officers of the signatory Powers.

‘Il est plus aisé de croire qu’on arrivera à notre idéale par une série toujours plus large et uniforme de conventions bilatérales entre deux Etats.’ The International American Conference at Washington in 1890, the Inter-parliamentary Conference at Brussels in 1895, and the Association of International Law at Antwerp in 1895, suggested the formation of such a court. But Sir Julian Pauncefote and the American representatives at the Conference were the first practical statesmen to put forward such a scheme. England and the United States have had far more experience of arbitration than any other countries, and the measure of success achieved by the Conference in this field is due largely to them.* From Germany little assistance has been got. She has more than once blocked the way. This is natural. One of the representatives whom she sent to the Conference was Freiherr von Stengel, a member of the legal faculty of the University of Munich, who had written a pamphlet entitled ‘Der Ewige Friede,’ full of glorification of war as a school of virtue and culture, the touchstone of the worth of states and nations, and full of sneers at the composers of fantastic schemes for promoting peace. Even when not hostile to the aims of the Conference, Germany has been throughout inscrutable, unsympathetic, and without helpful initiative. It no doubt struck her military advisers that the proposed schemes of mediation and arbitration might fetter her action when war was imminent. In modern warfare rapidity of mobilisation—the great virtue of the German military system—is everything. Nations no longer wait for a declaration of war before striking a blow; the formalities and delays prescribed by the old

* Sir Julian Pauncefote’s original proposal was:—‘A central office will be established permanently at X., where the archives of the tribunal will be preserved, and which will be entrusted with the conduct of its official business. The office will be the intermediary for communications relative to the meeting of the tribunal at the instance of the parties to the litigation.

‘Each signatory power will transmit to the others the names of two persons of its nationality, recognised in their country as jurists or publicists of merit, enjoying the highest reputation for integrity, disposed to accept the functions of arbitrators, and possessing all the necessary qualities. . . . The signatory powers . . . will select from this list the number of arbitrators agreed upon in the arrangement. They will have, moreover, the power of adding arbitrators other than those whose names are inscribed on the list. The arbitrators thus chosen will form the tribunal,’ &c.

lex feccialis before hostilities began are obsolete; it is a word and a blow; and the blow sometimes comes first. With such a system, the principle, 'Always arbitrate before fighting,' is out of harmony.

And yet it looks as if an international court of some sort—which Lord Salisbury in 1887 declared there was no hope of seeing formed—will be established at no distant date; it is probable that, if not a permanent tribunal, a permanent bureau will be constituted with a roster of names from which a tribunal may be formed. But it can only be a court with very small powers. A true court acts of its own motion and without consent; it cites parties, and punishes them if they do not attend; it hears them; it acquits or condemns; and it enforces its sentences against the guilty. A court thus defined—a court in which the representatives of States A, B, C, D shall decide disputes between E and F, whether they object or not, and obedience to whose decrees shall be secured by the united force of the majority—was contemplated in the schemes of European peace devised by Henry IV. and the Abbé de St. Pierre. The Council-General which the former desired to see established would have possessed a powerful army at its command, and would have been able to treat as 'a common enemy' a prince who disobeyed its decrees. According to the scheme which the Abbé de St. Pierre conceived, the Society or Union of Princes of Christendom were to form a Senate, sitting in the City of Peace; its decrees were to be enforced, and 'Nul souverain ne prendra les armes et ne fera aucune hostilité que contre celui qui a esté déclaré ennemi de la société Européenne.'

It was a feature of William Penn's scheme of a European Diet which should settle differences and make war impossible that a dissenting State should be compelled to submit. The late Sir Joseph Secley shadowed forth a plan of a European Bund which was to do for Europe what the Federal Union had done for the States of America. He, too, thought that such a Bund must be able to levy troops and to enforce its decrees. All such schemes are still as chimerical as they were in the days of the Abbé de St. Pierre. The proposals submitted to the Conference related to a court which existed and acted only by consent, and which could not enforce its decrees; a court of honour, and no more; not infringing on the sovereignty of the States which agree to a permanent tribunal. We are as far as ever from an Amphictyonic Council or a senate of

Europe, such as the Abbé de St. Pierre conceived. The utmost to be looked for is a court before which no one need appear and by whose decision no one need be bound.

How is such a court to be formed? According to several schemes its members should be drawn from the ranks of the judges of the supreme courts of the various States, who, it is supposed, will be least amenable to political influences, and will presumably possess the requisite influence, prestige, learning, and authority. Any strict rule as to this would prove inconvenient. In Lord Herschell the nation had a valuable public servant admirably suited for the discharge of such duties and possessed of the requisite leisure. On his death the Government naturally turned to Lord Russell as his successor. But it would be a serious inconvenience if he, together with Lord Justice Collins, were withdrawn from their ordinary duties for several months. Were a permanent court of any kind established, and were many cases brought before it, the attendance of distinguished members of the supreme court would be out of the question. Besides, be it said with all respect to the English bench, it rarely includes several men of the stamp and training united which are needed in international arbitration. Our judges possess learning of a kind which French or German lawyers are unable to appreciate. Trained scientifically, well grounded in Roman law, the foreign jurist is accustomed to approach legal questions from a totally different point of view from that which is natural to English lawyers. He does not understand, far less admire, their empirical way of treating legal problems. He refuses to bow the knee to Smith's 'Leading Cases.' And in judging of the expediency of such a rule one must think of other supreme courts than our own. Some eminent persons who do not happen to be members of any court would command as much respect as if they were. For example, M. de Martens, the well-known professor of international law at St. Petersburg, who has had large experience as an arbitrator, would have more weight with the Western world than any members of the Russian judicature. In truth, a class of persons suited for acting either as judges or advocates in such a court has yet to be educated. That is pre-eminently true of this country. The civilians who had experience in international affairs—Gentilis, Zouch, Sir Leoline Jenkins, Sir John Nicholl, Lord Stowell, Phillimore, Twiss, and Dodson—have left no successors. The remark is true also of other countries. Often the arbitrators chosen by them have been, as England knows to

her cost, unworthy of their high calling. Lord Selborne's 'Memorials' gave a vivid picture of the kind of persons into whose hands fell ultimately the decision of the delicate questions which had divided England and the United States, and had brought them to the verge of war—judges whose opinion would have been unsatisfactory if a tailor's bill were in dispute.* Not merely are the ability, learning, and experience requisite for the discharge of those duties rare—the judicial spirit and training which forbid and shun the approach of illicit influences in all their subtle forms are rarer still. Recognising this peril, the majority of modern treaties stipulate that arbitrators shall sit in the capital of some neutral State.† This is not, however, enough to secure the requisite atmosphere of tranquillity. The Behring Sea arbitration is justly cited as an example of the success of this mode of settling disputes. It came near being a failure. When its secret history is told it will appear that Lord Hannen was more than once somewhat shocked at proceedings which a little offended his conception of the position of a judge. No matter what is the place of meeting, arbitrators are exposed unconsciously to subtle extra-judicial influences; and not in one year or many will the spirit which condemns any deviation from the strictest standard of judicial integrity be universal. We suspect that an English court would set aside an award given by persons who had acted with the indiscretion which some arbitrators in public disputes have permitted themselves.

What form of law will this tribunal apply? Is it to be free to act as it thinks fit, or must it be guided by international law? Most of those who have studied the subject have been of opinion that no tribunal can be entirely satisfactory until the basis of a true international law is laid. For the commands of that law as it now exists there are no sanctions. It has other defects. Large parts of it are

* 'Of the three arbitrators, Count Sclopis had in his own country some reputation as a jurist. If the other two had studied law, it was (I suspect) but slightly, and perhaps only for the purpose of his satisfaction. Viscount Itajuba, the fairest man of the three, entered upon the arbitration as if there were no serious question except as to the amount which Great Britain ought to pay.' (i. 253-54.)

† See Professor Corai's remarks on the decisions of the Commissions constituted to decide claims by Italy, Great Britain, France, and other countries, presided over by Baron Lopez Netto, and sitting in Santiago, in Chili. *Étude sur un Nouveau Traité Général d'Arbitrage*, p. 15.

obscure, and consist of little more than dicta and precedents drawn from different ages, and of uncertain value. There exists no true *jus gentium*, no great body of rules possessing even the moral authority which Roman law long enjoyed in Europe, no generally accepted doctrine of a law of nature to which all countries own that they must conform. In large parts of the subject little else is to be found than the shifting sand of usage and precedents of dubious authority. The attempts made by Bluntschli, Mr. Dudley Field, and others to reduce to the form of a code the principles of international law were premature. They presuppose an agreement which does not exist, and which is still a long way off. Nor with regard to some matters is discernible any sign of an approximation to agreement. To refer to one head of international law—the subject of intervention—what assistance would a statesman receive from the best writers as to the circumstances in which intervention by one Power in the domestic affairs of another is justified? What light could it throw on the right of the United States to interfere in the affairs of Cuba? The books furnish little more than a plentiful supply of contradictory precepts, on which statesmen draw according to the passions or the interests of the hour. And yet it is possible to exaggerate the diversity of opinions and usages in this field; it is somewhat common to do so. Pessimism is not here the fulness of wisdom. Notwithstanding the many differences in some parts of this field, signs are discernible of the growth of a working system of jurisprudence between nations, and nothing will do more to develope and perfect it than an international court, however limited its functions at first may be. The *civitas gentium* which is to embrace all nations of the earth is a long way off, but some chapters of its law, dealing with minor matters, are already written. In regard to copyright, postal matters, telegraphs, the usages of war, have been formed ‘administrative unions’ of various States, which contain the promise of still more important international organisations.*

On one point of detail there has been much discussion. Ought there to be a power of appealing from the decision of the tribunal, and, if so, to what other body? Here again there is a conflict of considerations: on one hand, the advantages of finality; on the other, the advantages of revision when a mistake has been committed. The Anglo-

* Professor Kazansky gives, in an article in the ‘Revue de Droit International’ (29, 288), nine instances of such permanent unions.

American Treaty provided for a re-hearing; so did the American scheme submitted to the Conference. The Italo-Argentine Treaty contemplated revision in two cases: 'S'il 'a été jugé sur un document faux ou erroné; ou si l'arrêt a 'été en tout ou en partie l'effet d'une erreur de fait positive 'ou négative qui résulte des actes ou documents de la cause.' We are inclined to think that the Conference has acted wisely in not complicating the scheme adopted with provisions for an appeal.

From first to last the procedure proposed is voluntary. The proposed permanent court will have no power without consent. Its decisions will have, in theory, no greater effect than the decisions of a club committee. But the work done is of value. At the outset of the Conference the tendency was to speak sceptically of the results. Even the delegates themselves, when they met, seemed to think that their efforts must be futile or academic. Not until they had conferred together and found that business was meant did they take their duties very seriously. The longer they sat, the wider grew the conviction that some of them did not intend to leave the Hague without achieving solid results. In many respects, notwithstanding the contrast between the magnitude of the programme and the meagreness of the performance, it has been a memorable meeting. There has been a gathering of the nomads of philanthropy—men who move rapidly across Europe and collect wherever good works are being done; some of them vain, futile, obtrusive; some with their hearts full of ineffectual fire of enthusiasm; others as wise as they are good. In the air of the Hague was a little of the glow of earnestness which accompanies a religious congress rather than a meeting of sober, sceptical diplomatists. And some of the heat communicated itself to the representatives, who were eager to do business, and to do it quickly. 'They are 'going too fast,' said one who had spent his life in labouring to advance peace, and who saw, as he thought, more done in a week than he expected to see accomplished in the rest of his days. As a well-informed observer remarked, 'It is gratifying to see on the spot with what earnestness 'and hopefulness the delegates are attending to their duties 'as commissioners.'

We entertain no delusions as to the immediate or ultimate effect of the resolutions adopted at the Hague. Much that was attempted is left undone; and even as to the resolutions which have been adopted, it is by no means certain that the countries will ratify the acts of their delegates when the fervour and hope produced by the Czar's Rescript have

passed off. And there are obstacles in the way of the Conference too great to be removed by resolutions. Councils of the Church have tried to arrest human thought at some point, and all to no purpose. Congresses and conferences have also proved powerless to stereotype the map of Europe or stifle impulses and movements in national life. From time to time nations, like individuals, will push to the uttermost their ambition, and stake their all on the dice of war. Some untoward incident will happen when passions are heated: a frontier brawl, orders misunderstood by a hot-headed subordinate, an accident to a cruiser in a foreign port. 'Remember the "Maine!"' or some other exciting cry, will be raised; and even a strong Government may bow to the tempest of popular passions and clamour for war. All modern changes do not make for peace. Sympathy with suffering is greater than it was. The horrors of war are better known than they were; and a spirit of 'jingoism' is rare among soldiers and seamen, who are best able to understand the terrible consequences of a war between European nations. Against this increase of sympathy, this sense of responsibility, must be set off things good and bad: the abiding contrast between the acts of heroism which war calls forth, and the monotony of civil life; the appearance of noble and attractive types of military character—General Gordon is a case in point—the love of sensation to which war ministers; the growth of a 'yellow press,' underbred, under-educated, and irresponsible, which caters for national vanity and the worst forms of patriotism. The roll of the drum is still the most popular music. Around a picture of a striking episode in war gathers the largest crowd. Commerce is not always an agency of peace. In old days men fought for territory; now, it has been said, they fight for markets. And yet, slowly but surely the forces working for peace are strengthening and throwing out new shoots. Where conscription exists the impatience at the burden which it imposes is more marked than it was. We note in those countries the growth of a popular literature of which war against war is the motto. The success of Baroness von Suttner's 'Die Waffen Nieder'; the vast literature relative to arbitration; the fascination exercised by Verestchagin's pictures of war as it is, stripped of pomp and circumstance, tinsel and dazzling accessories, are signs of the times. Preparations for war are redoubled; and yet there is a reluctance to make use of them such as there never was before. In the work which is said to have influenced the Czar in

calling together the Conference Herr von Bloch has composed a terrible indictment against the wisdom of Europe: prodigious ingenuity directed to the art of killing; interminable increase of armies and fleets, with no change in their relative strength; and waste of treasure without end and without result. He draws a picture, probably true, of the slaughter which must take place in future wars, a picture for which the motto might be General Häselser's saying that on the battlefield of the future there will be none to bury the dead. He predicts battles lasting three, four, or even fifteen days, between colossal armies; battles in which the number killed by modern weapons will be greater than ever before known, but which will generally be indecisive. He quotes alarming figures as to the armed forces of the chief nations of the world: the Triple Alliance with a united force when on a war footing of 5,135,000 men; Russia and France with a counter-force of 5,354,000. He shows how costly is the present armed peace; the war budgets of five of the great States of Europe amounting in 1896 to more than 190 millions sterling. He describes the economic convulsions which must follow a great war; and he foresees a plentiful harvest of pestilence, distress, and discontent.

In these circumstances, and with this outlook, the idea of a Conference was not an artificial, grandiose notion, such as those in which Napoleon III. loved to indulge. It expressed the wishes of multitudes all over Europe, weary of the burdens of an armed peace; of statesmen looking anxiously to the end of this ruinous competition; and of philanthropists who see limitless possibilities of good if only a part of the wealth now given to armaments were spent on other objects. Some powerful personality, eloquent and enthusiastic, might, in countries where the burden is most felt, gather the desire for peace into a resistless mass. A succession of statesmen impressed with the evils which have moved the Czar might do much to stop the policy of 'beggar my neighbour.' The fatalistic spirit in which they have hitherto regarded increase of armaments, as if they were determined by an irresistible force, may be a passing mood. In any case the Conference has helped to educate the nations as to the use of arbitration. England and America have been in this respect the teachers of the world. The object of the Czar's Rescript has not been attained; but it has been advanced, and measures hitherto discussed only by theorists have become part and parcel of practical politics.

- ART. X.—1. *Le Comte de Montalembert*. 'Œuvres complètes.' 9 vols. Paris: 1870.
2. *Le Comte de Montalembert*. Par LE VICOMTE DE MEAUX. 1 vol. Paris: 1897.
3. *Lettres de La Mennais à Montalembert*. 1 vol. Paris: 1897.
4. *Correspondance de Montalembert avec Benoît d'Asy*. 1 vol. Paris: 1898.
5. *La Jeunesse de Montalembert*. Par le Père Le Cannel. Paris: 1896–1898.

COUNT MONTALEMBERT died on March 13, 1870. Two years later Mrs. Oliphant wrote his first biography. She set down all she knew about him, but she had evidently only learnt what his friends told her, and what they preferred to publish on her responsibility rather than on their own. Twenty-five years passed by, during which time materials for a more complete life were accumulating. Then, in 1897, Montalembert's son-in-law, Vicomte de Meaux, announced his intention of offering the tribute of the truth, and nothing but the truth, to the memory of the great deceased, in accordance with Montalembert's own wishes and ideas, as one of the last members of that intellectual circle to which he belonged. The volume of 300 pages which was to make good that promise has not done so. De Meaux tells the story of the early life of Montalembert, which has been more fully described since then, especially by Le Cannel. De Meaux describes his relations with La Mennais. He discusses his political career during the July Monarchy and the Republic, up to the rupture with the Government of December 2, and then shortly touches upon his last writings and comparatively early death. The mental developement of Montalembert, the opposing ideas which he called into life among the Catholic parties, the puzzling circumstance that their leader, forsaken by his own, fought on single handed unto the end—all that remains unexplained. As it is not likely that so clever a man and so accomplished a scholar could have been unintentionally silent, we hope this attempt may be accepted to fill up the gaps in his history from other sources.

In the year 1819 Joseph de Maistre's book on 'The Pope' appeared. It proclaims the doctrine of Papal supremacy as the foundation of Christianity, and its political power as the best pledge of safety for society. It was dedicated to

the Abbé de La Mennais, as the man upon whose shoulders the mantle of the prophet was to fall. Lamennais (to adopt the now accepted method of writing the name) was born at Saint-Malo, which was also the birthplace of Chateaubriand. He did not, however, become a priest till he had reached the age of thirty-four, in the year 1816. While still a layman, he represented, in opposition to the ecclesiastical polity of Napoleon, which rested on the traditions of the French legists, a whole system of ultramontane pretensions, which were further developed in 1817 in the '*Essai sur l'Indifférence en Matière de Religion.*' The philosophical part of the book contains the theory of a revelation attested by the general recognition of universal conscience, which revelation was perfected in Christianity and the Church, and finally in the Papacy. With the infallible authority in spiritual matters a worldly authority corresponds just as unshakeable—the legitimate monarchy by the grace of God. Indifferentism is the culpable tolerance which does not discern between error and truth, between good and evil. The Gallican doctrines of the State, the freedom of conscience of the Revolution, are rebellions against reason, which must be curbed and subjected to authority.

It is somewhat difficult to-day to understand the effect which the book produced on the youth of Monarchical France in the year 1820. We must realise the passions of that politically excited time, and remember that the author had the gift of an eloquence capable of moving, convincing, and of exciting enthusiasm, and of a style which, when displayed in its brightest aspect, in beautiful clearness or stormy violence, will live as long as French prose.

From the very beginning there were misgivings. Some people were clear-sighted enough to recognise in the apology of Lamennais for absolutism an indication of the impending evolution towards democracy. Pessimism was the prevailing tone of this passionate mind, alien to the world and inclined to fatal exaggeration, and which united a gentle disposition with fanatical hardness.

His next book, '*De la Religion considérée dans ses rapports avec l'ordre politique et civil,*' was directed against the atheistical party, which the Revolution evolved, against the democratic and anarchical Government and the enslaving of the Church by the Gallicanism of the State, which latter was called upon, among other matters, to give back the entire education of the country into clerical hands. When Lamennais made this monstrous demand, 15,000 charges

were unoccupied for want of priests, and the clergy were far from being in a position to accomplish the task he desired to impose upon them. The Government, of which he spoke as if it was preparing a persecution for Christians, found itself exposed to the hatred and mockery of opponents, because its policy was friendly to the Church and a bishop was at the head of the educational system. Lamennais' polemical method was so offensive and personal that he was prosecuted, and, although defended by Berryer, he was condemned for libel and sentenced to a small fine.

From this time forth he gave up the dynasty as lost. The French Church remained for him. Almost all the bishops, before they allowed themselves to be carried away by the theocratical and ultramontane stream which was let loose by Lamennais, protested against the theories in the 'Essai.' They were joined by the Jesuits, who were dependent upon the episcopacy and only tolerated by it. In the meantime, however, the new doctrines were adopted by a young generation of priests and laymen, and thus the formation of a Catholic party was prepared whose polemical weapons to this day were forged in the arsenal of Lamennais. His influence reacted upon Belgium, which country appealed in its struggle with Holland to the principle of religious liberty; and upon Ireland, where Daniel O'Connell was struggling for Catholic emancipation. In both countries the Catholic movement was already identified with the cause of the people. It became so to Lamennais after the ordinances of 1828, which, with the permission of Rome, prohibited religious congregations, and especially Jesuits, from teaching.

In his third work, 'Du Progrès de la Révolution et de la Guerre contre l'Eglise,' Lamennais demanded for the Catholics freedom of conscience, freedom of the press, freedom of instruction, as in Belgium, and replied to those who were amazed at his change of front that Liberalism must be Christianised. He no longer thought of the Monarchy. 'Jam foetet,' he answered Berryer, when he was asked by the latter to give moral support to the Polignac Ministry. He saw in the Revolution of July, above all, a social movement, which was justified in expecting from Catholicism, as the organ of the general conscience, the deliverance of the poor and lowly from the yoke of political and social tyranny. The first step to this was the separation of Church and State, and the breaking of the fatal bonds which until now had united the altar with the throne.

The mystic, who in the person of Lamennais was united to the fanatic, thought nothing more natural than to demand from the French clergy the voluntary renunciation of all State privileges secured to them by the Concordat. Thus the alliance of Lamennais with the democracy began, and on October 16, 1830, the first number of the '*Avenir*,' with the motto '*God and Liberty*,' appeared. The personality of Lamennais did not exercise a less powerful influence than his burning words. He was surrounded by a troop of young men, all of them aspiring and talented, ready to fight under his flag. Among the priests was Lacordaire, then twenty-eight years of age, an open adherent to democracy, who advocated abolition of the '*Concordat*,' decentralisation of administration, freedom of instruction, and the right of association, and who strongly held that liberty must be claimed as a right, not granted as a favour.

These men were joined by an unknown youth of twenty, Charles René Forbes, Comte de Montalembert. He was born in April 1810 in London, and had grown up in England, where his father, an émigré, had served as an officer with the British army in India, and had married a lady of an old Scotch family. This gentleman, after the Restoration, adopted a diplomatic career, and the education of his eldest son was entrusted to the care of his excellent father-in-law Forbes, who devoted himself to the welfare of the boy, and laid the foundation of fervent trust in God and the strong feeling of duty which remained the principal features of his character. It was only after Mr. Forbes had died in the arms of his grandson that the education of the latter commenced in a college in Paris. Unusual talent assured him success, but the system of education to which he was subjected left on him the impression that it undermined the religious convictions of youth. With the exception of the fact that his mother went over to the Catholic Church, there is nothing to account for the early convictions shown by young Montalembert and his strict adherence to the Church. The correspondence with his fellow-student, Cornudet, which has been preserved, reveals deep religious enthusiasm, but also ambition and the firm resolution to go his own way. After a stay with Cardinal Rohan, who was a pious but narrow-minded man, Montalembert made the remark that, after he had preserved his faith in the midst of 120 infidels, God would grant him grace to preserve his love of freedom in spite of a couple of absolutists, for whom it was only a chimera.

He read an enormous amount, and besides the classics, had studied the fundamental works of the French, English, and German literatures. He knew his Grattan and Burke as well as his Shakespeare and Milton. He was carried away by Schiller's idealism and lofty worship of freedom, and shared the sympathy of the companions of his youth for the anti-dynastic opposition. After he had completed his humanities, his father tried to restrain him from participating too early in political agitation by calling him away to Sweden, where he was himself French minister-plenipotentiary.

Young Montalembert soon returned to Paris, and attended the lectures of Michelet and Cousin. The latter recommended him to study Kant, and turned his first literary efforts towards English history. Besides the study of law, which he had begun, the young man followed up the romantic movement, and discoursed with Victor Hugo, De Vigny, and Sainte-Beuve as to whether civilisation ought not to be revived by Catholicism. In July 1830 he was in London, on the way to Ireland, when news of the outbreak of the Revolution caused him to return to Paris in haste, in order to draw his sword in the cause of the people. His father, a Royalist, who by the fall of Charles X. lost his position abroad, held different opinions, and urged his son to leave France. Consequently, in September, Charles de Montalembert went to Ireland, the history of which nation he wished to write after he had seen Daniel O'Connell. He was delighted both with the country and the people. The Liberator himself was one of the bitterest disappointments of his life. He imagined that he would meet a statesman and an accomplished orator. He found himself, instead of that, in the presence of an old man, who looked like an honest farmer, and invited him to dance with his grandchildren. Not a word was said about public affairs. O'Connell supposed the young Frenchman to be a harmless tourist, and did not trouble himself any more about him. The next day O'Connell spoke at a banquet in a declamatory manner, unconnectedly, careless in expression, and 'in his opinions a demagogue.' It took years before Montalembert got over the impression which he had received and became just to the Irish Tribune. While in this mood newspapers and letters brought him the programme of the 'Avenir,' which ended in the words: 'Nous avons applaudi à toutes les révolutions faites, nous applaudissons à toutes les révolutions à faire.' The words had the effect

of an electric shock. For years Montalembert had been seeking an aim worthy of his activity and of his enthusiasm. Now, he thought, he had found it, and placed himself at the disposal of Lamennais without knowing him personally. On November 5 he was with him in Paris.

In one of the early numbers of the '*Avenir*,' he earnestly urged the Royalists, in burning words, to give up all useless complaints about that which was irrevocably lost, and to join in the hopes of the Catholic cause. The change in French affairs in the early days of the July Monarchy had awakened in him misgivings, which were not shared by either Lamennais or Lacordaire. They looked upon the kingdom sprung forth from the Revolution as a stop-gap for the republic, and made demands on the Government which amounted to nothing less than the destruction of the whole machinery of administration by which France had been governed since the Consulate and the Empire. Administrative centralisation, the Concordat, the budget for public worship, the monopoly of instruction, were to be replaced by institutions according to the American pattern, and by the complete separation of Church and State.

A radical change of all existing institutions similar to that of 1789 was thus demanded from a Government which hitherto had struggled with difficulty against the chaotic confusion, in the midst of which it was called into being. The mass of the population, on which the clergy were henceforth to be dependent, was so hostile to the Church that there were continual religious riots, and the clergy were threatened in life and limb. Bishops fled from their dioceses, and Lacordaire himself and his clerical colleagues of the '*Avenir*' had to wear lay costume in order not to be insulted in the streets of Paris. But Lacordaire was influenced by no considerations of policy or respect of persons. Before his entrance into the clerical order he had been a lawyer. The attempt to practise at the Bar whilst a priest was frustrated by the opposition of the French lawyers, but he could not be prevented from being himself the speaker for the defence in proceedings in which he and his colleagues were entangled, and it was his strategy which gave a practical turn to the whole agitation. Since December 1830 Lacordaire, together with Montalembert, stood at the head of the so-called '*General Agency for the Defence of Religious Freedom*.' Through this association, which was to be active at first in France, and later on abroad, the editors of the '*Avenir*' tried to persuade the Catholic laity to take a systematic part

in public affairs, and above all to oppose the Government. Nothing appeared to them more important than to secure freedom of instruction, which the revised 'Charter' was to regulate. For this purpose innumerable petitions were got up throughout the country. Then Lacordaire and Montalembert opened a school for Catholic children in the midst of Paris, without first fulfilling the prescribed legal conditions. This school was closed by the police, and the 'schoolmasters,' as they called themselves, were prosecuted.

Meanwhile Montalembert's father died; he succeeded him in the peerage, and as all the accused had to be tried together they were cited before the peers. Instead of devoting themselves to their own defence, they attacked with brilliant oratory the whole university system, and demanded free education. They were sentenced to pay a small fine, and won a moral victory. In just as restless a manner they tried to compromise the Government in foreign politics. The emancipation of the Catholics in Ireland, liberty as it was in Belgium—these were brought forward as models, and every exertion was also made to bring about an intervention in favour of the rebellion in Poland, for which, especially, Montalembert agitated. When the ambassador of Louis Philippe, the Duke of Mortemart, on the way to St. Petersburg, went to meet the agents of the Government of Warsaw, in order officially to declare to them that the moral support of the Powers, and especially of France, could only be hoped for on the basis of existing agreements, and not for open rebellion, the representatives called his attention to the demeanour of the opposition, which would force the King to come and help them. They desired, they said, everything or nothing. Mortemart replied, in vain, that it was his painful conviction that they would get nothing. Whereupon, after eight months' bloody fighting, the complete subjection of Poland led to the war of annihilation against its nationality.

The political doctrines of the 'Avenir' were already condemned by Gregory XVI. when Montalembert made at Paris the acquaintance of the greatest mind which Poland has produced in the nineteenth century, the poet A. Mickiewicz. He translated his famous book of the 'Polish Pilgrims,' adding Lamennais' 'Hymns to Poland,' and a preface, the contents of which induced him later on to attempt the destruction of the whole edition. In this preface, which even

Lamennais thought too strong, Montalembert said, among other things:—

‘Poland is not only one with France, but with Europe, nay, with humanity itself. It is the type of all suppressed convictions, all the betrayed claims to justice, of all smothered hopes. It is even more than that. It is the chosen victim which with its blood is to wash away all the sins of humanity and purchase all the freedoms for which it thirsts. Look at humiliated, deceived Germany, injured by its want of religious liberty, in its elective policy, in its political dignity, which is gagged by princes who have forgotten their oaths, and for whom the German people wasted so much blood and enthusiasm. Look at the unworthy sovereigns of Italy, who, unfortunately for the glorious people they rule over, use such an amount of slyness and subterfuges of all kinds that they have at last succeeded in transforming this paradise of the nations into a political and spiritual hell.’

Later on Montalembert’s language became more moderate; but as long as he lived, especially during the insurrection of 1863, he proved a faithful, but also an indiscriminating, friend of the unfortunate Polish nation. In his interest in their fate he altogether lost sight of their follies and defects, and only remembered their misfortunes.

Whilst Lamennais and his friends were enlisting the sympathies of Europe for the Catholic nations, a rebellion broke out immediately on the accession of Pope Gregory XVI., on February 2, 1831, in the Legations, the Marches, in Umbria, and only the quick intervention of Austria, whose help the Pope invoked at that time, saved the temporal power. At the outbreak of the crisis, when it was still uncertain how matters would end, the organ of the French Liberals, the ‘Globe,’ asked the ‘Avenir’ the awkward question whether it was ready, in case the right of private judgement, which it required for other nations, were granted, to advocate it also for the Roman people. Lacordaire replied that if, against all likelihood, matters should come to that pass, God would find a freer piece of earth for the representative of Christ than Rome, which had been so often humiliated by the princes, ‘for Rome does not mean the stones—Rome ‘is there where freedom is. Intellectual freedom has disappeared from Italy. But, in spite of all fetters, with which ‘rulers try to bind human thought, which has been given ‘by God, the general desire for freedom had succeeded in ‘making itself felt.’ Lamennais, who seldom wrote in the ‘Avenir,’ turned now directly to the Papacy, and called upon it to save mankind. He wrote that ‘the last existing ‘remains of earthly greatness should be thrown off by it,

‘and that, supported by the strong arm of the people, it should renovate society.’

Gregory XVI., an Italian monk, had not an atom of sympathy with such ideas, but until now he had quietly looked on while French Catholics were seeking to establish a universal Papal monarchy on the ruins of all their national and ecclesiastical traditions. It was only when called upon to separate politics from religion, in language very like that of his rebellious subjects, that his Nuncio in Paris received instructions to disavow officially the doctrines of the ‘Avenir.’ At the same time the patience of the continually offended and challenged French episcopacy was exhausted. When a young theologian of the Sorbonne ventured during the continual attacks against the Gallican doctrines, openly to insult the memory of Bossuet, the ‘Avenir’ was forbidden to be read in several dioceses. Young theologians who shared its views were refused entrance into the Seminary, and finally, after censures by several bishops, on April 22, 1821, the intervention of the Papal See was invoked.

For months Lamennais himself had longed for such a decision. His paper was financially ruined. Its moral influence could only be saved if Rome intervened. He went further, and was convinced that Rome, as monarchy had done before, would rush to destruction if his theories were rejected.

Between Lacordaire and Montalembert there existed an enthusiastic friendship. ‘I love him as if he were a ‘plebeian,’ remarked Lacordaire. Both only lived for their ideas. Montalembert had lost, before his father, his only sister, to whom he was much attached; his mother returned to England and to the Anglican Church; his home was with his teacher and the friends whose works and hopes had become his own. When he heard of the resolution of Lamennais to go to Rome with Lacordaire he determined to accompany them. They made known their decision in the last number of the ‘Avenir.’ The paper had existed little more than a year.

Lamennais had already been in Rome, in 1824, where Leo XII. had, in an unambiguous manner, held out to him the prospect of a cardinal’s hat. When he arrived there with his companions towards the end of 1831, he knew that the Jesuits, whom he had attacked, were hostile to him. He felt himself ‘in the uncomfortable silence of the Papal city, ‘surrounded by intrigues,’ and soon after his arrival he

wrote to Paris, to the Abbé Gerbet, that 'the white-haired Pope was in the hands of people who were ambitious, avaricious, miserly, cowardly, blind and foolish as Eunuchs of Byzantium, and ready at all times to sacrifice the Church to the most miserable and misunderstood worldly interests.' Only the Divine promise and the prospect of an impending reform kept up his hopes. 'Twenty years more of such a state of things,' he added, 'and Catholicism is done for. God will save it by the peoples. What do I care about the rest? My policy is the triumph of Christ; my legitimacy is His law; my fatherland, humanity redeemed with His Blood.' Meanwhile, at the desire of the Pope, Lacordaire composed a memoir to justify the point of view adopted by the editors of the '*Avenir*,' and, after several weeks' delay, a letter of Cardinal Pacca to Lamennais brought the answer. In it the Pope complained of the stirring up of controversies which must at least be pointed out as dangerous, but promised, after due examination, a decision about the doctrines themselves, and advised Lamennais and his friends meanwhile to return to their homes. Full justice was done to their intentions and talents. On the condition that they would not talk about their business the Pope granted them, on March 13, 1832, a personal interview, in which they were graciously received. Lacordaire, who, up to this time, nobody had surpassed in violence, interpreted the letter of Pacca in the sense that the promise of unconditional obedience towards the authority invoked must be kept, and thought also, that it would be wise to be satisfied with a gentle reproof. He resolved to leave Rome, contrary to the wish of Lamennais, and tried in vain to induce Montalembert to do the same. But the latter refused to forsake Lamennais, who now declared his intention of waiting for the official decision in Rome, and took leave of Lacordaire, apparently without regret. He never had felt drawn to him, whilst he loved Montalembert like a father. They were now to have an experience destined to explain for them their religious by their political position. During that winter, on account of the refusal of all promised reforms, a new rebellion against the Papal rule broke out. The consequence was the occupation of Papal territory by the Austrians, and the result of this was the siege of Ancona by the French.

The '*Curia*' had reason to fear that they would not get rid of the protector forced upon them, and the situation became

so much the more painful as Casimir Perier informed the Powers that France was besieging Ancona in order to protect the nation against despotism. Then Russia unexpectedly came forward with the offer to put at the disposal of the Pope a body of Russian troops to be used against all attacks from without. As the only return for this a condemnation of the Polish revolution was demanded. Gregory XVI. paid the desired price in July 1832 in a letter to the Polish bishops, which impressed upon them the doctrine of implicit obedience towards existing authority. The Catholic historian Cantù gave his opinion of this papal action later when he said: 'The Pope, who approved of the revolution in Belgium as being occasioned by religious persecution, seemed now to outrage a corpse when he imposed the command of obedience on Poland, which had risen against schismatical Russia and was bleeding from a thousand wounds.'

Lamennais wrote, immediately after the letter became known, that the Pope, by such an action, would not save his temporal power: it was melting away on all sides, and it was to be hoped that there would soon be an end of it, otherwise the faith would be entirely lost. A few days after, he and Montalembert left the Eternal City.

The eyes of Montalembert had been turned for years to the Catholic movement which, at the University of Munich, advocated that religion and science should go hand in hand. His attention had been already called in Sweden to Schelling's later philosophy, whose explanation of revelation had many points of resemblance with the ideas of Lamennais. Döllinger, who had been since 1826 a teacher of Church history in Munich, felt a lively interest in French matters, and was the first to give an account of the existing spiritual life of Munich in the 'Mémorial Catholique.'

Still these men really knew very little of each other. The two travellers hoped to find in Munich encouragement and sympathy. They were received by artists and learned men with every distinction. Lamennais became acquainted with Schelling; with Franz von Baader, whose philosophy, on account of its extravagancies, seemed to have amused rather than seriously interested him; with Görres, whose mystical ideas of history were supported by an eloquence, the keenness of which may have reminded the two Frenchmen of Rivarol. The Germans, in their turn, were astonished at the inexhaustible dialectics, the extreme

consequences of the logic of Lamennais; but they missed in him thorough education and the desire which they themselves felt so earnestly to understand history. The politics of Bavaria were of very small importance. But there also men were enthusiastic about the Catholic rights. The King, on the other hand—who had to be taken into account in all things—was under the mild and moderating influence of Sailer, the Bishop of Ratisbon, he kept the Jesuits out of the country, and was by no means pleased at the arrival of Lamennais in Munich. The organ of the Bavarian Catholics, the 'Eos,' thought it necessary to make its position clear and to write against his theory of the separation of Church and State. The situation was rendered 'most trying by the circumstance that Lamennais, on his journey through Florence, had announced to the Papal Nuncio that his intention was to take up again without delay the publication of the 'Avenir.' After a short stay he was to leave Munich. Görres invited him with some friends to a farewell festival, which, after a few German songs had been sung, was followed by an excursion to the banks of the Isar. While at table Lamennais was handed a letter by order of the Nuncio accredited to the Court of Bavaria, which he read through without betraying any excitement. Only later on, when he found himself alone with Montalembert and with Lacordaire, who had, strange to say, unexpectedly arrived at Munich, he broke silence. They were told that the Encyclical 'Mirari Vos,' without mentioning any names, condemned all the doctrines of the 'Avenir' in the severest manner, and especially that freedom of conscience of which it had been *per summam impudentiam* asserted that it was useful to religion, as a false and erroneous doctrine, nay, as madness. An accompanying document written by Cardinal Pacca reproved especially the manner in which dangerous controversies had been brought before the public, and likewise condemned, as contrary to Catholic faith, the doctrines of the 'Avenir' in reference to civil and religious liberty. Lamennais gave his opinion to his young friends that they should submit immediately while they were still in Munich. A communication to this effect appeared in a Paris newspaper on September 11, 1832, and announced the dissolution of the 'Agency' and the final suppression of the 'Avenir.' Görres was edified by this unconditional surrender, and called Lamennais 'an upright, just, and 'religious man,' but, strange to say, 'a meek man' also.

Lamennais, accompanied by Gerbet and Lacordaire, returned to his lonely country house—La Chênaie in Brittany. He took leave of Montalembert at Strassburg, and the last act of the drama commenced. In Rome they were still praising the humility of his surrender whilst he was writing that, ‘forsaken by the bishops, he had sought to save Catholicism in Rome, but that he had found there the most horrible pit of corruption which ever offended the senses. For a piece of land or a few pieces of silver they would sell there the whole human race, nay, even the three Persons of the Holy Trinity.’

So he had turned away his eyes and said ‘Good-bye’ for ever to the past. ‘The day had come, the great day, on which God would take into His hands again the government of the world.’ In other words, the self-erected idol fell to pieces, the Church refused alliance with democracy, the Papacy supported the ruling powers. Pressed by his opponents again to explain himself, Lamennais, on December 11, 1833, repeated once more his submission in a letter to the Archbishop of Paris, and wrote later on, in his ‘Affaires de Rome,’ that he had known quite well, how he had implicitly confessed, that the Pope was God. When he made this confession, the ‘Paroles d’un Croyant,’ which appeared 1834, was already completed.

This apocalyptic book, which announces to the nations a socialistic gospel of the future, has been compared to a crucifix under a Jacobin cap. ‘C’est 1793, faisant ses Pâques,’* said Royer-Collard. On July 15, 1834, the second Encyclical, ‘Singulari Nos,’ appeared. It condemned not only this book, but the whole philosophy of Lamennais, and resulted in his leaving the Church. Lacordaire had already separated himself from him for ever in La Chênaie, December 1832. But the intercourse between Lamennais and Montalembert lasted until July 1836. He was the last of the circle who did not give up the hope of coming to an understanding with his beloved teacher, he supported him in his poverty until his death in 1854, and he listened to words of fatherly love from him. Not without deep regret the bonds were loosened between them also. The movement in Church affairs seemed to turn for ever from the theories which Lamennais had adopted as his own up to the year 1830. Matters, however, were destined to

* ‘It is 1793, performing its Easter duties.’

change. During the second half of the nineteenth century these theories have been dominating the Papacy, and with it the Catholic Church.

Meanwhile there came a time in Montalembert's life which we may call his 'lyric period.' First he directed his steps to Italy to continue his studies of art. The first impulse had been given by Victor Hugo's 'Notre Dame de Paris' and Rumohr's 'Italian Researches.' Montalembert addressed his 'Vandalisme en France' to Victor Hugo. This inaugurated a renovation of Christian art, and contained a polemical attack on 'The Christian Vandals.'

Such was the origin of a movement which brought about the restoration and preservation of the finest monuments of France, the furtherance of archæological studies, and those of the history of art, by Mérimée, Vitet, Ampère, Salvandy, and Rio, and that in such a way that Boisserée and Reichensperger recommended to Germans to take this movement as a pattern and to imitate it. In the year 1833 Montalembert returned to Germany, visited Boisserée at Cologne, Windischmann, Klee and A. W. Schlegel at Bonn, Frederick Schlegel's widow, Dorothea, and her son, Philipp Veit, at Frankfort. In Dresden he made the acquaintance of Tieck and Raumer; in Berlin, that of Savigny and Alexander von Humboldt, L. von Ranke, Radowitz, Schleiermacher and Bettina von Arnim. At Münster he was kindly received by F. L. Stollberg's widow; at Göttingen he became acquainted with the brothers Grimm, Otfried Müller and Heeren; at Heidelberg with Mittermaier, F. Schlosser and Creuzer; in Swabia he paid a visit to Uhland, Pfizer, and Wolfgang Menzel.

On November 19, when the Catholic Church celebrates the festival of St. Elizabeth of Thuringia, her future biographer was accidentally led to her grave. He was induced to see the church, a gem of Gothic architecture. In that forsaken fane the history of Elizabeth's innocent and penitent young life from her childhood to her death was brought before him in picture and sculpture.

He beheld her image, clothed in her Franciscan garb, crowned in her coffin by the hand of the Emperor Frederick. Montalembert saw just at that time, in the history of the marriage of his young friend, Albert de la Ferrière, analogous circumstances. He was still under the influence of the conflict which troubled his life in consequence of his connexion with Lamennais. His friends urged and besought him to

follow the voice of his catholic conscience, and to regain his freedom. The ideal form of the holy landgravine brought him the solution of the difficulties with which he was struggling. He went to Munich, to his friend Döllinger, and under his advice he studied her history. Then he made a pilgrimage to the places where her short earthly life had left some traces. Whilst Lacordaire commenced his brilliant career as a pulpit orator in Paris, Montalembert completed the *Life of St. Elizabeth*: 'Legend of the Time when Faith existed,' so he named his book. He does not lay claim to historical veracity, for he entwines legend and history and veils the truth, which in its simple expression would have done more to glorify the bright form of the Landgravine of Thuringia than all the adornments of imagination. By her side there arises, dark and threatening, the dreaded form of her taskmaster, the judge of the heretics, Konrad von Marburg. The sources from which Montalembert drew prove that he was acquainted with the works of Konrad. And yet he has the courage to assert the perfect impartiality, and even the popularity, of the man—an assertion which sounds like mockery when one knows in what consisted, according to the judgement of German bishops, this impartiality, and what horror the mere mention of Konrad's name produced. 'It is a charming book,' was the remark of King Louis Philippe, 'but one might think when reading it that 'the author himself believes what he writes.' As in the case of Lacordaire's *Life of St. Dominic* and Count Falloux's *History of Pius V.*, it has not, with all its warmth and intensity of feeling for beauty of soul, freed the writings of Catholic historians from the stain of untruthfulness, and we perceive the quicksand on which their notion of historical responsibility reposed.

The books of Count Montalembert determined his fate in life. His daughter, in order to justify her resolution of taking the veil, referred him to his 'Monks of the West.' Montalembert's wife was of the house of Mérode, whose pedigree is interwoven with that of St. Elizabeth of Thuringia, and whose patriotic sacrifice and liberal catholic ideas during the Belgian revolution of 1831 gave its head the prospect of a royal crown. After the marriage—in December 1836—the young pair visited Rome and Gregory XVI. This time the Pope touched upon the past, spoke of Lamennais, and, spreading out his arms, he said, 'Questo Abbate voleva darimi un potere, un potere del quale io non avrei saputo che fare.' He praised the con-

duct of Louis Philippe, and hoped the clergy would not have anything to do with politics.

Since 1835 Montalembert, being twenty-five years of age, had the right to take his seat among the peers. His first speeches, directed, in accordance with the ideas of the Liberal opposition, against the Government, showed again the wonderful powers as an orator of which he had given his first specimen when accused before the peers. Almost simultaneously with his entrance into public life he took part in founding a political organ, the 'Univers Catholique,' in order to plead for the interests of religion. Although reconciled to the July Revolution, friendly to many of its leading statesmen, and Orleanist in the real sense of the word, there arose very soon within him a strong feeling against democracy and a growing and rising admiration for the liberal and aristocratic institutions of England. Already in the year 1840 the remark fell from his lips that, with the exception of all questions of foreign politics, he did not belong to the Left. The commencement of his parliamentary career was interrupted by journeys to the East, to Germany, to England, Spain, Portugal, Madeira, and also by the purchase of the Castle La Roche-en-Breny, which became his favourite abode and there his three daughters grew up. From Madeira he dated in autumn, 1843, the manifesto 'On the Duties of the Catholics concerning the Question of Instruction.' This manifesto gave rise to a struggle which lasted eight years, the various occurrences of which are, however, outside the limits of this article. The leading thought of Lamennais, of freeing the school from the guardianship of the State, united Catholics and Liberals on this question. Among the former were the laymen, who drew the clergy and episcopacy into the movement; they created a new organ for their cause, the 'Correspondant,' which counted among its co-workers all the talents of French Catholicism. We name L. de Carné, Foisset, Chateaubriand, Villemain, Ballanche, Ampère, Ozanam, Gratry, Perreye, de Barante, Bautain, Gerbet, Rid, Ekstein, Reboul, Riancey, Ch. Lenormant, Saint-Marc-Girardin, A. Cochin, and Dupanloup. Lacordaire returned from Rome in the white dress of a Dominican monk, which he wore with such complete devotion to his duties as a member of the order that the mortifications to which he resigned himself shortened his life. But at the same time he made a political confession of faith, in which he desired freedom for himself, but also for his adversaries,

and called out to his opponents, in agreement with Abbé Dupanloup: 'You have caused the Revolution of 1789 'without us and against us, yet for us.' Montalembert made, not the King and his Ministers, but the Catholics themselves, responsible, if they did not succeed in breaking by lawful means the monopoly of the university and in bringing back to a society, which had become atheistical, the consciousness of the moral power of religion.

At that time, in the year 1843, a man of extraordinary talents, offensive and violent in his polemical writings, honest in the convictions he had regained, and unsparing in his attacks and in the means which he chose for the defence of his cause, Louis Veuillot by name, became the leading personage on the staff of the 'Univers.' His very first appeal to public opinion showed what was coming: 'You 'fear the Church, but you will be forced to wish what she 'wishes, for you only exist because she allows you to 'do so.' Some of the bishops and men like Ozanam protested against the exaggerations of a controversy which accustoms laymen to sit in judgement on the clergy, and defended, against the unlimited attacks of Catholics, the academic colleges, which contained many pious Christians. 'I have tried in vain to preach moderation,' Alexis de Tocqueville wrote at that time, 'but now I can do 'no more, and the question of education is subject to chance, 'just as most affairs are.' Montalembert put forth the demands of the Catholic party from the tribune of the chamber of peers with fervent eloquence, and with great polemical skill and rhetorical power. His fatal exaggerations, however, were destined to fall on his own head. 'We are not dangerous for you' is the famous apostrophe of one of his first utterances, 'but we do not 'fear you. And in the name of the Catholic laity of the 'nineteenth century I may add: In the midst of a free 'nation we will not be helots. We are the descendants of 'the martyrs, and do not tremble before the offspring 'of Julian the Apostate. We are the sons of the Crusaders, 'and shall not yield to the sons of Voltaire.' His opponents were Beugnot, Barante, Cousin, Guizot, Villemain, Rossi (who was later on the minister of the liberally minded Pope), the Duc de Broglie, and men of the law like Dupin, whose protest Affre, the Archbishop of Paris, energetically refused to condemn. And Montalembert himself had brought about the election of this excellent archbishop. Although he was thoroughly acquainted

with the earnest religious opinions of men like Guizot and De Broglie, he refused all attempts to come to an understanding, rejected all proposals, and erected a State within a State, from which all were excluded who, if they were not against him, were not for him. 'I should not like a Catholic party to exist, for then there would no longer be a Catholic nation,' said Ozanam in the year 1844. The warning came too late, but the plan of Montalembert to get a new organ for himself in the press marks his first quarrel with the 'Univers.' He firmly maintained that it was freedom alone which he desired, and he extended its broad shield over the order of the Jesuits, whose claims one of their noblest priests, De Ravignan, put forward with moderation. Against the will of the episcopacy, but with the support of the Nuncio, the Committee for the defence of religious freedom was called into life. When, in 1845, the Government negotiated with Rome direct about prohibiting the Jesuits to remain in France, Montalembert declared that, although he was himself ultramontane, he saw in such a step an exaggerated ultramontanism, and identified the cause of the order with that of the Church. The ambassador of the ministry of Guizot was Rossi, and it was he who carried into execution the official closing of the houses and novitiates of the Society of Jesus. 'We remain unconquered,' replied Montalembert. 'Our opponents will find us again, in one hand the Gospel, in the other the Charter.' His programme for the elections of 1847 demanded free public schools, right of association, periodical summoning of the provincial councils, administration of Church property by the clergy, and the abolition of the organic articles.

Arrived at this point, the noise of party struggle became less audible in the storms of foreign politics. The free State of Cracow lost its independence in consequence of a revolutionary movement. The rising of peasants in Galicia, which cost hundreds of victims, had driven Montalembert already, in the year 1846, to accuse the Austrian Government of complicity in the horrors which were committed against the nobility. In consequence of this a violent controversy arose between him and a journalist who defended the policy of Metternich in the '*Historisch-politische Blätter*;' whereupon the Margrave Wielopolsky supported in a letter to Prince Metternich the accusations of Montalembert. Pius IX. came to the papal chair. The way was prepared for his moral mission by Gioberti's book

on 'the Primacy.' 'Una splendida Utopia' Montalembert's excellent friend Silvio Pellico called it. It was more than that. It started the idea of the Italian Confederation, the head of which was to be the Pope, and whose sword was to be Piedmont. The 'Speranza d'Italia' of Count Cesare Balbo, directed against the foreign rule of Austria, demanded in the most solemn tones the delivery of the Fatherland from foreign yoke, and made much of the utterance of Montalembert that 'Christian nations cannot die.' Massimo d'Azeglio's 'Ultimi Casi di Romagna' was sent as a warning to the Pope to replace an arbitrary government by the rule of justice, and asked the daring question, 'Either that which you are writing of God's justice and of an awful judgement in another life is untrue—then my words are foolish, and you are right not to trouble about them; or that which you teach is true, and you yourselves are convinced that God, calling you to account, will say to you, "I have given you a nation, what have you done with it?" Tell me what excuse you will have for your actions, for I am incapable of finding one for you.'

The answer of Pius IX. to the prayers and remonstrances of the Italian patriots was the amnesty, and his first reforms, of the year 1847. Austria occupied Ferrara; Charles Albert made preliminary preparations which pledged his monarchy to the national cause. Scarcely fifteen years had elapsed since the condemnation of modern constitutions by his predecessor, Gregory XVI., and now the Pope allowed to the lay element the right of control, and promised constitutional guarantees. The excitement caused by this event in France was immense. The greatest of modern Italians, Alessandro Manzoni, was closely allied with French Catholics, and among these latter with Montalembert himself. Dupanloup, Ozanam, and Lacordaire went to Rome. The latter was protesting in the most emphatic manner against the politics of the Jesuits, and Gioberti was doing the same in his 'Gesuita Moderno.' The Jesuits had identified themselves with the view that Europe must sooner or later, but inevitably, come under despotic rule again. Since the year 1814 all their projects were founded on this assumption, and the movement of 1830, far from teaching them better, only confirmed them in this idea. The fall of Lamennais, and the Encyclical which caused it, strengthened their belief that the constitutional doctrines were reprobate, and if they sometimes talked of freedom

with Montalembert, it was a meaningless phrase, for they never advocated, by one stroke of the pen, the use of this new and dangerous weapon.

Now, the general of the Theatines, once the friend of Lamennais, announced with enthusiasm from a Roman pulpit, in his funeral oration on O'Connell, that the Church would baptize Democracy, this untamed heroine, as it had once done the barbarian, and anointing her forehead, would call upon her to rule. 'This Pope,' said the general of the Jesuits, 'is the scourge of the Church; the only remedy is the great bell of the Capitol'—the bell rung at the death of a pope. Reaction and revolution contested for supremacy in the Papal States, when the religious and political quarrels, which had troubled Switzerland for years, ended with the defeat of the Catholic cantons and with the expulsion of the Jesuits in November 1847. The demeanour of Metternich during the Swiss confusion increased the sympathies of the Italian Liberals for the victory of the Swiss central power, when the State consulta, which consisted of delegates from the provinces, was opened in Rome. This gift of the Papacy, which Rossi designated as 'the beginning of the end of the political power of the clergy,' was accompanied by demonstrations against the Jesuits. Pius IX., deeply hurt, answered them by praising the Society of Jesus as the most glorious of all religious communities. While in Rome the opinion was beginning to prevail that a fatal misunderstanding existed between Italy and Pio Nono, Montalembert, in December 1847, did homage to the liberally minded Pope, and congratulated him on having given up the weak and despised Austrian Papacy for the Italian Papacy, with its difficulties and dangers—the Papacy of the future. A Christian revolution would have to separate the cause of anarchy from that of progress. The independence of the Holy See was of interest to all Christian, all Catholic nations, and must not be destroyed by foreign powers or by the tyranny of party spirit. A few days later he called the cause of the Sonderbund that of order and freedom. The fighting in Switzerland had not been for or against the Jesuits, or the rights of the Cantons; it had been a contest for or against anarchy and the peace of Europe. The annihilation of the last fraction of Polish nationality in Cracow by the absolute monarchies, the destruction of freedom at Lucerne by so-called Liberals, were equally attacks against right.

While Montalembert spoke thus, he knew that the revo-

lutionary movement threatened the French Government itself. In the same remarkable speech he called himself 'an adherent of parliamentary reform,' but he declaimed against the reformers and against the character of the opposition which was being formed against the Government. He appealed against the coalition of the radical elements, which recalled 1792 and 1793, to the alliance of honest people, to defend what they had gained in 1789 and 1830, and with such eloquence, that even his opponents had to confess that from henceforth he must be reckoned among the very greatest of French orators. He himself declared at this time that he had suddenly become the idol of the Right. They understood his speech as an indication that he had broken with the Revolution. Lacordaire failed to see in it the difference between the question of national union in Switzerland, for which the Centre vouched, and the anti-religious movement, which had only been an episode of the fight. No one suspected that it was the song of the swan, the death struggle of the Paris Chamber, at which they had been present.

It was characteristic of Montalembert that the warmest acknowledgement which he ever showed to the fallen Government was expressed in an address to the electors of the Department of the Doubs, who nominated him as deputy for their constituency. He lamented the revolution which had taken place, but he promised to serve the Republic, if the Republicans would make it their duty to protect religious liberty, property, and the family, according to the example of the United States. Under the July Monarchy he had remained separated from the Opposition without joining the party of the Right. He now joined the struggle against radicalism and sat on the Extreme Right. He accepted the triumph of the democracy on condition that it should mean the emancipation of the individual, and he warned his opponents, on the eve of the insurrection of June, that the centralising omnipotence of the State would deliver them over to absolutism. Lacordaire advocated in the 'Ère Nouvelle' an alliance of the Church with democracy, and thereby caused Montalembert to join Louis Veuillot and the 'Univers' again, from whom in 1847 a difference of opinion in connexion with the Italian question had separated him. Lacordaire renounced his mandate as deputy in May, immediately after the invasion of the Assembly by the mob, but he supported the candidature of Cavaignac for the presidency in the

autumn of 1848, while Montalembert secured to Prince Louis Napoleon the support of his party. During a conversation between them, the Prince expressed his preference for decentralisation and freedom of education. The pledge which he gave after his nomination on December 10, 1849, was the selection of the Legitimist and Catholic deputy, Count Falloux, as Minister of Public Instruction. Falloux, an intimate friend of Montalembert, was disliked by Veuillot and his party as being in favour of a moderate policy and ready for compromise. A few days before the election of the President, on receiving the news of the flight of the Pope, whose place of refuge was still unknown, he proposed to protect Pius IX. by French arms, and offered him an asylum in France. When the Left demanded, instead of this, the intervention of France against the Austrians in Lombardy, Montalembert rose. As in 1847, but with much greater determination, he separated the cause of the Pope from that of every other Sovereign, and called on the French Republic to save the religious freedom of 200 million Catholics in the person of their Head. If this was only possible at the price of granting protection to other worldly princes at the same time as to the Pope, he expected that it would be done. The constitutional development of the institutions of the Papal State had not been given up; but nevertheless the impression remained that the welfare of the subjects of the Pope was not insisted upon with the same vehemence as the urgent necessity of restoring the temporal power. The new President still tried to obtain from Pius IX. at Gaëta the grant of reforms and constitutional guarantees. When this failed, he too pledged himself to a policy, which Thiers defended, and said that he himself was not a Christian, but a Papist. Thiers thought, like Montalembert, that every diminution of temporal power must increase the spiritual claims of the Papacy. Montalembert, on the road upon which he had entered, was induced to confess that demagoguery had killed freedom in Rome, and its adherents were given the lie. A Pope who, forgetting the experiences he had made, tried to carry it through, would forfeit the confidence of the Catholics.

In the Legislative Assembly elected in May 1849, the Monarchical parties had an enormous majority. The President and the Ministry joined them in order to annihilate the Republican minority. Montalembert supported the exceptional laws against the press, political unions, and lay

instruction. He defended the independence of the magistrates. He and his friends succeeded, together with Falloux, Minister of Instruction, in concluding by a compromise the struggle of years for the freedom of education. The University remained, but the competition of clerical and private institutions was free. The religious communities also whom the State did not recognise were granted the right of founding schools and institutions for study. The supervision over the higher schools was shared by the University with school boards of the departments which included the bishop, the prefect, and elected members of the General Council. The public school, which was neither compulsory nor free, was watched over by the clergyman and the mayor. Masters could be removed. The granting of degrees was retained by the University. Such was the general tenor of the Falloux Law of June 18, 1849. Montalembert, as President of the Parliamentary Commission, recommended it to the support of all true Liberals, to the patriots and believers. Veuillot revolted and hoisted the flag of opposition in the 'Univers.' The new educational scheme was the apparent, not the real, cause of the quarrel.

Since April 1848, Count Falloux was of opinion that there was no object in maintaining the Catholic party, and that it should be dissolved. The cleverest journalist and at the same time the cleverest pamphleteer of the day was not willing to break so powerful an instrument. 'Vous avez formé un corps de lansquenets,'* said Dupanloup to Montalembert; 'à présent que vous prononcez le nom de paix, ils se révoltent contre vous, eux qui ne vivent que de pillage.' It was specially owing to the demeanour and the words of Montalembert that the law amending the educational system was voted for on March 27, 1850. 'Thanks to the participation in guilt of certain Catholics,' the 'Univers' wrote, 'the monopoly of the State in education has been sanctioned by law.' From that time the Catholic party slipped out of the hands of those who had been its leaders hitherto. The Conservative party won its last victory on the Franchise Bill of May 31, 1850, which deprived 3,000,000 electors of the franchise. Louis Napoleon owed his election to the office of President to the wider suffrage. After the vote of May 31 he let it be understood that he thought of re-establishing it again, and he strengthened his personal power.

* 'You have formed a body of hirelings.'

The Monarchists deserted him. A parliamentary conflict arose which was ended by the *Coup d'État* of December 2. Montalembert placed himself on the side of the President as the only possible, and in consequence the only legitimate authority, and the chosen sovereign of 5½ million Frenchmen.

The conviction that Louis Napoleon alone was able to save France from Socialism was shared in those days by no less a person than Tocqueville, who in July 1851 considered his re-election as unavoidable, because there appeared to be no alternative and the country was seriously alarmed. 'I think that the Bonapartist stream, if at all, can only be turned off by the revolutionary one, which would mean increasing the danger. The situation may possibly become so critical that I myself might be forced to advise letting the people accomplish the breaking up of the constitution.'

But Tocqueville had no illusions on the subject. He calls Louis Napoleon, as to his constitutional ideas, just as 'imperméable' as Charles X. On the other hand there is no doubt that Montalembert saw the 'social knight' in the light of the Roman expedition, but did not see through him. The *Coup d'État* had been made without his knowledge. Louis Veuillot approved of it, the Catholic press also, and Montalembert justified it in the 'Univers.' The Catholic party had become a political one, and, for the last time, Montalembert wrote its manifesto. With the exhortation not to forget the Roman expedition, he conducted it into the Bonapartist camp. The laity were followed by the clergy, the episcopacy, and at last by Pius IX. himself. At last there appeared on January 22, 1852, after a succession of violent measures, the decree by which Louis Napoleon confiscated the property of the house of Orleans. On the same day Montalembert indignantly asked for his dismissal as a member of the Consultative Commission of December 2. A short time before his death he wrote, looking back at this episode, 'If my illusions lasted fourteen days, my repentance has lasted fourteen years, and it will only end with myself.'

Until the year 1857 he led the sham existence of a deputy, and his voice died away unheard 'as in a pit without light and air.' His public life was at an end. The man stood alone. But the storms which he had passed through did not very quickly abate. The only public honour which was bestowed on Montalembert was his election to the Academy in 1852. In the speech which he made at his reception in

praise of Droz, his predecessor, an historian of Louis XVI., he spoke of the revolution as 'une sanglante inutilité,' which had waged war against the foundation of order, of authority, and of the social hierarchy, and desired their annihilation. The good which it had done would have been accomplished without a revolution; the Christian ideal founded on justice fell a victim to democracy. In the same year Montalembert closed his account with the Catholic party in his work, '*Des Intérêts Catholiques au XIX^e Siècle.*' With the exception of Lacordaire, who left for ever the pulpit of Notre Dame in order to regain freedom of speech, of Falloux and Dupanloup and a small band of followers, Catholic France stood at the side of the victorious Caesar. Montalembert reminded his co-religionists of everything they owed to constitutional freedom, and of the solemn duties which they had undertaken concerning it. He spoke no longer in a decided and confident tone as in the days before 1848; but his attack on the Gallican Church reminded men of Lamennais and of the insults of Louis Veuillot. Tocqueville found only shades of difference between Montalembert and Veuillot, and remarked: 'Ce sont les nuances qui se querellent, non les couleurs.' The majority of French bishops tried once more to stem the bursting flood of ultramontane doctrines and tendencies by condemning them. But bishops and priests were insulted in the 'Univers' under pretence of avenging the Holy See. This is what Cardinal Donnet wrote at that time. It was too late. Louis Veuillot appealed to Rome, which recommended moderation, but at the same time directed the bishops to protect the press.

The Archbishop of Paris had to withdraw his condemnation of ultramontanism. The last remains of the building at which the great theologians of the French Church had worked, their breviary, their liturgies, their doctrinal books, disappeared, and were replaced by compilations such as Rohrbacher's 'Church History,' which, as Montalembert writes, sought 'the origin of Communism, Socialism, and all vices and errors, in Protestantism.' The growing conception that he had been active at a work of destruction induced Montalembert to create an organ of political opposition, as protest against the school of the 'Univers,' in his newly organised 'Correspondant.' The consequence was that the clergy turned against him, and hence he was unable to obtain his re-election as a legislator. A work by Falloux, '*Le Parti Catholique, ce qu'il a été, ce qu'il est devenu,*' now appeared. It threw a strong light on the division in

the Catholic camp. Montalembert's essays on the political future of England and 'England's Rule in India' described the grandeur and developement of power of the Victorian era in contrast to the absolutist governments. He wrote:—

'The modern world began to be convinced that they had indeed sinned grievously against God and his Church for the last 300 years, and was trying to rid itself of the yoke of lies. If any one wishes to thrust them back into their former hatred of all things good, and to call back all the spiritual excesses of the eighteenth century, there is an infallible means for it. It consists in either telling a lie yourself, or approving of other people's lies for the honour of God.'

Montalembert was prosecuted and convicted for his attacks against the Government. He was pardoned by the Emperor, and was now in the position of a general without soldiers. In the year 1852 he had been already denounced in Rome. This denunciation produced no result, but he now found himself continually suspected, and was shamefully attacked, in the 'Univers.' In the year 1859 the Emperor found him again among the determined opponents of the policy of intervention in Italy and of the Italian alliance. 'Everything has contributed to the victory of Cæsarism,' he wrote to a German friend, 'even the badly employed science of the Mommsens, the Troplongs, the Merivales, the Corneswall Lewises, who transported him to historic ground and smothered the great traditions of the Roman republic in scepticism, in order to praise the good fortune and progress of the world under the humiliating yoke of the Emperor.'

Montalembert only declared himself on the Italian question when Central Italy voted for union with Piedmont. In opposition to Lacordaire, who described the position of the Church as untenable, Montalembert condemned the programme of Cavour, compared his politics with those of Machiavelli, and declared temporal power indispensable to the Church. The 'Correspondant' rejected not only the recurring idea of a Confederation, but also the notion of the possibility of saving a clerical state by force of arms. The 'Univers' cut itself loose from the Imperial policy, and defended the temporal power as a divine institution. In spite of that the 'Correspondant' held out once more the hand of peace, on condition that Louis Veuillot should break with absolutism in politics and religion. The latter refused to modify his tactics in any way. Montalembert's brother-in-law, Mgr. de Mérode, became War Minister of the Pope, who appealed to arms. Then followed Castelfidardo and the revolution in Naples. Before the assembled Parliament

at Turin, Cavour quoted a passage in the work on Catholic Interests, which tended to show that its author looked to the revival of religious spirit from freedom alone. Montalembert replied that Cavour was for United Italy and for Garibaldi, but that he himself was for the Confederation, for morality in politics, for right and conscience, for Lamoricière and Pius IX. It was he, not Cavour, who desired a free Church in a free State. Lacordaire spoke differently. He recognised the necessity of the temporal power, but he expressed his desire for the deliverance of Italy, for the remodelling of the Roman Government, and for the abandonment of the policy which the 'Univers' represented in Paris and the 'Civiltà cattolica' in Rome. He wrote to an ultramontane bishop in 1861 that the 'Univers,' which had arisen from the dust of the doctrines of Lamennais, was the negation of the Christian spirit and of sound common sense, and the greatest insolence which ever sheltered itself under the name of Jesus Christ. Liberal Catholicism was now dancing on the point of a needle.

Then, on March 18, 1861, a papal allocution appeared, which lamented the deception of those who, 'in opposition to the eternal laws of divine justice, speak of reconciliation with progress, with liberalism, and with modern civilisation, and at the same time call themselves the 'friends of religion.' These were the last words which Lacordaire heard from Rome. He died on November 21, 1861, in the college at Sorèze, which he had founded, and remained to the end 'a penitent Catholic and an impenitent Liberal.' He had to fight against Ultramontanism even in his own order, which he had reconstituted in France, but he was immoveable in his love for the religious ideal to which he had devoted his life. With his death and the decease of other friends the circle thinned which had collected round Montalembert during thirty years. He himself, already ill, isolated and overburdened with work, interrupted the publishing of a monumental book, 'The Monks of the West,' to which he had devoted all his remaining strength, in order to write a sketch of Lacordaire for the benefit of posterity. He did so with hearty eloquence, and with a feeling of substantial mental agreement no longer disturbed by differences of opinion. The last doubts about his own position disappeared when the International Catholic Congress called him to Mechlin in 1863. The speeches made there, and which he published later on under the title 'L'Eglise libre dans l'Etat libre,' are the protest of a riper

experience and deeper insight against arbitrary power and against the constraint and oppression of conscience. He greeted the alliance of Catholicism with political freedom as the inevitable but happy event of a democratic age, and rejected every attempt to go back to the conquered past as a worthless Utopia.

'I feel an unconquerable disgust for all the tortures, decrees of banishment, and deeds of violence,' he said, 'which have been imposed on mankind in the name of serving religion.

'The stakes which were lit by Catholic hands inspire me with as much horror as the scaffolds on which Protestants sacrificed so many martyrs. The gag, in the mouth of any one who with a pure heart announces his faith, causes me to feel the pain between my own lips. The Spanish Inquisitor who says to the heretic, "The truth or death," inspires me with the same horror as the terrorist who said to my grandfather, "Liberty, fraternity, or death." The human conscience has the right to demand that it should no longer be subjected to such alternatives.'

Montalembert recommends the Church to assume the part of a mediator between the individual and the State, to work for freedom of education, and association against the action of a levelling democracy. The answer of Rome to the Congress of Mechlin and to the Congress of Catholic learned men which met about the same time in Munich came December 8, 1864, in the shape of the Encyclical 'Quanta Cura,' and the Syllabus added to it.

'I was in Paris,' Montalembert wrote, 'when the "Encyclical" appeared, and the general consternation it caused to all well-intentioned people can only be compared with that which prevailed after the catastrophe of February; as for me, I required, during the days after its publication, less comfort than at this present moment, for solitude and meditation only increase my grief.' *

Scientific periodicals, such as the 'Home and Foreign Review,' others which were principally political, as 'Brownson's Review' in the United States, were placed in the dilemma either to give up their principles or to attack hostile authority. They refused both solutions, and retired from the scene. The editors of the 'Correspondant' expressed the confidence 'that the defence of the Church 'and the perfecting of political institutions might be successfully continued in the sense of freedom.' An example in this direction was set by the attempt of the Bishop of Orleans, Dupanloup, to weaken the shock in his paper on

* January 30, 1865.

'La Convention du 19 Septembre et l'Encyclique du 8 Décembre.'

'L'Evêque a fait un tour de force,' Montalembert wrote on January 30, 1865,* 'mais ce n'est que cela; c'est le chef-d'œuvre du subterfuge éloquent. Il a voulu nous sauver, et il a fait pour cela un effort surhumain, sans compter qu'il y a dans son écrit des pages vraiment pathétiques et généreuses. Mais il ne reste pas moins démontré que le Pape nous a donnés en pâture—moi surtout son vieux soldat—aux mâtins et aux roquets de sa basse-cour.'

He was the first to show the untenableness of the strategy of the 'Correspondant.' When the Austrian Concordat had been concluded ten years before, Montalembert had prophesied that this concession of absolutism would not last. Now, when the laws of May 1868 were in part abolishing it, a papal allocution, of June 22, 1868, condemned the laws confirming freedom of all opinions, of faith, conscience, and doctrine, which granted permission to the adherents of every creed to found institutions for instruction, and classed as equal all religious communities of whatever kind they might be. After this allocution, an article of Montalembert's, 'L'Irlande et l'Autriche,' which he had already commenced to publish, was not continued. The allocution itself, the contents of which condemned the principle of equal rights for all, was not referred to in a single syllable of the 'Correspondant.' Veuillot opposed the protests of some of the bishops, especially those of Dupanloup, and also those of laymen, by pointing out triumphantly the glories of Rome and the blessings which the Pope had conferred himself.

Montalembert might consider himself fortunate that his study of the past made up to him for the confusion of the present. His original plan of a history of St. Bernard had been extended to one of the Western monks. In this book the poetical writer of the Life of St. Elizabeth showed himself a critical historian. He overcame the monotony of the matter by his brilliant talent of description; he called again to life the founders of European culture and of Christian morals. The figures of Benedict and Columba illustrated the work of civilisation, which proceeding from

* The Bishop has completed a powerful piece of work, but that is all; it is a masterpiece of eloquent subterfuge. He wished to save us, and for that purpose he made a superhuman effort without counting that there are in his writings some really pathetic and generous pages. Yet it is very clear that the Pope has given us up—and me especially, his old soldier—as a prey to the mastiffs and curs of his yard.

Lerins, Monte-Cassino, and Iona, completed the conversion of the barbarians. What Montalembert gained by industrious researches and what was wanting in them has been told by Littré among others, who, although he was a stranger to the religious point of view which the historian of the monks adopted, yet acknowledged with delicate feeling that no one was better justified in erecting a monument to the activity of their religious enthusiasm. The work remained incomplete. Montalembert had been suffering for years, and now he had become so ill that he was beyond recovery. Events, however, were taking place in Church and State in the face of which he could not remain inactive. The Emperor was growing old, and in view of the difficulties which his personal government of seventeen years had brought about both in domestic matters and in foreign affairs, and of the complications caused by the wars of 1859 and 1866, he resolved on giving back the guarantee of freedom demanded by the Opposition. Rouher, who had hitherto been the leader of the Ministry of Napoleon III., was replaced in December 1869 by the Cabinet Ollivier-Daru-Buffet, and in the same month the Vatican Council, which had been promised since 1864, was opened. Already in December 1867, after the defeat of the Garibaldians by the French at Mentana, Montalembert wrote to Germany to a friend :—

‘ Je conviens avec vous que l’on a fait trop de tapage à l’occasion de cette victoire, et cela, avec le mauvais goût qui caractérise la presse religieuse ; mais ne faut-il pas pardonner quelque chose à ces pauvres catholiques, qui n’ont jamais été victorieux que cette seule fois depuis le commencement de ce siècle ? Pour moi, sans méconnaître les côtes vulnérables et défectueuses de tout ce qui s’est passé à Rome dans ces derniers temps, je me suis certainement associé à la satisfaction bien légitime que la déroute de Garibaldi et de Victor Emmanuel a excitée dans tous les cœurs catholiques. Sans être le moins du monde rassuré sur l’avenir, j’ai joui de voir le dévouement vraiment héroïque de nos zélés pontificaux soutenu et surtout apprécié par le sentiment national et militaire du reste de la France. J’ai joui surtout de voir l’infâme presse italianissime, depuis les “ Débats ” jusqu’au “ Courrier ” Français, déjouée dans ses efforts acharnés pour exciter l’esprit public contre la seconde expédition de Rome ; comme en 1848 et 1849, l’intérêt catholique a prévalu parce qu’il n’était pas seul en jeu, parce qu’il s’associait aux meilleurs instincts sociaux et politiques du pays, et de plus à l’indignation aussi universelle que légitime suscitée dans l’armée et ailleurs par le mélange singulier d’hypocrisie et d’effronterie qui caractérise les Italiens. Je suis d’ailleurs bien sûr que vous aurez joui comme moi de la prodigieuse victoire remportée par M. Thiers et

de la résurrection du gouvernement parlementaire due à son génie. Ce qui vous aura fait encore plus de plaisir, comme à moi, c'est de voir le salut du St.-Siège assuré (au moins provisoirement) par l'éloquence, par la discussion publique et la lutte au grand jour et par tout ce que les Catholiques ont si misérablement renié depuis 1852. Aussi suis-je bien tenté de croire qu'on aurait préféré à Rome une bonne note de M. de Sartiges à toute l'éloquence de M. Thiers. Mais n'importe; ce qui se passe en France, comme ce qui se passe en Autriche et partout ailleurs, démontre l'inanité radicale du vieux système protectionniste que l'on essaie en vain d'appuyer sur une théologie vermoulue, et qui s'écroule de toutes parts.'

We must mention here that a last journey of Montalembert to Germany, Austria, and Poland, in 1862, had confirmed him in the conviction that Prussia would undertake to play the part of Piedmont. His patriotism took alarm and increased his antipathy against Italy. For safety from danger he looked to the nation's active interest in its fate, and wrote his political testament, '*L'Espagne et la Liberté*,' with the intention of bearing witness for freedom, both as a patriot and a Christian. In burning words he unfolds the history of the decline of a nation through the absolutism of the State and religious persecution by the Church, and turns towards its apologists of the present, concluding with these words:—

'I am not called upon to give instruction to the Pope and the bishops. But if I were, and also supposing that they would discuss questions of politics and religion, which move and rule the world, I would beseech them not to mistake as the voice of the believers that of fanatics, who create for us in newspapers, which are only too much encouraged and too well recommended, an impossible position. I would beseech them to take into account the aspirations, wants, and duties of the crowd of Christians who claim a share in the life of the country, the people, the times in which they live. They are not studying theology, they erect no system, no doctrine, they only beg that it should not be made impossible for them to live. They prevent no one from living according to the views of the twelfth or seventeenth century, if it so pleases them, but they themselves wish to live in accordance with the spirit of the times in which God has placed them, with the arms, dress, ideas, rights, and customs of the present age. They condemn no one, but they do not wish to be condemned themselves. They demand that they may not be called upon to have two moral laws, one of theory and one of practice, one for the pulpit and the confessional, the other for private life. They do not wish to be reduced to the art of fencing of a casuistry which in the long run must prove untenable, the consequences of which would be equal to the English penal laws against Catholics, and which would leave to all upright and straight-

forward minds the alternative of a gradual desertion of the Catholic community, or the complete exclusion from all public positions, all participation in citizenship, and in the intellectual, social, and political life of the country.

‘They exclaim, All is lost, while in reality nothing is lost, but matters turned out differently from what we thought, wished, hoped. “As long as I could,” said the great Count de Maistre, who has been grievously misunderstood, “as long as I could, I have preserved the hope that the believers would be called upon to construct the edifice anew, but it seems to me as if new workmen were coming forth from the obscure darkness of the future, and as if His Majesty, the Providence of God, was saying, *Ecce nova facio omnia.*”’

After 1867 the combat of theologians raged about the decisions of the coming Council. Manning and Deschamps tried, together with French bishops in Rome, to carry in a decree the infallibility of the Pope by acclamation. At the same time the ‘*Civiltà cattolica*’ proposed to the Catholics that they were to vow ‘to die for this dogma if necessary,’ and demanded the proclamation of the doctrine of the *Syllabus*.

In France the Bishop of Orleans, Monseigneur Dupanloup, Maret, Bishop of Sura and Dean of the Theological Faculty of the Sorbonne, and the Oratorian Gratry came forward in opposition. Maret declared, in answer to the endless attacks on Bossuet and the Gallicans, that the Council was directed against the French Church and its past. Montalembert gave his article on Spain and Freedom to be printed in the ‘*Correspondant*.’ It was rejected, and he wrote to a friend: ‘That is what we owe to the approach of the Council, and we may say with the Apostle Paul, “*Miserabiliores sumus*,”’ “*omnibus hominibus.*”’ A remark of his that no one could suspect the Papacy of wishing to ascribe to itself a direct or indirect authority over temporal matters originated in the year 1840. He answered those who reminded him of his accusations against Gallicanism that, seeing the attacks against it, he also felt himself guilty. Having passed through the school of Lamennais, which weakened and compromised the Catholicism of his contemporaries, he also had been unjust to the old French clergy. But nothing had been known in those days of the pretensions and doctrines of modern Ultramontanism, and no one could have suspected that they would sacrifice to the Idol erected in the Vatican justice and truth, reason and history: ‘I thank Heaven that I never thought, said, or wrote anything which might have been in favour of the personal, separate infallibility

‘of the Pope, as they wish to put it upon us, nor of theocracy or dictatorship.’

What he longed and desired for the Church is contained in the address of the laymen of Coblenz in July 1869, with which he joyfully concurred. In contrast to Ultramontane views, they demanded the renunciation of the theocratical claims of the Middle Ages, reform of clerical education, the participation of laymen in the Christian and social life of the parish, the abolition of the Index, and the holding of national and diocesan synods.

In January 1870 the ‘Correspondant’ contained a letter from Rome, in which Vicomte de Meaux gave an account of the commissions and business arrangements of the Council, which had been opened on December 8. He wrote:—

‘The plans are arranged beforehand, the order of business is forced upon them, the commissioners are elected *before* every consultation, according to official lists, by a disciplined majority, who vote like one man. There is no minority in these commissions. These general features cause us to recognise an assembly called upon not to discuss but to approve, which is destined to increase the power of those who have summoned them together, instead of moderating it.’

The end of the matter was easily foreseen. One of Montalembert’s lady relatives troubled him with the question, what position he would take up in the case of the proclamation of the dogma of papal infallibility. He replied that he would fight against it as long as possible, and then submit; he was not a theologian; he had not to make the decision. Long before that, in the year 1866, he had written to a friend that he had been the witness and the victim of two great apostasies, which history would record—that of liberally minded Catholics in the year 1852, and that of the constitutional Bourgeoisie. Now he was covering his head like sick Hezekiah, not to ask prolongation of his life, but to lament because he had lived too long.

On March 13, 1870, death delivered him from physical torment and mental anguish. He died suddenly, not unprepared. His last walk, a few days before, had been to his parish church, there to receive the sacraments. Pius IX. heard of the death of Montalembert on the day of his decease. There was an audience in the Vatican, and the Pope said, ‘A man has died who has rendered services to the Church. He wrote a letter, which I have read. I do not know what he said at the moment of his death; but one thing I know, that this man had a great enemy—

‘pride. He was a liberal Catholic—that is to say, half ‘a Catholic. Yes, the liberal Catholics are only half ‘Catholics.’

Such was the farewell of the ‘*Ecclesia militans*’ to Count Montalembert. No other was possible in that connexion of events from which Providence developes the logic of history. It has freed his name from further association with the deceptive image of the Church’s rule over the world, with which the gloomy, despotic spirit of Lamennais has led astray political Catholicism. For it was Lamennais who organised the lay element for the combat, who drew out a distinction, not on the basis of religious faith, but on the shifting ground of political opinion, who, by his denial of the principle of historical development, undermined the traditions of national churches, and, while he combated centralisation in the State, helped to develop centralisation in the Church. A despiser and opponent of the episcopal system, he accustomed clergy and people to set aside the bishops, and appeal to the incessant and direct intervention of Rome. It was he who sharpened the weapons of journalism for all purposes of impatient and aggressive polemical controversy. The ‘Catholic Party’ was called into being by the controversies of the ‘*Avenir*.’ Montalembert led it to victory with the motto, ‘Equal rights for all.’ It left him in its hour of triumph, and disowned liberty, to which it owed success. Montalembert wavered and hesitated. He tried to bring about an impossible reconciliation between changing political claims and the unflinching laws of conscience. But the day came when he acknowledged, ‘*Il faut être un bien meilleur chrétien que je ne l’ai été, mais il ne faut pas vouloir appartenir au parti catholique.*’ His gentle friend Augustin Cochin assented to this view when he said: ‘*Parti catholique, déplorable mot, catholique de tous les partis.*’

Looking at Montalembert’s life from the point of view of political leadership, it was a failure. He knew it well, but he clung firmly to the hopes of his youth. He entrusted the future of coming generations to Christianity built on the immovable foundation of religious life and the doctrine of all times. He believed that the nations would become strong under the shelter of political and religious freedom, and welcomed the progress of the world and the work of the human mind as part of the Divine ordinance.

In his inner life he experienced the mysterious strength which alone can assuage the thirst of the soul. ‘Let us not

‘forget,’ he wrote when nearing the end, ‘that the humble silence to which we are condemned, in face of a public which mocks us and justly triumphs at our defeat, is only the tribute for the blessings which religion grants us in those inner trials for which the most liberal statecraft and the deepest and most honest philosophy have nothing, absolutely nothing, to offer.’

- ART. XI.—1. *China. No. 1 (1899). Correspondence respecting the Affairs of China.* [C.—9131.]
2. *China. No. 2 (1899). Correspondence between Her Majesty's Government and the Russian Government with regard to their Respective Railway Interests in China.* [C.—9329.]
3. *Treaty Series. No. 11 (1899). Exchange of Notes between the United Kingdom and Russia, &c.* [C.—9241.]
4. *The Break-Up of China.* By LORD CHARLES BERESFORD, M.P. London and New York: 1899.
5. *China in Transformation.* By ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN. London and New York: 1898.
6. *Speech of the Right Hon. St. John Brodrick, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons, June 9, 1899.*

THE titles of two of the works in the above list indicate the apprehension and perplexity as to the future of British interests in China which have prevailed for some months, and which still prevail amongst us. Is China to be broken up or transformed? On the answer to that question hang issues which, if not of immediate gravity, will nevertheless ultimately prove to be of serious, indeed of momentous, importance. Since we discussed the matter last* several things have happened. The public in general has paid increased attention to Chinese affairs. They have been noticed in Parliament repeatedly, and quite recently have been the subject of an important debate in the House of Commons. An arrangement—correctly termed by her Majesty's Ambassador in St. Petersburg a 'Railway Agreement'—has been effected between our Government and that of Russia, which is encouraging and—as far as it goes—satisfactory. The increase in the public attention has been due in some measure to the stimulus imparted to it by Lord Charles Beresford's mission, undertaken on the invitation of the Associated Chambers of Commerce. This, of itself, is a beneficial result of the mission; whilst we have to thank the envoy also for a volume containing much useful information. We are not in agreement with Lord Charles as to all his views; but this does not preclude us from acknowledging our debt to him for the instructive

* Edinburgh Review, No. 385, 'British Policy in China.'

report which he has compiled, to which we shall make frequent reference. We have to express our obligation also to Mr. Colquhoun for his interesting and pleasantly written volume. It is the work of a practised writer specially qualified to treat of the condition of China.

We have called our article 'The Problem in China,' because we do not admit that the 'break-up' of that empire is really in progress or necessarily inevitable; whilst its 'transformation'—however desirable or certain—is still in the future. That present conditions cannot last, no special foresight is required to perceive. It is by the possibility or impossibility of substituting thorough reform for disruption that the momentous issues to which we have alluded—issues which concern the fate of Asia and of more than Asia—will be decided. The decision will depend largely upon the action of Great Britain. In the interests of the general peace and prosperity—at the risk of being charged with unctuousness, we will say in the interests of humanity at large—it is obligatory on us to adopt the right policy, and adopt it soon. Mr. Colquhoun puts this strongly. He says:—
'We are now at the parting of the ways, and the failure to take the right course will mean the loss of the commercial supremacy of England, and eventually the disintegration of the empire' (p. 343).

A remarkable change has been wrought in a short time in the way in which Western nations regarded China and its people. In 1893,* only six years ago, we were warned by a scholar and historian of the menacing probabilities of the power, due to its increasing population, of the Chinese Empire:—'No one can doubt,' we were told, 'that if China were to get for sovereign a man with the organising and aggressive genius of Peter the Great or Frederick the Second, it would be a very formidable neighbour to either British India or Russia.' We were bidden to 'Assume fifty years hence that China has taken its inevitable position as one of the great powers of the world.' The remarkable thing in connexion with these assertions is, not that they merely defined the views of a solitary student, but that they were, if not generally, at least widely accepted as correct. Visions of the career of progress of the Western peoples being obstructed beyond hope of advance by an impermeable barrier of the Yellow Race were called up: and the phrase

* In a volume entitled 'National Life and Character:—a Forecast,' by Charles H. Pearson. London and New York, 1893.

'The Yellow Terror' was invented or revived to summarise the gloomy prospect opening out before the Occidental nations.

China's nearest neighbours on the north, the Russians, may not have been influenced by these forebodings, but there is plenty of evidence to prove that they regarded that empire's power as a thing not to be lightly encountered. The restoration of the greater part of Kuldja, and the inconvenient course chosen for the most easterly section of the Siberian Railway, could have had no other cause. In a few months the whole mental attitude of the West towards the Farther East seemed to have undergone a great and startling change. The military party in Japan was able to bring about a war with China. The Chinese defence collapsed utterly. Once more it was demonstrated in the plainest manner that physical courage in the ranks, and even occasional conspicuous self-devotion, are of no avail if the leaders are corrupt and inert. Japan was hailed as almost a great power, and China, having fallen too low for pity, was now looked upon as simply a fitting object for spoliation.

Yet we may notice already a reaction against this view of the situation. Lord Charles Beresford, in spite of the title which he has given to his book, frequently assumes that the 'break-up' is not inevitable. Indeed, he suggests methods for avoiding it. To support his contention that we ought 'to maintain the integrity of the Chinese Empire,' he makes the following remarks:—

'If it be objected that China itself is effete and rotten, I reply that this is false. The traditional official system is corrupt, but the Chinese people are honest. The integrity of their merchants is known to every banker and trader in the East, and their word is as good as their bond. They have, too, a traditional and idolatrous respect for authority, and all they need is an honest and good authority' (p. 440).

An examination of the memorandum of the China Association dated Shanghai, October 6 last,* will show that the members of that body believe that 'the maintenance of 'China's integrity' is possible. Though Mr. Colquhoun fears (p. 92) that 'nothing, perhaps, can prevent its eventual 'break-up,' he evidently thinks that this is improbable. He says (p. 357), 'Even although the empire appears to be 'now breaking up, it is capable, under tutelage, of becoming 'consolidated.' He quotes with approval the observation of Mr. A. H. Smith, an American authority, that 'if the

* Given by Lord Charles Beresford at pp. 85-97.

‘teaching of history as to what happens to “the fittest” is ‘to be trusted there is a magnificent future for the Chinese ‘race.’ He himself goes even farther than this—his own words being these:—

‘In considering the future of the Chinese race, therefore, we have this enormous double fund of capacity to reckon with—capacity of muscle and capacity of brain; and we have only to imagine the quantitative value of such an aggregate of nervous force when brought into contact with the active spirit and the mechanical and mental appliances of the West, to picture for ourselves a future for China which “will astonish and appal the world”’ (p. 255).

We believe that we are interpreting rightly Mr. Colquhoun’s view as being not so much apprehension of the disruption of China as apprehension of its integrity being maintained, and being used with tremendous effect against ourselves. We must not be accused of labouring this point too much, for any policy which fails to recognise the possibility of Chinese durability can in the end be based only upon counsels of despair. Our desire is to check a too ready acquiescence in the opinion that China has nothing to look for but exhaustive partition, and this, too, whilst fully bearing in mind what was said in our former article as to Kiao-chau, Port Arthur, Talienwan, Wei-hai-wei, and Kowloon. It is wise not to make too certain of the continued existence of the Chinese Empire, but between that and prematurely abandoning all hope of it the difference is great indeed.

We have already noted* the change in conditions since the Farther East was connected with the West by sea-communications only. The developement of Eastern Siberia and, particularly, the construction of a line of railway from Europe have undoubtedly affected the relative positions of Great Britain and Russia as regards China. It is not surprising, indeed it is only natural, that the Chinese authorities should be specially attentive to the proceedings of their nearest neighbour, which Russia, in effect, now is. Educated Chinamen must occasionally remember the quarter in which prolonged conquest of their country more than once originated. We ought not to ignore facts, though we need not assume that they must of necessity tell against us.

The facts of the case may not have been deliberately ignored; certainly they have been missed or misunderstood

* *Edinburgh Review*, No. 385, p. 255.

Lord Charles Beresford, no doubt unwittingly, has helped to propagate and continue the misunderstanding. Over and over again he affirms his preference for the policy of the 'Open Door' over that of—as he phrases it—'Spheres of Influence.' It is a pity that, in discussing the question, he did not use the exact phrase—'Spheres of Interest.' The niceties of diplomatic terminology may often seem absurd to the ordinary man, but there is a real difference between the two terms. It is not necessary to define the difference at this moment. What is meant by a 'sphere of interest' will become apparent as we proceed. Lord Charles, it should be said, is not alone in believing that the two policies are mutually destructive. In the Shanghai memorandum already quoted it is said that 'the two policies are directly opposed to one another.'

We believe this to be a great mistake; so far from being antagonistic, they are in reality complementary of each other. The Government, undoubtedly, has acted in accordance with this view. Lord Salisbury has tried—how strenuously and successfully as far as immediate issues are concerned will be learned by a perusal of the official papers—to preserve for us both the 'open door' and our proper 'sphere of interest.' It is encouraging to find that there has been no failure to follow up the policy hinted at rather than described in the speeches of Lord Salisbury, Mr. Arthur Balfour, and Mr. Chamberlain, which were quoted in our previous article.

Though we are not called upon to specify the difference between a 'sphere of influence' and a 'sphere of interest,' we must explain the distinction between the latter and the 'open door.' British subjects are in China principally, and hitherto have been there almost exclusively, as traders. We have gone there and have established ourselves there to sell, to buy, to import, to export, to do business 'on commission,' to provide the necessary means of sea conveyance for the commodities exchanged in the resulting commerce. Of the great trade thus created we have by far the largest share. A prominent 'bank official,' quoted by Lord Charles Beresford (p. 22), stated that 64 per cent. of the whole foreign trade of China is British. This does not show the full proportion of our interests. Much of the trade done by other Western nations in China is really ours.* In addition to this the statistics of our shipping are so large

* Beresford, pp. 104, 161; Colquhoun, pp. 328, 332 (*note*).

that the common statement that 80 per cent. of the trade is British is no exaggeration. What the policy of the 'open door' aims at is to ensure that this commerce is not impeded, *and*—we emphasise the conjunction—that its legitimate expansion is permitted.

Of late years foreign (Western) interests in China have increased beyond the progressive expansion of the ordinary commerce. Foreign capital has sought investment there with the object of developing the natural resources of the empire. A teeming population suggests the formation of organised industrial establishments; whilst—especially as this population goes on increasing—it demands not only more trade, but also improved means of communication. The great mineral wealth of several provinces has long lain unused for want of capital and the reasonable measure of security which permits of its remunerative employment.

There is no greater mistake than to suppose that the Chinese in general are disinclined to avail themselves of Western improvements in the conveniences of life. The conservatism of the people in general is much more rational than we give them credit for. As a matter of fact, they readily take advantage of any expedient which appears to them to be a real improvement. They will not, however, take a novelty on trust. They must be convinced that it is better than that which it is intended to supersede, or they will leave it alone. When steam navigation was introduced into Chinese waters the public speedily discerned its advantages and lost no time in availing itself of them. Though the Chinese have seen but little of railways, they have already decided as to their merits. 'Last year,' says Mr. Colquhoun, 'immediately after its opening, I travelled several times over the Pekin-Tientsin line, and found the new means of conveyance so much in favour that crowds were travelling to and fro for the mere novelty of the thing;*' and we can confirm Mr. Colquhoun's statement from earlier personal experience. The Chinese have been charged with stolid indifference to the advantages of the Western postal system. This is not deserved. Their attitude towards the post office affords a striking proof of their intelligence. When a Chinaman wishes a letter to reach its destination soon he sends it by the quickest way; but he knows that a large percentage of letters does not require speedy delivery or

* P. 98 (note).

early answers. He therefore declines to pay a penny for the conveyance of a letter within twenty-four hours, when its conveyance within a week is quite as quick as he desires and can be effected by an unauthorised compatriot for a fraction of a farthing.

Even the official class will utilise foreign appliances when they appear to suit its views—witness arsenals, armaments, and especially the great service known as the Imperial Maritime Customs. Mandarins and ‘literati’ are suspicious of foreign influences which may interfere with their own; and the wealthier classes in China think that money-making, like charity, ought to begin at home; but neither feeling is exclusively Chinese. The position may be thus described. Western capital is seeking investment. To develop the resources of China and meet the convenience of its people this capital is required. The great mass of the population would welcome it. Can proper security be given to it if invested amongst them?

It may have been discerned, from our earlier remarks, that the China problem in reality consists of two questions—one concerning immediate, and the other future, issues. As regards the immediate, our policy ought to be—and, as we believe, is—that of giving legitimate countenance and protection to our trading interests, and of seeing that our capital, if sent to China, incurs no undue risks. Let us take the ordinary trade first, and see what our Government has been, and is, doing in its interest. ‘The total foreign trade,’ says Lord Charles Beresford (p. 385), ‘has actually doubled ‘since 1888.’ British tonnage ‘to treaty ports in Kwang-tung and Kwang-si’—to take one instance only—rose from 4,318,553 in 1893 to 4,838,667 in 1897, the figures being taken from returns not cited to give proof of prosperity.* In 1897 the tonnage fell; the British by 3,400, and the much smaller foreign tonnage by 100,000. Now, as we are credited with some 80 per cent. of the total trade, we must have obtained a good share of the doubling since 1888; whilst the smaller proportionate decline in British tonnage of the particular section mentioned shows that, as compared with our competitors, we did not fare very badly.

We wish not to be misunderstood. It is possible, nay, probable, that, but for obstruction on the part of the mandarins, the figures would have been still better; but it certainly does seem that, as far as the influence of the

* Beresford, pp. 203–7.

foreign Governments represented at Peking are concerned, that of our own has been exerted with an effect not inferior to that of any other. We venture to think that this view will be concurred in by those who study the official papers.

That our Government, at any rate whilst present conditions endure, must continue to use pressure in furtherance of our trade cannot be doubted. To its proposed future action, as indicated by the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs in his speech in Parliament, we shall come later on. As regards the investment of capital for the development of the resources of China, we are met by conditions of a peculiar kind. We can, perhaps, best make our meaning clear by giving a somewhat homely illustration. When a large municipal area is to be served with some new convenience—gas lighting, water, electricity, &c.—it is not uncommon to divide it into districts within each one of which a separate service may be installed on certain terms. It is not so many years since the Electric Lighting Act was passed that it will have been forgotten how different parts of the Metropolis were assigned to different lighting companies. These parts constituted the ‘sphere of interest’ within which each corporate association was to invest its capital in the working of the business which it had been formed to conduct. Security in the form of freedom from undue interference was given to the investors. One sees at once the advantages and, for the matter of that, the necessity of this procedure. Needless clashing of interests was avoided: and the risk of waste and extravagance due to overdoing the particular service in any area was reduced to a *minimum*.

As long as the whole of the Chinese territory covered, as far as international trade is concerned, by the treaties to which we are parties, is kept as accessible to British commerce as it has been hitherto, the policy of the ‘open door’ has been adhered to. There is no evidence to make us think that this has not been done. We can still resort to the established treaty ports; and additional places of trade have been opened. British merchants, it is true, apprehend, perhaps not quite unreasonably, the interposition of artificial obstructions to the natural increase of their business in the region that is, or may be, overshadowed by Russia. Happily this danger, which we cannot entirely ignore, has not been inconveniently felt as yet. The attempts made by Russian and French consular officials to

interfere with British owners or occupiers of land have been consistently withstood.*

The institution of 'spheres of interest' has been concurrent with the maintenance of the 'open door.' We have engaged not to seek, on our own account or on behalf of others, for railway concessions to the north of the Great Wall, and not to obstruct Russian applications for such concessions in that region. Russia has made an identical engagement as regards ourselves in the basin of the Yang-tze.† Thus two spheres of railway interest have been instituted—the one Russian and the other British. Our trade continues to go on at Newchwang, and the Russian tea-trade at Hankow has been undisturbed. There does not seem to be any general apprehension of any clashing between the 'sphere' policy and the 'open-door' policy. 'Our trade,' said Mr. Brodrick in the House of Commons on June 10, 'goes wherever it has gone before, and even to 'places where it formerly did not go. . . . No door has 'been closed, and as regards access to treaty ports in 'China, we hold the Chinese Government to the Treaty 'of Tientsin.'

Mr. Brodrick followed up these statements with a remark which deserves special attention. He said:—'We are ready 'to continue to do everything we diplomatically can to 'induce the Chinese Government to move forward for the 'benefit of the Chinese people,' and he referred to 'the 'immense amount of good that had been effected' in the last eighteen months. Here we have a clear, public, and official declaration of the diplomatic attitude assumed by Great Britain in the Far East. The days when our fellow-countrymen in China were left to push their interests themselves, and received from the representatives of their own Government only such support as was comprised in a determination to obtain security for their persons and property—these days are past. British enterprise in China has now to contend against something more than the predilection for seclusion of certain classes and interested obstruction by a corrupt bureaucracy. It has to struggle with rivals to whom *laissez faire* is an idle phrase, and who are

* Beresford, pp. 59, 112, 155; 'China,' No 1. (1899), pp. 312, 354.

† Treaty Series, No. 11, 1899; also 'China,' No. 2 (1899), p. 89, &c.

ready to accept any help likely to bring them success in a keen competition.

We believe that our fellow-countrymen would have gladly dispensed with diplomatic support for their undertakings, had not the action of their competitors compelled them to look for it. Anyone who has been in China will have observed the readiness of our business men there to complain of the lukewarmness of our diplomatists and consuls. Almost, if not quite invariably, this is merely a form of that grumbling to which Englishmen are in general addicted; and is indulged in largely as a relief for feelings disturbed by some recent contrariety encountered in the grumbler's occupation. As farmers complain of the weather, and sailors 'growl' at everything in general and nobody in particular, so our China merchants grumble at the Consular body and the Legation at Peking. A visitor who takes their diatribes seriously would suspect that minister and consuls were engaged in a permanent conspiracy to betray the interests of their country.

A little more experience and observation of the respect really felt for their officials by our fellow-subjects resident in the Chinese Empire will effectually dispel this belief. It is to be regretted that Lord Charles Beresford should have lent the weight of his name to its perpetuation. Though he holds (p. 344) that 'the British merchant is too harsh in his judgement on this question,' he has, nevertheless, accepted and circulated with little modification the complaints or charges made. A letter in the official papers* seems to show that he passed these charges on to her Majesty's Minister. Sir Claude MacDonald's reply is tinged with a resentment which no one will think unnatural:—

'I repeat what I said to you when here: not a single *bond-fide* or approximately practical scheme which has been brought to this Legation has failed to be put through. Every single *bond-fide* complaint from the treaty ports has been looked into and settled. There are some three or four now being investigated, and I hope for an early settlement.'

To let the above be known is simple justice; and Lord Charles himself accepts (p. 349) the view of the consuls that 'The system [found fault with] works well with the Chinese, as they appreciate the fact that we [British consuls] are not always bullying them on behalf of our nationals as the consuls of other powers often do.' At

* 'China,' No. 1 (1899), p. 344.

the same time—as already indicated—we quite agree with Lord Charles Beresford when he says, that ‘we have arrived at a time when the British Government will seriously have to consider whether the system of non-intervention hitherto pursued should not be modified. Up till now private enterprise has brought Great Britain to her present superior commercial position, and, therefore, the existing system has been a success. Conditions change, however, and policies should change with them.’ We no longer concur with Lord Charles where he thinks that the policy has not been changed. As a matter of fact it has been; and the official documents prove this fully.

A careful perusal of the books which we have already cited, of the despatches, and of the representations of the various bodies and individuals interested in British trade with China enables, indeed compels, us to arrive at a conclusion in the highest degree flattering to our business men in that empire. We have not lighted upon the smallest trace of any jealousy of the trade-successes of other nationalities. Our fellow countrymen in the Far East are quite aware of the progress which has been made by their competitors; but they invariably deal with it in an unenvious and even friendly spirit. This is all the more creditable to them as their attitude in this respect stands out in marked contrast with that of the other foreign communities. Even the Germans, as shown by the memorandum submitted, with the approval of, if not by, the Imperial Government to the Reichstag, occasionally exhibit an unworthy jealousy which can descend to the promulgation of demonstrable fictions.* What—as above noted—does alarm and incense British merchants in China is the ill-concealed policy of other nations, *e.g.* of Russia and France, intended to obstruct or frustrate our legitimate business operations. In the recent debate Sir Edward Sassoon and Mr. Keswick, both of them men who can claim the highest authority on the commercial affairs of China, gave vent to these feelings: ‘No one,’ said Sir Edward, ‘who knew anything of the traditional fiscal system of Russia would believe that British trade and enterprise in Northern China, and wherever that power gained a footing, would meet with anything but the shortest of shrifts.’ Mr. Keswick trusted that it might be

* The memorandum will be found at p. 3; the triumphant refutation of its fictions at pp. 72, 73, of ‘China,’ No. 1 (1899).

possible 'to arrange for the *universal observance* of the 'Treaty of Tientsin. It was the *observance over the whole* 'of China of the tariff provided by that treaty that he 'regarded as the open door.' The phrases which we have italicised are significant.

Our diplomacy in, or as concerned with, China must take two forms. We have to negotiate with the Chinese Government to secure our treaty rights against what may be termed internal infringement; and we have to negotiate with other powers against external infringement. The correspondence published with the papers already quoted gives us many illustrations of the diplomatic methods which we have been forced to adopt. When we fence with Russia or France, China has to stand between the points of the foils. Each lunge is made, as it were, through the body of the Tsungli-Yamên.

The state of affairs in China is not of a kind to evoke hilarity, or we might see something comical in the ingenuity with which granting a concession to one nation is followed up by demands from another. 'If this concession [the 'Pakhoi-Nanning Railway] is made to the French,' says Lord Salisbury to Sir Claude MacDonald, 'the opportunity 'appears favourable for insisting upon the opening of 'Nanning.'* Sir Claude warned the Yamên, if 'only the 'powers which showed no regard for her (China's) integrity 'obtained concessions, and those which exhibited forbearance were left out in the cold, that we should have to 'protect ourselves and demand our share' (p. 103). We have learned the trick from the Germans and the Russians; and it is not easy to see how, in justice to ourselves, we could avoid having recourse to it.

To tell the truth, one has to be equipped with a certain amount of cynicism, or, at any rate, with a certain robust indifference to the nicer considerations of graciousness and compassion, to be able to read without repugnance the recent history of China's foreign relations. Yet it must be admitted that the treatment received is no worse than that country deserves. For national weakness, born of corruption and ineptitude, there is no mercy to be expected from either gods or men. We do not stop even to moralise on fallen greatness. It is enough if we forget former arrogance. What concerns us is the manner in which our own representatives have borne themselves in the struggle

* China, No. 1 (1899), p. 97.

which has had the Tsungli-Yamén for its centre. The disorganisation of an ancient polity is not our fault. It is due to the venality, rapacity, and timidity of a literary bureaucracy—to the results of ages of competitive scholastic examinations and inveterate contempt of the military virtues.

Whatever may have been the defects of our policy in China—and none pointed them out with greater candour than the Government's own supporters—it is only fair to allow that, for the last eighteen months, Mr. Brodrick's own period, it has given little occasion for unfavourable criticism. Lord Charles Beresford's objections to it, stated in the debate of June 9, constituted rather a general railing against the Government's whole attitude towards Russia and China than the formulation of any specific charge of impolicy. Against his opinions may be set those of Sir Edward Sassoon and Mr. Keswick. The former thought 'the Government were to be congratulated on the spirited efforts they had made to uphold British rights.' Mr. Keswick held that the Government 'had done a great deal for the promotion of British interests.'

We ourselves are of opinion that the Government has come very well out of the recent negotiations with both China and Russia. We think it unlikely that any fair-minded reader can examine the papers presented to Parliament without coming to the conclusion that both Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour have shown, in their direction of the negotiations, the astuteness and firmness which were needed. Without actually saying this, Sir Edward Grey, speaking on behalf of the official opposition in the late debate, virtually admitted it. He spoke with approval of the conclusion of the railway agreement with Russia, and of the Government proposals—the result, of course, of negotiation with the Tsungli-Yamén—regarding the Yangtze. It is unnecessary to quote from the official papers every instance of action on the part of Lord Salisbury befitting the character of an English Minister for Foreign Affairs; but we may give one. Sir Claude MacDonald is instructed to inform the Yamén that

'No matter under what regulations, we cannot agree that any British property should be given over to be administered by the French, and in refusing this demand we will support the Chinese materially' ('China,' No. 1 (1899), p. 331).

As to the action of Sir Claude himself, we could point to many pages of the Blue Book which bear witness to the

industry, vigilance, and firmness with which he supported the interests of his country when negotiating at Peking:

Mr. Brodriek, during the debate to which we have referred more than once, justly complimented our Minister on his success in getting the transit-pass system laid down, so that 'goods coming from outside by one payment are freed from the extortion to which they might be subject in the inland waters of China.' This abatement of the nuisance hitherto found inseparable from the *li-kin* collection is not the least amongst the services which our Minister has rendered to his fellow-countrymen. The *li-kin* duties are a sort of *octroi*, or local customs' duties, exacted upon goods in transit after the regular Custom-house demands at the port of importation have been satisfied. The facilities of extortion, in a country where the officials live upon 'squeezes,' can be easily divined from the following description given by Mr. Jamieson in a report quoted by Mr. Colquhoun (p. 163, note):—

'In some places, as along the lower parts of the Grand Canal, the barriers follow one another at intervals of twenty miles or so. In other places, where trade is scanty and the barriers can be turned by *détours*, there are few, if any. A tariff is arranged, and is supposed to be published for general information, but nothing is more difficult than to get accurate information from the merchants or officials on this point. In point of fact, neither party seems to pay much attention to the authorised tariff. Nearly all boats are passed by a system of bargaining; the officials ask so much, the merchants make a bid, and they haggle till they come to terms.'

No wonder then, as Mr. Colquhoun tells us, that 'The heavy internal taxation has always acted like a paralysis on foreign trade before it could reach a few miles inland from the treaty ports' (p. 162). The *li-kin*-duties are legal; it is the mode of levying them which is so monstrous. The head of the Imperial Maritime Customs is arranging for the collection of these dues in a region in which we have specially large business interests. This promises to introduce an improvement which will have a good effect in two directions. Irregular exactions will be replaced by an ordered system, and the revenue collected will be secured against the speculation of Mandarins, and be available for the service of the empire. This most beneficial change is due to the intervention of the British Government, and its practical fulfilment has been made possible by the action of that most capable and eminent man Sir Robert Hart.

The announcement, made in the debate of June 9 by

Mr. Brodrick, of the intentions of the Government with respect to the Yangtze, has been received with deserved approval. The plans indicated were 'specially welcomed' by Sir Edward Grey. They were thus described in Mr. Brodrick's speech :—

'We propose, therefore, as regards the Yangtze Valley, to proceed as follows. We hold the Chinese Government to their undertaking not to alienate any of the provinces in the Yangtze basin to any other power, and to permit the extension of the Burma railway into Yunnan, which will connect us with Chin-Kiang, whenever British investors desire to make it—that is to say, whenever we demand the extension, the Chinese Government will fulfil their pledge. We regard the improvement of the gorges of the Yangtze as a question, under arrangement with the Chinese Government, for British engineers. Experiments are shortly to be tried. We have at present three gunboats on the Yangtze River, besides such men-of-war as may be at Shanghai. We shall keep what force is considered necessary between Ichang and the mouth of the Yangtze, and we shall consider whether gunboats can be maintained above the gorges at Ichang. These measures will be purely precautionary, and, it will be understood, they are taken with the object of giving security to our merchants and traders.'

Mr. Brodrick's remarks make it evident that, whilst keeping the 'door open,' the Government is resolved to make the 'sphere of interest' policy effective. 'I deny,' he said, 'on behalf of the Government, that we have abandoned the 'one policy or adopted the other.' 'We are endeavouring 'to secure,' he had previously stated, 'and so far we have 'secured, that a full share of railway and mining concessions shall fall to British investors. Secondly . . . we 'shall endeavour to provide that trade shall be free from 'undue taxation. . . . Thirdly, we are looking forward to 'the opening of inland waters, besides the Yangtze, and 'ports that are not now treaty ports to trade.'*

The present position in China may, then, be considered satisfactory; but the solution of the problem is not complete. The future must be looked to. Even if we could ensure the continuance of existing conditions, we should but prolong a state of things in which the assertion of every right tends to assume the character of an angry diplomatic wrangle, and in which insidious attacks upon our commercial prosperity are always to be apprehended.

* It is odd that, in the debate, no one laid stress on our important diplomatic victory in securing Sir R. Hart's succession to an Englishman.

Moreover, as we began by saying, there are larger issues to be thought of. The preservation of the Chinese Empire—shorn as it may have been by recent spoliation—concerns our own position in Asia. Mr. Brodrick alluded to this, when speaking in the House of Commons on June 9, in terms—justifiably vague, considering his office—which lead us to hope that all that is involved in it is perceived. ‘Our position in this matter,’ he said, ‘is very clear, because the issues are very great.’

As in the House of Commons, so throughout her Majesty’s dominions, there is, we believe, a practically unanimous desire that the independence of China should continue. Based on trade considerations alone, this is of immense importance to our Australasian colonies, as well as to the United Kingdom. British Australasia must, and does, look to China for an early and great expansion of its commerce. The questions are : Is this continued independence possible ? and, if possible, how is it to be ensured ? As to the former, authorities differ ; and, even if it be decided in the affirmative, there will be still greater difference as to the latter. In a most valuable letter, published in the ‘Times’ on June 8, Captain Younghusband—whose competence as to this subject no one will dispute—says, ‘We cannot preserve the integrity of China.’ It is ‘too old, too rigid, too conservative.’

We shall see further on that Captain Younghusband himself does not entirely abandon the hope of a continuance of Chinese independence, though he is too well acquainted with the real state of affairs to countenance the idea that Great Britain alone can ensure it. Let us examine the conditions. It must be understood at the outset that the ‘break-up’ of China can be effected only by partition. We are not to allow ourselves to be misled by the altogether different and inapplicable case of India, which supplies no precedent that can be usefully referred to in connexion with that of China. India—when strangers from the West first established their influence or supremacy there—was a collection of different kingdoms, dynasties, religions, and races. It is a commonplace of modern history, that one intrusive people after another gained the upper hand by playing off rival powers in the country against each other. In China we can look for nothing of the sort. The government, the people, the culture, are, beyond precedent, homogeneous. There are some ethnological varieties ; but they are virtually obliterated by the immense numerical preponderance of the

leading race ; and the millions of Mahomedans—numerous, considered absolutely—supply hardly a tenth, perhaps, of the whole vast population. If the dynasty were removed, there is nothing in the country to put in its place. Though the plundered inhabitants of a district will rise in insurrection against their despoilers, there is no sort of probability that one province would act against another for the purpose of putting the family of some mandarin in the seat of the reigning Manchu.

As 'break-up' means nothing but partition, let us see what partition, in its turn, must mean. The partitioning powers would have to administer and defend the booty which might fall to their share. The trade of each must be either admitted to, or excluded from, the territories in occupation of the others. If admitted, the advantages of holding large areas will be greatly diminished. If the trade is not admitted, there will be extensive frontiers, studded with custom-houses, separating necessarily envious rivals. With one exception, every power that would join in the partition will have to depend exclusively on sea communication. Is it not certain that, in these circumstances, the more essentially maritime powers will restrict their occupation as far as possible, and will not go beyond easy reach of the sea ? The one power that will not be obliged to impose upon itself such a restriction is Russia ; and if China is to be partitioned, Russia must receive all that others cannot occupy effectively. The result will be a Russianised China, fringed—on the sea and on the great river banks—with the relatively diminutive possessions of other nations, virtually offered by them as hostages to Russia, and held almost at the latter's good pleasure.

We are not likely to undervalue the efficacy of sea-power. We know that whatever protection the maritime States of the West can give to their interests in the Far East must ultimately rest upon it. At the same time we have no right to expect from it the impossible. The establishment of a great military power connected with its true base by land—that is to say, with its communications unassailable by sea—the establishment of such a power on the frontiers of the distant continental dependencies of other nations would constitute a serious menace to them. When the first power, in addition to its own resources, can virtually dispose of those of the Chinese Empire, or even of great part of it, the state of the dependencies in question could not be other than precarious. Naval superiority can prevent their com-

plete absorption, but it cannot prevent their molestation from the land side, or insure the inviolability of their inner frontiers.

It is obvious that the interests of all the maritime States which have trade connexions with China are directly opposed by the aims of Russia. We have Count Mouravieff's own word for it that Russia's interest in China is 'political,' whilst England's is 'commercial.'* Germany, Japan, the United States, and Italy, not to mention other countries, may well ask, 'What about *our* interests?' Each has a considerable trade, and in some cases—notably in those of Germany and the United States—that trade promises to expand. We are quite ready to admit that good government, even if introduced by Russia, makes for the advantage of commerce; but the good government must be accompanied by equitable commercial legislation. Probably no one, not even a Russian, doubts that the trade of, say, Germany in China would have a much better chance of increasing under a moderately improved Chinese administration strictly adhering to existing treaties than under the best possible Russian institutions combined with, to use Sir Edward Sassoon's phrase, Russia's 'traditional fiscal system.'

We see that, whilst Russia is on one side, all the maritime commercial powers are necessarily on the other. The maintenance of an independent China is as necessary to any one of the latter as to all the rest, because nothing but the predominance of Russia's 'political' interests can be substituted for it. As the industrial developement of the Czar's dominions proceeds and commercial expansion becomes more and more essential to their welfare, even in their case the political will be in conflict with the commercial interests. It is impossible to see how the absorption of China by Russia can benefit the latter interests in the end. Russians, no doubt, think that it will; but they have no monopoly of political wisdom and foresight.

Community of interest is more effective than any formal diplomatic instrument. There is no reason, that we know of, why there should be any definite agreement between the commercial powers to defend interests which not one of them can venture to neglect. If they all find themselves in the same camp, it is because of necessity, and not from choice. The result should be the evolution of a powerful influence working to prevent the break-up of China. The

* China, No. 2 (1899), p. 11.

urgent question therefore is, How is this to be effected? We may dismiss at once—as far as this country is concerned—any idea of converting the Yangtze Valley, or, indeed, any extensive region, into a kind of Egypt. If we cannot do this, we may be sure that no other maritime nation can. Notwithstanding what has been alleged, we do not think that Lord Charles Beresford has really proposed that we should attempt it. He has not been always successful, either in his book or in his speech of June 9, in making his meaning clear. Lucidity is not his strong point in writing, and in oratory it rarely goes with rollicking invective.

Lord Charles, however, makes it clear enough that honest financial administration and an efficient military establishment are indispensable if Chinese autonomy is to be preserved. We cordially agree with him. We will show on what conditions we think that the introduction of both is feasible. There is evidently a party amongst the Chinese the members of which are convinced of the necessity of reforms. The most striking passages in Lord Charles Beresford's book are to be found in the address of the Chinese merchants doing business at Hong-Kong. It can be seen that these gentlemen are still attached to the customs of their race, and are in no way Europeanised renegades. This makes their arguments in favour of reform the more deserving of attention. They not only affirm that 'the revenue system of China is notoriously 'bad,' but also show why there is and must be speculation on a scale elsewhere unknown. When a minister 'of 'Cabinet rank does not get any more than 50*l.* a year as 'salary,' and a viceroy, whose necessary expenses amount to some 15,000*l.*, receives in pay and allowances not more than 1,300*l.*, we know what to expect.

The progress made in China by the spirit of reform has been more conspicuously illustrated by events occurring where they were least expected. It is not often that a Blue Book contains anything so interesting as the history of the Emperor's attempts at reform and the Palace counter-revolution, or *coup d'état*, at Peking. In June 1898 Sir Claude MacDonald, when forwarding translations of 'two noteworthy decrees' of June 11, observed that they showed 'that a real need for radical reform is thoroughly 'recognised by the Court at last; but,' he added, 'there 'is little reason to hope that the Imperial admonitions 'will move the Chinese bureaucracy deeply.' The general

features of the story; the Emperor's adoption of a programme of reforms; the struggle between the old Conservative party in the Palace, headed by the Dowager-Empress, and the party of reform; the failure of the latter's efforts; and the final triumph of the Imperial lady, with the accompanying destruction of some of the more prominent innovators; these are all too widely known to require retelling now. The whole story recalls a page of Gibbon, and in reading the despatches in which it has been narrated we are carried back nearly twelve hundred years, and transported to the shores of the Bosphorus in the eighth century. The drama enacted at Peking in 1898 repeats, in some of its scenes, the greater tragedy of Irene and Constantine.

The party of reaction prevailed, but the innovating movement has left behind it traces which cannot be entirely erased. In a memorandum of Mr. Cockburn, Chinese Secretary of our Legation at Peking,* we find the important suggestion that 'it may be that the Empress-Dowager's hostility to reform is either unfounded or exaggerated; that she has merely become convinced that the Emperor's hasty changes cannot be carried out without exciting grave discontent and, possibly, rebellion.' There have been signs since the *coup d'état* that make for the correctness of this suggestion. At the same time the reform party outside the Palace still exists in China. As lately as June 8 of this year the report of a conversation with the reformer Kang Yu-wei—whose brother was one of those put to death by the reactionaries, and who himself escaped with difficulty—was published in the 'Times.' Speaking of the reformers, he said: 'Their activity had, of course, been checked and very much hampered by the recent *coup d'état*, but they were not extinguished.' Even Captain Younghusband does not altogether despair of the reformation and continued autonomy of China. 'If,' he says, 'contrary to all expectations, China should prove herself strong and wise enough to open her doors to the civilised world, at least as much as we Europeans open ours to her, and if she shows herself capable of affording as efficient protection to those who enter by them as we afford to her subjects in our country, then the necessity for exerting our influence will not arise.' This is not sanguine, but, at least, it admits the possibility of a reformed and independent China.

* China, No. 1 (1899), p. 309.

The conditions, then, are the existence of an earnest and, according to Kang Yu-wei, organised party in China favouring reform; the conviction in the Palace itself that changes are necessary; and the probability, if not certainty, that the necessity is admitted even by the reactionaries, whose real desire seems to be, not to prevent change altogether, but to avert the dangers of undue haste in effecting it. What China wants to enable her to complete the improvements in her polity—without which the continuance of her autonomy is impossible—is time. The administrative improvements immediately called for, considerable though they may be, are not stupendous. Everyone asserts—in accord with the native gentlemen at Hong-Kong already cited—that the indispensable preliminary of beneficial change is the institution of suitable remuneration for official services. ‘No reform,’ we learn from Kang Yu-wei himself, ‘could be hoped for until the Mandarins were paid proper salaries. They must “squeeze” at present to live.’

This could be effected, probably without serious difficulty, if the revenue system were altered for the better. The Hong-Kong Chinese affirm that ‘the revenue system of China is notoriously bad. The total revenue received into the Imperial Treasury scarcely represents three-tenths of what is levied by officials throughout the country.’ Lord Charles Beresford (p. 356) reports that ‘China is not so much overtaxed as badly taxed, and all that she requires is advice and assistance in reorganising her finances.’ The great success of the system administered by the Imperial Maritime Customs, and the fact that this is being extended to the *li-kin* collection, point out the direction in which improvement is to be looked for. It is Chinese who say that if she could be persuaded to place the collection of her inland revenue, crown rents, and taxes in the hands of a competent establishment, somewhat after the fashion of the Imperial Maritime Customs, ‘it would prove the salvation of China as a nation.’ This we believe, and we also have some ground for believing that Sir Robert Hart considers such an arrangement feasible.*

We live in an age in which perfection in administration

* In his most valuable book—‘The Far Eastern Question’ (London, 1896)—Mr. Valentine Chirol, speaking of the Maritime Customs, says: ‘Other branches of the financial administration will have to be dealt with in the same way if the Chinese Empire is to be preserved, not for its own sake, but for the sake of European peace’ (p. 106).

will not save a country from spoliation if its neighbours be inclined to rapacity. So that, no matter how thoroughly China may reform its government, there is little hope of its independence being preserved if it has not the means of defending it. Lord Charles Beresford gave sound advice to the officials who consulted him when he urged them to reform their military system, and most wisely endeavoured to dissuade them from wasting money on a navy, which cannot be of much use to them, and on heavy and costly armaments for coast fortifications, which would not save the country any more than they did in 1894 from the assaults of a formidable enemy. We hold that the success of our countryman, Admiral Lang, in training the Chinese navy—hampered as he was by innumerable difficulties not likely to be encountered now, and got rid of before his mission was complete—shows that the reform of the military establishment is quite possible. We do not advocate the execution of this by Englishmen alone, or even by Englishmen at all if acceptable advisers and instructors can be found elsewhere; but we do insist upon its feasibility.

Now, in the contention that the financial and military reformation, admitted on all sides to be urgently required, can be effected, there is no suggestion of the desirability or necessity of a *condominium*. Even if we were arguing in favour of that arrangement we should not be scared into silence by references to the totally different case of Crete. There the 'Concert of Europe' proved to be a prolonged exhibition of national jealousies, because interests were so different and so conflicting. In China the interests of the maritime commercial powers are, and must be for a long time, really identical, the identity becoming better and better understood as time goes on. For us to attempt to do in China what we have done in Egypt would, in our opinion, be madness. To extend to the whole financial and fiscal system of China the methods of the Imperial Maritime Customs would be merely a change in degree and detail, not in kind or in policy. No special responsibility would be assumed by any one nation any more than it has been assumed by countenancing the Customs administration, whilst all—foreign nations as well as the Chinese—would be benefited. The methods which proved in some ways so unexpectedly successful in the navy could be even more easily adopted for the Chinese land forces.

How is China to get sufficient time to carry out the

reforms in question? It is our opinion that there is a way of doing this, and only one way. The capital must be moved, and preferably to Nan-King. Lest anyone be startled by this suggestion, we may say that a transfer to Si-ngan is said to be in contemplation,* it being believed that the Empress-Dowager longs to escape from the external pressure to which the Imperial Government is exposed at Peking. In the opinion of the reformer Kang Yu-wei, 'If the move to a place so far inland be accomplished, it must subject the Court to the influence of Russia,' but that is the very influence from which the Court wishes to escape. We doubt the Si-ngan story. What is probable is that the abandonment of Peking has come to be thought of, even talked of, in the Palace. Nan-King, once the capital, is far more favourably situated, and is a more suitable position for the administrative centre of a commercial nation. 'This city,' says Wells Williams,† 'is the natural location of an imperial court, accessible by land and water from all quarters, and susceptible of sure defence.'

The unsuitability of Peking has been accentuated by recent events. If the Court remains there there will be little hope of the escape of China from eventual reduction to the status of a Russian proconsulate, a prospect which cannot leave the maritime powers of the West unmoved. We have stated that there are limits beyond which sea power fails to operate. Nevertheless it is a mighty force. Russian absorption of Northern China, if opposed—as their interests demand—by the maritime nations, will remain 'political' in a sense narrower than that which Count Mouravieff himself would attach to the word. Prosperity in the absorbed territory—Siberian railways notwithstanding—will be possible only if there be freedom of ocean communications, without which, for a long time to come, there can be but little commerce. Whether the ocean communications remain free or not will depend upon the attitude assumed by, or forced upon, the maritime powers. Not to mention the United Kingdom, Germany, the United States, and Japan, will have good reasons for showing that they have not incurred for nothing the heavy burdens due to forming and keeping up a strong navy.

* Times, June 8, 1899.

† Middle Kingdom, vol. i. p. 101.

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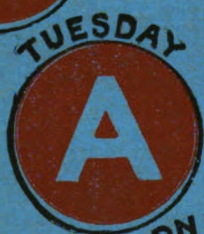
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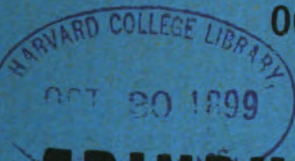
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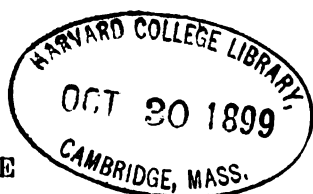
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- ART. I.—1. *Foreign Office Blue-book.* Egypt, No. 2 (1883).
By Lieutenant-Colonel STEWART.
2. *Au Cœur de l'Afrique.* By Professor G. SCHWEINFURTH.
Paris: 1875.
3. *Voyage à Meroë, au Fleuve Blanc.* By F. CAILLAUD.
Paris: 1826, 1827.
4. *Ten Years in Equatoria.* By Major CASATI. London:
1898.
5. *Foreign Office Blue-book.* Egypt, No. 5 (1899). Report
by Sir WILLIAM GARSTIN, K.C.M.G.

COULD the shades of Nero's two centurions be permitted to revisit the scenes of their earthly wanderings, they would find that, although some eighteen and a half centuries have elapsed since they explored the White Nile and its swamps, their description of this area is as true at the present moment as it was at the time of their adventurous journey. 'Immense marshes, the exit from which was unknown to the inhabitants, nor could any one hope to discover it, so entangled were the waters by the reeds, and the waters themselves so full of slime, and so barred by plants, that it was impossible to struggle through them either on foot or in a boat, unless it were a very small one, containing only one person.* This account is still so

* The passage is worth quoting *in extenso*: 'Ego quidem centuriones duos, quos Nero Cæsar ut aliarum virtutum, ita veritatis in primis amantissimus, ad investigandum caput Nili miserat, audiivi narrantes, longum illos iter peregissee, quum a rege Æthiopiæ instructi auxilio, commendatique proximis regibus, penetrassent ad ulteriora.

entirely appropriate to these regions that it might well have been written to-day by anyone wishing to picture its hopeless desolation in a few vivid words. Since Roman times the White Nile has been explored by many travellers, most of whom have exhausted their vocabulary in the endeavour to find language sufficiently strong to depict the dreary melancholy of these lonely marshes.

Notwithstanding its pestilential swamps, this much-abused stream exercises an important influence upon the prosperity of the Nile Valley. Throughout the early summer months, when the sun's rays are nearly vertical, when the intense heat shrivels up and burns every green thing, when the land is parched and dry, when the Blue Nile and the Atbara have both shrunk to insignificant limits, the White Nile steadily continues to deliver its precious waters through many hundred miles of rock, marsh, and sand, enabling Egypt to accumulate wealth by converting provinces, which would otherwise be desert, into the richest agricultural areas in the world.

While it is admitted that the rich muddy floods which annually pour down from the Abyssinian highlands contain in their waters the organic matters which render the land productive, it must be remembered that the rivers which convey these floods run dry periodically, and precisely at the season when the most valuable crops, such as sugar-cane and cotton, require irrigation: further, that without the steady added volume of the White Nile, the floods of the Blue Nile and the Atbara could not attain to the height required for the annual inundation, and could not spread their waters over Southern Egypt. If, then, it is to the Abyssinian torrents that the Nile owes its fertilising properties, it is to the Equatorial tributaries that it owes its regularity of rise and fall and its constancy of supply. The waters of these two systems unite to form the most wonderful river in existence*—one which, passing through nearly

Equidem, aiebant, pervenimus ad immensas paludes, quarum exitum nec incolae noverant, nec sperare quisquam potest, ita implicite aquis herbae sunt, et aquae nec pedite eluctabiles, nec navigio, quod nisi parvum et unius capax, limosa et obsita palus non ferat. Ibi, inquit, vidimus duas petras, ex quibus ingens vis fluminis excidebat.—Seneca, *‘Questiones Naturales,’* lib. vi. 8.

* Abu-Salik, the Armenian, thus describes it: ‘In the land of the Soudan there is a river called the White River, which, when it overflows for a certain length of time, runs into a river called the Black River, which flows into the Nile from the east; and when the White

seventeen hundred miles of desert without a single affluent, yet never fails in its discharge, even at the hottest period of the year—one which causes the land watered by it to be proverbial for its prosperity, and one whose valley has been the cradle of the civilisation of the world.

The reconquest of the provinces bordering the Blue and White Niles being an event of very recent date, some account of their early history and of their present state may prove of interest.

Many centuries prior to the Christian era the kingdom of Ethiopia had attained to very considerable importance; so much so, that its sovereigns, on several occasions, tried conclusions, not unsuccessfully, with the rulers of Egypt. From whence the race originally sprang is unknown. It is supposed by some to have been allied to the Caucasian stock. Ethiopia must undoubtedly have been a stable Power for some considerable time before she attempted to invade the territory of her powerful neighbour. This she did under Pianchi (B.C. 775), who conquered and held the Thebaid.* Sabacon, his successor, reduced the whole country to subjection during the reign of the blind king Anysis, and founded the Twenty-fifth, or Ethiopian Dynasty, lasting for some forty-four years (B.C. 707 to 663). After the expulsion of the Ethiopians, Sethon, a priest of Hephæstus, made himself sole master of Egypt, and was succeeded by the Dodecarchia, or Government of twelve chiefs. To these again succeeded Psammeticus (B.C. 671), who conquered Egypt by the aid of Ionian and Carian pirates. The employment of foreign mercenaries gave great offence to the military caste in Egypt, and some 240,000 of her soldiers revolted and emigrated in a body to Ethiopia, where the king assigned to them settlements of land.† It is possible that

River, which runs into the Nile, rises, then the health of the people of Egypt improves; but when it falls, and the Black River flows (into the Nile), then the people of Egypt fall sick.—‘The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt,’ p. 276, by T. A. Evetts, M.A., and A. J. Butler, M.A., F.S.A. Oxford: 1895.

* Egypt was at this time broken up into a number of small principalities, of which Sais held the overlordship. The Ethiopians under Pianchi made an expedition against Tefnekht, the ruler of Sais, and defeated him.

† Herodotus calls these mutineers the ‘Automoli,’ and states that they were disgusted at having to maintain guards at Daphnæ, Elephantine, and Marea, for three years without being relieved. He says: ‘By the settlement of these men the Ethiopians became civilised and learned, after the manner of the Egyptians.’

these men may have assisted in spreading the civilisation of Egypt in the land of their adoption, but a gang of mutinous soldiers could hardly have succeeded in originating it; further, all records go to show that a high state of civilisation had existed in Ethiopia long prior to the reign of Psammetichus. Undoubtedly her priesthood was closely connected in origin and custom with that of Egypt, and it is probable that when Northern Nubia was conquered by the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty the influence of the Egyptians spread and took root in the countries to the south. There is no evidence that Meroe, the later capital of Ethiopia, was ever subject to Egypt, but the older capital, Napata,* was apparently subdued, in the Eighteenth Dynasty, by Amenhotep II.,† son of Thotmes III. During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties much of Northern Ethiopia was subject to Egypt, but it is very doubtful if the latter country ever extended her sway far south of the Fourth Cataract. The Ethiopian kings, in later periods, boasted of their descent from the Ramassids (Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties), and attached great importance to the worship of Ammon of Thebes. The northern country recovered its independence at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty (about 950 B.C.). It has been suggested that the Ethiopian kingdom may have been founded by the family of Heri Hor, high priest of Thebes, who seized on the sovereignty of Egypt at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, at the time of the break-up of the empire.‡ However this may be, there is no doubt that Ethiopia was a civilised State, with a powerful monarchy, before the advent of the mutinous Automoli.§

As has been already mentioned, the later capital of the Ethiopian kingdom was Meroe, which city was situated in

* Opposite Merawi, in the Dongola Province. Napata is on the east bank of the river.

† On a stela, in the Temple of Amadah, he states that he took a captive chief up to Napata and hung him on the walls of the town. The Eighteenth Dynasty was about 1430 B.C.

‡ The name 'Pianchi' appears among those of the family of Heri Hor.

§ It has been supposed that these soldiers, passing through Meroe, went on to Sennar and settled there. This supposition is probably based upon Herodotus's assertion that the country of the Automoli lay as many days south of Meroe as the latter city did of Elephantine. Herodotus's description of these countries is, however, founded solely upon hearsay.

the far-famed island * of that name. The position of this city and the limits of the district in question have been much discussed, but, thanks to the early historians, it is possible to define both with fair accuracy.

Strabo relates that near Meroe the Astapus † and the Astaboras ‡ meet. § According to Pliny, the Roman envoys despatched by Nero to the Court of Ethiopia found the distance between Syene (Assuan) and the northern end of the island of Meroe to be 873 miles. || This figure agrees very closely with the actual distance by river between Assuan and the Atbara. The same envoys gave the distance between the cities of Napata and Meroe as 360 miles. ¶ This corresponds very exactly to the position of the ruins of Assur, which are now generally acknowledged to be those of Meroe itself. Diodorus Siculus states that the length of the island of Meroe was 3,000 stadia. ** Taking a stadium at 607 English feet, this would give the length of the so-called island, from its northern point at the Atbara junction with the Nile, as 341 miles. We know that the Rahad River formed the southern boundary of the island, and the distance between these two rivers, according to the latest figures of the Egyptian Intelligence Department, is 351 miles. The error is, then, only one of ten miles, and its insignificance shows how thoroughly the Romans carried out their work.

The island of Meroe was a triangular area, bounded on the north and east by the Atbara, on the west and south-west by the Nile and Blue Nile, and on the south by the Rahad River. This last approaches the Atbara very closely at its point of issue from the Abyssinian mountains, and thus forms the apex of a triangle, of which the Nile is the base. The area of this tract is some 22,000 square miles. The district, in addition to its capital, Meroe, †† must have

* The ancients called every tract of land an island, or 'ghezireh,' which was surrounded by rivers.

† The Nile, i.e. the Blue Nile and its continuation as the main Nile, north of Khartoum.

‡ The Atbara River.

§ Lib. xvi.

|| *Historia Naturalis*, lib. v. 9, and lib. vi. 29.

¶ Ibid.

** *Bibliotheca Historica*, lib. xvii.

†† Pliny, lib. vi. 29, states that there were 250,000 soldiers and 400,000 artisans at Meroe, and that forty-five kings reigned there. Herodotus, lib. ii., says that the inhabitants worshipped no other gods but Jupiter and Bacchus, and that they honoured these with great

formerly contained many important cities. The ruins of Soba, Messaurat, Naga, and others, are all of considerable size, and the remains of their temples, pyramids, &c., would point to a state of prosperity and civilisation almost rivalling that of Egypt itself. Nero's envoys, visiting this country in the first century after Christ, have testified to its fertility and verdure, its park-like appearance, and its abundance of game. Even in the present century portions of this region have maintained their ancient reputation, the districts of Gedaref and Gallabat being renowned, previous to the Mahdist rebellion, for their rich soil and for the magnificent crops which they produced.

According to Josephus, the ancient name of Meroe was Saba, Cambyses having changed it to perpetuate the memory of his queen.* The same authority states that the Queen of Sheba reigned at this place.†

Throughout Egyptian history the whole Nile Valley south of Assuan was known as the Land of Cush, the title being derived from the son of Ham, who first colonised this region. It is probable that the name of Saba is a corruption of Seba, who, again, was the son of Cush himself.‡

Two capitals of Ethiopia, Napata and Meroe, have been mentioned in this article. Very little is known as to the relations existing between these two cities. The former must have possessed some importance as early as the fifteenth century B.C., having been conquered by the Egyptians at that period. The two names occur in the inscriptions as if they had almost the same meaning. Thus, 'Lord of Napata, beloved of Meroe,' are the titles of a god. The name of Napata is met with in the older inscriptions, and the monuments found there are of a period anterior to any yet discovered at Meroe. From this it is fair to assume that Meroe was the later capital; but it would seem that during the last century before, and the first century after, Christ, both capitals were existing. It is further known that, at times,

magnificence. There was also an oracle of Jupiter (or Ammon) at this place.

* 'Nam Saba urbs eadem fuisse perhibetur quæ a Cambyse "Meroe" in uxoris honorem dicta est.'—Antiq. Jud. lib. ii. 5.

† He calls her Queen of Egypt and Ethiopia.—Antiq. Jud. lib. viii. 6. Abu-Salih, the Armenian, mentions the legend that after leaving King Solomon's Court this queen gave birth to a son, who was named Menelek, and eventually became King of Ethiopia and Abyssinia.

‡ Genesis x. 6 and 7.

queens reigned at Napata, and it is supposed that the government of that city was, for a certain period, vested in the female line.*

The Roman emperors would never seem to have attempted to extend their conquests south of Napata, contenting themselves with despatching envoys to the Court of Ethiopia; † in this following the example of Cambyses, some six centuries earlier. In the third century after Christ, the Romans withdrew their legions altogether, and about a century and a half later the Christian religion became prevalent in Ethiopia. How, or by whom, it was introduced there is no direct evidence to show. It is most probable that it was by the means of missions from Egypt, small at first, but growing larger as the years went by. ‡ The persecutions of Diocletian may have driven many Christians to seek refuge in the south, but it appears to be certain that Christianity was not generally introduced among the Ethiopians before the reign of Justinian I., A.D. 527–565. § From this period to the fourteenth century the Christian faith was accepted throughout Ethiopia, and also in Abyssinia. There would appear to have been three distinct Christian kingdoms existing at this period—Nubia, with a king whose capital was at Old Dongola; Alwah, with its capital at Soba on the Blue Nile, or at Sonieh (the present Khartoum); and Abyssinia. || Of the last kingdom not much is known, but the two former must have attained to a high state of prosperity and power during the

* We know that Queen Candace was defeated at Napata by Petronius, B.C. 22. Again, we have Biblical authority to prove that there was a Queen Candace ruling in Ethiopia A.D. 34. *Vide* Acts viii. 27–38. From this it has been imagined that the name of Candace was common to all the Ethiopian queens. As regards Merce, when Nero sent his envoys there in the latter half of the first century after Christ it was a king, and not a queen, who ruled at that place. This gives colour to the supposition that the two capitals were separate and independent.

† Most probably the two centurions mentioned by Seneca as having visited the White Nile formed part of Nero's mission to Meroe.

‡ It is just possible that the treasurer of Queen Candace, to whom Philip explained the Gospel, may have been the first to introduce the new faith into his country.—Acts viii. 27–38.

§ The Empress Theodora sent missions both to Ethiopia and Abyssinia to spread the Monophysite faith there.—Gibbon, *'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,'* chap. xlvii.

|| They all owed allegiance to the Patriarch of Egypt as their religious head. He consecrated all their bishops.

Christian period. Abdallah Ahmad, a merchant of Assuan, who visited Ethiopia A.D. 970, and who wrote a history of the country,* gives a vivid account of its prosperity and wealth. He describes the churches, monasteries, palm-groves, vineyards, gardens, and fields, also the immense herds of cattle and camels. He compares its state of peace most favourably with that of Egypt, and waxes eloquent over the splendour of Sonieh (Khartoum), which he describes as 'a town adorned with magnificent buildings, 'great houses, churches enriched with gold, and gardens.'

Abu-Salih the Armenian, before quoted, writing in the beginning of the thirteenth century, gives an account of the prosperity of Alwah.† He talks of the troops and of the four hundred churches, more particularly that of Manbali. The patron saint was Saint Mark the Evangelist, and the inhabitants were all Jacobite Christians.‡

For many centuries the kingdom of Nubia was the scene of ceaseless warfare with the Moslem rulers of Egypt. Invasions and counter-invasions occurred at frequent intervals, until in the beginning of the fifteenth century all Nubia fell under the dominion of Islam. The kingdom of Alwah, owing to its remote situation, was fortunate enough for a time to escape the troubles to which its sister monarchy was subjected. For it also, however, the end was at hand, for a force had been slowly maturing, destined eventually to sweep away the dynasty, and to replace it by one entirely different.

About the seventh or eighth century after Christ, an Arab tribe calling itself the 'Beni Umaiya' emigrated from Arabia, crossed the intervening deserts, and eventually settled itself upon the Blue Nile. For many centuries these invaders occupied themselves with the subjection of the Negro possessors of the soil and in consolidating their power. They gradually spread over the country lying round about Sennar and south of the Dinder River, intermarrying with the Negroid tribes, and converting them to Mohammedanism. The mixture of the two races continued, with the result that in course of time the name of Beni Umaiya disappeared and the old tribal names of Fung and Hamegh alone remained.§ The fusion of blood produced a fierce

* 'History of Nubia,' by Abdallah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Solaim.

† 'Churches and Monasteries of Egypt,' p. 263, by T. A. Evetts, M.A., and A. J. Butler, M.A., F.S.A. Oxford: 1895.

‡ *I.e.* Monophysites.

§ Egypt, No. 2, 1883.

race, possessing the energy and restless vigour of the Arab with the physique of the Negro. In the year 890 of the Hegira, or 1484 A.D.,* one Amara Dunkas, a sheikh of the Fung, overcame all rivals, and proclaimed himself king of the Fung tribes. From this beginning sprang the renowned sultanate of Sennar, which lasted for 336 years, and numbered among its rulers twenty-nine princes of Fung or Hamegh blood. With the advent of this dynasty Christianity disappeared in Alwah, and the whole of Ethiopia became subject to Mohammedan rule. It is probable that many of the Ethiopian Christians emigrated to Abyssinia, and that their influence consolidated the faith which to this day remains the religion of that country.

The empire of Sennar gradually expanded its limits, until it embraced the whole area between the mountains of Fazokl and Khartoum. The districts lying to the north, although nominally under independent sovereigns, paid tribute to the Sultan of Sennar, who extended his power even over the wild Shilluk and Dinka of the White Nile. His capital was at Sennar itself, and as early as the sixteenth century this city had attained renown as a seat of wealth and learning. In the eighteenth century it reached its zenith, the Fung repelling an invasion of the Abyssinians and defeating all rivals. Sennar then became the resort of learned and celebrated men from all parts of the Moslem world, including Arabia, India, and Persia. Very shortly afterwards, owing to a succession of weak and dissolute rulers, the Fung power declined, and that of the rival race of Hamegh simultaneously increased. These last eventually wrested the sovereignty from the Fung, and seated a ruler of their own blood on the throne of Sennar. Internecine wars ensued, and the limits of the empire speedily shrank. Provinces formerly subject, declared their independence, and by the end of the eighteenth century but little remained under the sway of this once powerful monarchy. The entire region was the scene of endless warfare, which the Sennar ruler was powerless to subdue. The advent of the Mameluke fugitives in 1812 did not tend to render the state of the country more pacific, and in 1819 the entire Nile Valley was in a state of such anarchy that Mehemet Ali, the then Viceroy of Egypt, despatched a force to restore order. The destruction of the power of the Shagiyeih Arabs, and the subjection of the kingdom of Sennar, were followed by the treacherous murder of

* Lieut.-Col. Stewart gives this date as 1493.

Mehemet Ali's son, Ismail Pasha, in 1821. With the retributive measures ordered by the Viceroy the ruin of the Soudan commenced.* The inhabitants were deported wholesale, and sold as slaves. Oppression and license ruled the land. Large areas were thrown out of cultivation for lack of cultivators, and each new governor vied with his predecessors in extorting exorbitant taxes from the miserable peasantry. In spite of the efforts of Baker, Gordon, and others, things went from bad to worse, until in 1883 and 1884 the people turned upon their oppressors, and the successful rebellion of the Mahdi swept away the last vestiges of Egyptian rule.

Much has been said and much has been written about the ruin caused by the Dervish rule. It must not be forgotten that when the Baggara succeeded to power the land was already devastated, and that whatever infamies they committed were only the culmination of the series of atrocities perpetrated for a space of sixty years by the Egyptian and the Turk. The Khalifa and his predecessor were savage despots, who, following the example of many Oriental rulers, called in Terror as their Minister, and removed wholesale, and without scruple, all whom they considered to be dangerous or who stood in their way. They plundered the unhappy villagers ruthlessly, seizing their cattle, women, and goods, either exterminating the men or employing them as slaves. Admitting this, it must be maintained that the total amount of ruin which they caused to the land was not one tithe of that occasioned by the officials of a nominally civilised Power, acting under the sanction of their Government. These men reduced a country which they found flourishing and prosperous to a state of desolation almost impossible to imagine. It is a significant fact that to-day, among the Negro tribes, the name of Turk is a byword of hatred and of fear, far more so than is that of either the Dervish or the Abyssinian.

The limits of an article such as the present preclude any but a brief description of the countries watered by the Blue and White Niles. The area comprised between the Atbara, the Nile, the White Nile, the Saubat, and the Abyssinian

* 'The reprisals made by the Dafterdar were horrible and the murders numberless. No mercy was shown; even pregnant women were barbarously disembowelled. Thus, by slaughter, the Egyptian boundaries were extended as far as Kordofan.'—From 'Ten Years in Equatoria,' by Major Casati. London: 1898.

frontier is a long, irregularly shaped figure, comprising some nine degrees of latitude and three of longitude, and containing over 100,000 square miles of country. The regions bounded by these several rivers differ to a certain degree, but their general characteristics are immense expanses of flat plain, covered more or less thickly by bush and forest, and occasionally dotted by isolated granite hills. The island of Meroe has already been described. The soil of this tract is upon the whole good, and, were water available, capable of raising good crops. The country between the Dinder and Rahad Rivers, and south of the former as far as Fazokl, is a rich alluvial plain, covered for the most part with dense forests. In the east, towards Gallabat, it is open, and used to be one of the richest areas in the Soudan. The whole eastern bank of the Blue Nile is extremely flat. Between the Blue and the White Rivers lies what is known as the Ghezireh.* This extends from the junction of the two Niles at Khartoum as far south as the 12th parallel of latitude. A line drawn from Rosaies, on the Blue, to Reng, on the White Nile, would fairly accurately mark its southern limits. The width of the Ghezireh varies from 70 to 120 miles, and its length is about 270 miles. Its area is approximately 25,000 square miles, and the greater portion of it is a flat plain, although south of Sennar masses of rock crop up at intervals. The soil throughout is a rich alluvial deposit, except on the western boundary and in the extreme north. In these last it is light and sandy. With the exception of a belt of forest, which borders both rivers, the country is open and devoid of bush. To the south of the Ghezireh lies the region known as 'Dar Fungi,' or Kingdom of the Fung. This extends as far south as Famaka, but is bounded on the west by the large area once occupied by the Dinka. Dar Fungi is very similar in character to the Ghezireh; but the rocky hills are more numerous and higher, and the bush is more general and denser. South of Dar Fungi lie the old provinces of Dar Bertat, or Fazokl, and the Beni Shangul.† The former is a mountainous tract, of which little is known, and the latter is a range of hills, some 150 miles in length, reputed to be rich in gold. Both these districts are claimed by the Abyssinians as coming within their territory, as does the

* It used to be known as the 'Gheziret el-Sennar.'

† Beni Shangul is an Arab corruption of Beni-Shankulla. 'Shankalla' is the Abyssinian for a Negro.

country of the Gallas, which, again, lies further south. On the west, south of Dar Fungi, the vast area once peopled by the Dinka extends along the White Nile as far as the Saubat River. It is now practically uninhabited. It consists of immense grass plains, among which patches of forest are interspersed. Along the Saubat itself the country is rich and alluvial. South of this river the plains and marshes extend for an unknown distance.

In order to understand this country it must be remembered that the rivers which traverse it are its chief features, and that all existing life and industry cluster along their banks. As they differ greatly in their characteristics, a brief account of each will perhaps give a better idea of the Soudan than anything else, and to do this it will be necessary to commence at the junction of the Atbara with the Nile, and work southwards.

The Atbara joins the Nile on its eastern bank, at a point 385 miles (by rail) from Wadi-Halfa. This river drains the western slopes of the Abyssinian ranges, and is joined by several important tributaries, of which the most important is the Settit. It is dry in summer, but in the month of August it brings down an immense volume of water, and is one of the most important factors in the production of the annual Nile floods. Its torrents come down in a series of rushes, and the wave of water is said to be occasionally as much as six feet in height. Its waters are at this time heavily charged with detritus, and it well merits its name of the 'Bahr-el-Iswid,' or Black River. Between the Atbara and Omdurman, a distance of 210 miles, the river scenery, with the exception of the Shabluka rapids, is flat and tame. On the eastern bank the entire area is covered with a thick growth of low thorn jungle and the coarse grass known by the name of 'halfa.' Groups of palms mark the sites of what must once have been prosperous villages, and traces of old irrigation channels are still visible in the bush. On the western bank the desert, as a rule, approaches the river pretty closely. Here and there there is a strip of good land, but in every case the jungle has encroached and covered it. Occasional isolated granite hills stand out as landmarks, which break the monotony, and now and again the desert ranges border the river channel for some miles. The whole area, including both sides of the river, has an indescribably deserted appearance, and, with the exception of a few small villages, signs of life are entirely wanting. Even at Shendy and Metemmeh,

both of which were once important trade centres,* desolation reigns supreme. Shendy consists of a few ruins, while Metemmeh, which a few years ago was the capital of the Jaalin Arabs, is now inhabited chiefly by women and children.

One hundred and twelve miles upstream from the Atbara the reefs of the Sixth, or Shabluka, Cataract commence. The place is called Wad-Habeshi,† and is easily recognisable from the peculiarly shaped rocks which stand out at a short distance from the eastern bank. These rocks are known by the name of Hagar-el-Assal,‡ and mark the boundary between the provinces of Berber and Khartoum. From this point the character of the river entirely changes, and from dreary sameness develops a remarkable beauty. The channel is broken up by numerous thickly wooded islands, the trees of which are covered with a luxuriant growth of creepers, resembling nothing so much as a carpet of brilliant green velvet. The branches thus shrouded assume the most fantastic shapes, recalling the ruins of ivy-covered towers and battlements. The shores of these islands are fringed with grass and willows, the greens of which contrast sharply with the sombre colours of the tamarisks and acacias. Masses of purple convolvuli make an agreeable change to the prevailing greens and browns; the ever-changing lights and the iridescent tints of the water combine to form an effect of colour which must be seen to be appreciated. The channel is split up by granite reefs in every direction. Many of these appear above the surface, but the presence of those most to be dreaded by navigators is only indicated by a series of boiling eddies. Ascending the rapid the wildness of the scene increases. On either shore stretch serrated granite ridges, piled up in wild confusion. Those in the background assume a purple tinge, due to the distance, while those in the foreground have a deep ruddy hue, which contrasts forcibly with the shiny black colour of those rocks which have been subjected to the action of the water. In the distance the line of the Shabluka hills forms a violet

* Shendy, at the beginning of the present century, was an independent State. It was governed by a line of princes, of whom there were sixteen in all, and whose united reigns lasted 235 years. In later times it lost much of its importance owing to the ravages of the Shagiyeh Arabs.

† Perhaps originally an Abyssinian colony.

‡ Caillaud calls these rocks 'Hagar-el-Assad,' or the 'rocks of the lion,' from their supposed resemblance to that animal.

and grey background, while overhead is a cloudless sky, pale blue at the horizon, and deepening into sapphire at the zenith. As the Shabluka Pass is reached the river takes a sharp bend to the east, and runs for some four miles through a narrow gorge, formed by high granite cliffs on either side. The river channel is deep, and not more than 200 or 300 yards in width. The current in this pass is extremely strong. The entrance is guarded by five Dervish forts, four on the west and one on the east bank. On issuing from this gorge similar difficulties to those described for the lower rapid recommence. Once clear of these, however, navigation to Omdurman is easy, and is practicable throughout the year. The country on either side is flat and open—on the west desert, and on the east good land covered with scrub. Some of the larger islands produce fine crops of dhurra, and a good hay crop is gathered. The approach to Omdurman is marked by the line of the Kerreri hills, which indicate the scene of last year's battle. The town itself is difficult to distinguish at a short distance, so flat and low are its houses and so closely do they resemble the desert in colour. The general impression is one of horizontal lines, only broken by the Khalifa's house and the ruins of the Mahdi's tomb.

The town of Omdurman follows the river bank for nearly six miles, and has a breadth averaging a mile and a half. As the ground rises sharply away from the Nile, a great portion of the area covered is on high land. The houses are, with few exceptions, built of mud bricks with flat roofs. The Khalifa's house, and that of his brother Yakub, are constructed of burnt bricks, and are spacious and roomy buildings, with a curious maze of rooms and passages. Neither of them has any pretensions to architecture. Slatin's house is now the post and telegraph office, while the irony of history is displayed in the conversion of the Mahdi's house into the English club. It is with strange feelings that the visitor sees the walls of this building, once occupied by a self-styled saint, now decorated with prints from the illustrated papers, and hears English voices and laughter resound in the passages once thronged by savage fanatics. The remains of the Mahdi's tomb prove what the solidity of this structure must have been. Regarding the town from the river, the principal feature is the line of the 'sur,' or high masonry wall, which surrounds the immense enclosure, within which the Jehadia, or black bodyguard, was located. The Beit-el-Amana, or store-

house, covers a considerable area of ground. The inner and older wall is constructed of mud bricks, but a second, of burnt bricks set in mortar, was added on receipt of the news that Dongola had fallen. In the space between the two walls is a round brick tower. From the top of this the Khalifa used to issue his proclamations, and from here his war drums (nogara) were beaten. In addition to the powder magazines, the store-rooms and yards contain the most miscellaneous collection of articles possible to conceive. Arms of all kinds, from steel Krupp breechloading guns and Nordenfelts to spears, swords, and axes, and even to poisoned arrows, stands of antiquated rifles, suits of chain mail, leather and wooden shields, slave whips and shackles, are lying about in profusion. Among the above an ancient piano, a lady's side-saddle, a European helmet and riding-boots, produce an incongruous effect. The Khalifa's state carriage, with its red wheels, yellow body, and blue hood and cushions, still stands in the outer courtyard. Altogether this store-house is well worth a visit.

The so-called 'open-air mosque' is merely a wall surrounding a large open space. At one time this used to contain a pulpit, from which the Khalifa was in the habit of addressing the multitude, but this has been removed. The Arsenal is now used as a workshop. It is situated close to the river. Unfortunately the health of Omdurman leaves much to be desired. Probably owing to the exhalations from the open cess-pits with which every dwelling is furnished, there has been an epidemic of the terrible malady known as cerebro-spinal meningitis. This disease, which is highly contagious, has carried off a considerable number of victims.

The Blue and White Niles unite some five miles south of Omdurman, and the Dervish steamer 'Tahra,' captured at the engagement of Hafir, now plies as a ferry-boat between Omdurman and Khartoum. The latter town was formerly situated upon the tongue of land between the two rivers, the Blue Nile passing along its northern face and separating it from the large island known by the name of Tuti. The contrast between the waters of the two Niles is most remarkable. The Blue Nile brings down a volume of clear blue water, and its velocity is so much greater than that of its sister river that it pushes the waters of the latter on to the further shore. The White Nile water, on the contrary, is turbid and sluggish, and of a dirty yellow or greenish colour. The line between the two currents can be traced

for a long way downstream. In flood the effect must be still more marked, as, although there is little change in the White Nile water, the Blue Nile brings down a coffee-coloured flood, with a velocity sufficient to bank up the waters of the other river. Of the old town of Khartoum not a building now remains standing. The groves and gardens have fortunately been spared, and the limes, pomegranates, oranges, and palms lend an agreeable change to the surrounding landscape. The panorama from the river front, looking north, is very beautiful. The dark blue of the Blue Nile contrasts with the green of the eastern bank, the white shoals of Tuti Island, and the dun-coloured buildings of Omdurman. In the distance the violet-coloured hills of Kerreri break, with their irregular outline, the dead level of the horizon. The process of rebuilding the town is being pushed on with great activity. Broad, well-laid-out streets have been cut and levelled, and trees have been planted on either side. The work on the public buildings is being rapidly carried out, and in a few years' time a new town will arise which will have few rivals in Central Africa.

For some 140 miles south of Khartoum the country on either side of the Blue Nile is flat and monotonous. The eastern bank is clothed with a belt of thick bush, while the western is more open. Villages are few in number, and, except at a few centres, the inhabitants are scanty. A fair strip of cultivation is met with on both foreshores, and occasionally waterwheels, or 'sakihs,' are seen at work. The country is high and the banks are, as a rule, steep. The action of the current throughout is upon the eastern shore. The crops raised are of two kinds: those artificially irrigated during the winter and early summer, and those produced during the rainy season. The former comprise wheat, barley, sesame, lentils, vegetables, and a kind of haricot bean known as 'lubia atzi;' melons also are largely cultivated on the flats as the water falls. The chief rain crops are dhurra (maize) and cotton, but the latter is not cultivated as extensively as it used to be. Dhurra forms the staple food of the people, and an immense area is annually planted with it. As soon as the ground is sufficiently soft to permit of the operation holes are drilled in the soil about a yard apart, and the seed is inserted. No other preparation of the land is attempted. This crop is planted about the end of July, and harvested by the beginning of November.

At 142 miles from Khartoum the river Rahad enters the Blue Nile on its eastern bank. Forty-four miles further upstream the river Dinder joins the main stream. These two rivers have their origin in the western slopes of the Abyssinian mountains, in much the same region as that in which the Atbara and Settit Rivers take their rise. They run parallel throughout their course, at a distance averaging 60 or 70 miles. Their characteristics are very similar. Each has a deep and well-defined channel, with high and thickly wooded banks on either side. Each runs bank-full during the rainy season, shrinking for the rest of the year into a succession of pools. South of the junction with the Dinder River the scenery of the Blue Nile becomes wilder and more picturesque. The banks on either side are high, and except in the vicinity of Sennar, and round some of the principal villages, are covered with a thick growth of tropical vegetation. The cliffs average 40 feet above low water. The varied colours of the foliage, the many-hued flowers and creepers, the blueness of the sky and water—all these unite to form a panorama of striking beauty. Very few villages are to be seen, and the inhabitants have a poverty-stricken look. Of animal and bird life there is abundance. Troops of small monkeys spring from tree to tree, while large baboons stalk along in solemn single file. Beautiful and strange birds are to be seen in the forest, while on the river waterfowl are plentiful. Hippopotami make their appearance not unfrequently. At 426 miles from Khartoum the village of Rosaires* is situated on the eastern bank, and a few miles above this the last, or Seventh Cataract of the Nile commences. From this point navigation becomes impossible. The length of this rapid is some 30 miles. Masses of granite strew the river bed and the wildness of the scenery increases. The banks are high, and covered with dense forest, consisting of large trees and a tangled mass of undergrowth.†

Of all the towns or villages along the Blue Nile only two, Sennar and Wad Medani, merit special mention, the others consisting of straggling clusters of 'tukls,' or beehive shaped huts. Little but immense mounds of rubbish now remain to indicate the former glories of the once famous capital of the Fung. These are of great extent, and prove

* Rosaires is some 1,600 feet above mean sea-level.

† South of this point the Blue Nile is known by the name of the 'Abai.'

that the city must once have covered a large area of ground. Even in 1821, when visited by Caillaud, it was shorn of much of its ancient splendour, the only buildings of any importance being the king's palace (a four-storied brick building) and a large mosque. Sennar now consists of a collection of 'tukls' representing a very moderately sized village.

The town of Wad Medani is situated on the west bank of the Blue Nile, at 148 miles from Khartoum. It covers a large area of ground, and, owing probably to its being built upon a high ridge of gravel overlying a limestone foundation, it enjoys the reputation of being one of the healthiest spots in the Soudan. The population is variously estimated at from 15,000 to 25,000. A large market is held here every Monday and Thursday, and the scene on market days is a very busy one. The people come from long distances to attend it. Every type and colour is represented, from the blue-black Fung, with his woolly head and hairless face, to the copper-coloured Arab, with his harsh aquiline features, beard, and moustache. Even Egyptians are to be seen, but these are chiefly survivors of Hicks Pasha's army. Articles of divers kinds are exposed for sale. Excellent vegetables, such as tomatoes, onions, cucumbers, and radishes, grain of all kinds, and fresh limes, are to be obtained. Coloured cottons, beads, sugar, tobacco, gum, saddlery, and cheap European cutlery find a ready sale. The chief manufactures are sesame oil and soap. The inhabitants are skilled leather-workers, and tan skins excellently by means of the bark of the acacia tree. They are also expert in preparing ornamental polished leather. The town derives its name from the original Arab settlers belonging to the Medani tribe of Arabs. Their chief, Ahmed Sunni, who during the Khalifa's rule was Emir of the Ghezireh, is a tall, dark, intelligent-looking man, with fine features. According to him, the people are extremely well satisfied with the new rule, so much so that mothers frequently name their boys after the victorious English generals; thus, one is named 'Kitchener Mahommed,' another 'Hunter Hassan,' and so on. To the north of the town are the remains of an old brick mosque built by the founder of the Medani tribe more than two hundred years ago. His tomb is still standing, but the mosque was destroyed by the Mahdi. Here, as all over the Ghezireh, the people still possess the old 'hodgets' (title deeds) granted by the Fung rulers. Altogether, Wad Medani is the most prosperous-looking

town in the Soudan, not even excepting Omdurman. When the new Government offices, now under construction, are completed, and the broad streets contemplated have been cut, it will be still further improved.

In order to describe the White Nile it is necessary to return to Khartoum and commence afresh. Allusion has been already made to the contrast between the Blue and the White Niles. This contrast becomes more marked as the traveller ascends the latter. Instead of a clear, rapid stream, running between high banks, with a well-defined and comparatively narrow channel, he might imagine that he was on a lake rather than a river. The current is sluggish and the waters are turbid. The strong north wind lashes its surface into waves of respectable size. The country on either side is so flat and low that the banks are hardly discernible, a line of trees in the extreme distance marking the position of the dry land. In flood even this does not represent the limits of the river, as the water spreads for miles on either side over the low flat shores. The trees consequently stand in water for several months of each year. The scenery is monotonous to a degree. Mile after mile is passed with no change, except that the forest belt at times gets thicker. On the eastern bank low thorn jungle alternates with stretches of low sandhills. On the west an expanse of broken ground extends to the horizon behind the line of mimosas and acacias which fringes the shore. A few villages are to be seen, and these of the poorest description. The chief cultivation is carried out upon the mud-flats which appear as the water recedes. Upon these, as they become uncovered, the inhabitants settle, and sow their summer crops, irrigating them by means of 'shadoofs.*' These flats, at first islands, eventually join on to the mainland. The principal crops raised upon them are lubia, onions, bahmia, dukhn, with a little wheat and barley. The above are planted in February, and harvested in May and June. When the rain falls dhurra is planted on the mainland on either side, as on the Blue Nile. Waterfowl of every variety cover the river surface in myriads. At 149 miles from Khartoum the island of Abba is passed. This island, which is some twenty-five miles in length, is thickly wooded, and is chiefly remarkable as having been the residence of the Mahdi for several years

* A 'shadoof' is a pole with a bucket suspended at one end and a counterpoise at the other.

prior to the rebellion. The remains of his house are still to be seen. At the south end of this island what is known as the 'sadd' vegetation commences. From this point a belt of floating herbage and reeds forms a never-ending accessory to the landscape. Between Abba Island and Fashoda a very few words will suffice to describe the river scenery. On either bank a line of forest, with dense undergrowth; behind this again a plain of high grass stretching as far as the eye can see. In front of the forest, utterly preventing any communication with the shore, an expanse of swamp, perhaps a few hundred yards in width, perhaps a mile. This swamp is marked by tall rushes, which form a band of brilliant green on either side of the water channel. Its surface is covered with a thick mass of floating vegetation, which further to the south blocks the channels, and causes the obstruction known by the name of the 'sadd.' In these lower reaches, the current being too strong to permit of this, the 'sadd' is confined to a wide strip upon either side of the river. Floating islands of grass form a continual series of obstructions to the stream, and through and among these the river winds in a tortuous course. Frequently there are as many as three or four different channels. Throughout this length of river only two points break the level uniformity of the never-ending plains. These are the hills of Gebelain and Ahmad Aga, which rise like rocky islands out of the limitless sea of grass and bush.

The first of these, Gebelain (the two hills), is distant 251 miles from Khartoum. It consists of a group of five fantastically shaped granite peaks, forming a kind of amphitheatre on the eastern bank of the river. The highest of these is perhaps 400 feet, and is quite impossible to ascend, its summit resembling nothing so much as a huge egg with a polished surface, upon which nothing could possibly find a foothold. The seroot fly makes his first and most unwelcome appearance here. This pest, which is about the size of a wasp, is black in colour, with a few bars of brown or dusky orange. Woe to the unwary individual who attempts to slumber when the seroot fly is in search of a subject. Very shortly after he has relaxed his vigilance the fly settles upon his person, and in an incredibly quick time the sleeper starts up, probably with an imprecation upon his lips. A tiny spot of blood marks the spot where the needle-like proboscis has entered the skin. Although annoying to an extreme degree, the sting of the seroot leaves no ill effect upon human beings. It is said to be dangerous to domestic

animals, particularly to camels, but this requires authentication. However this may be, the natives, at the season when this fly is prevalent, invariably drive their cattle and camels inland, in order to escape the maddening torment caused by its sting.* The seroot disappears with the darkness, but at sundown his place is taken by myriads of small plagues, in the shape of mosquitoes, sand-flies, and midges. Throughout the night their hum resounds, and very little sleep will visit the eyes of anyone unfurnished with a mosquito net. So bad are they that a towel tied round the neck, gloves on the hands, and breeches and gaiters on the nether limbs, are the only possible means of sitting out their ceaseless attacks.

At seventy-five miles north of Fashoda the Shilluk village of Kaka is passed on the western bank. From this point south there is an endless succession of these villages. They follow the ridge parallel to the river, at a distance of from one to two miles from the channel, and separated from the latter by an impassable swamp. These villages are in a continuous line, each being distant from the other a few hundred yards at most. The peculiar dome or mushroom-shaped roofs of the 'tukls' give them the appearance of a line of hayricks or gigantic beehives. Groves of 'deleb' palms† follow the lines of the villages; masses of ambatch‡ and papyrus§ appear in the swamps, the bright yellow flowers of the former contrasting agreeably with the sombre-coloured heads of the latter and with the eternal green of the reeds. Shortly before Fashoda is reached the islands increase in number and the channel gets more difficult to mark. The forest on either bank disappears, and the marsh scenery attains its fullest development.

Fashoda is situated on the west bank of the White Nile, at 470 miles from Khartoum. The fort and camp are situated upon a small promontory jutting out into the swamp, connected with the mainland by a narrow neck. During the rainy season even this peninsula becomes a morass. The description applied by a well-known writer to

* Although it is doubtful whether the sting of the seroot is fatal to animals, there is another fly on the Blue Nile, south of Karkauj, whose sting causes death, more particularly to horses and camels. The Arabs call it 'duban,' but this is merely the Arabic name for a fly. It is not the 'tsetse,' but of its existence there appears to be no doubt.

† *Borassus flabelliformis*.

‡ *Herminiera elaphoxylon*.

§ *Cyperus papyrus*.

the White Nile generally is specially applicable to Fashoda—‘a heaven for mosquitoes and a damp hell for men.’* The whole place has a fever-stricken air, and even during the healthiest months of the year some 90 per cent. of the garrison are *hors de combat* from the effects of malaria. The French fortifications are situated north of the military camp, and stand out as landmarks above the marsh. To the east and in front of the fort runs a sluggish stream, some sixty to seventy yards in width. Beyond this is a long, low grass island, and beyond this again the main stream of the river, perhaps 500 yards in breadth. East of this extends a dead-flat plain of marsh and grass, which looks as if the swamp extended to the world’s end. Not a tree or a bush breaks the horizon anywhere; nothing is visible but reeds and high grass. The climate is steamy and enervating, the shade temperature at midday, even in the winter, averaging 100° F.

The Saubat River joins the Nile on the eastern bank, sixty miles south of Fashoda. Its width at the junction is from eighty to ninety yards, and its depth is considerably over twenty feet. Its waters are tinged with a peculiarly creamy white colour,† and their junction with the clear greenish grey waters of the Nile is marked by a sharp line, which extends for some distance downstream. The Saubat is undoubtedly a stream having its origin in a mountain region, and although its sources have not yet been explored, it seems almost certain that its main volume is derived from the western slopes of the hills of the Beni Shangul country. At 290 miles from its junction with the Nile two tributaries unite to form the main stream. That to the south-west is called by the inhabitants the Pibor,‡ while the other, which comes from the east, is known as the Adura.§ This last, again, derives its water from at least two tributary streams, one being known by the name of the Kir, and the other as the Baro. The Saubat River runs bank-full during the months of August, September, and October. In November it begins to fall rapidly, and during the early summer months it is not navigable. The military post and fort of Nasser is on the left bank of the river, at

* Sir Samuel Baker.

† The Saubat is called by the Arabs the ‘Bahr El-Asfar,’ or ‘yellow river.’ It is probably from the tinge given by the Saubat waters that the White Nile has received its name.

‡ Called on the French maps the Juba.

§ Called on the French maps the Baro.

181 miles from its mouth, while another fort is situated on the same side at its junction with the Nile.

Upstream of the Saubat junction the Nile scenery becomes, if possible, more and more dreary. The swamp becomes wider, the reeds become higher, and the islands more numerous. One of these latter, known as Tonga Island, extends from the Saubat River to the junction with the Bahr El-Zaraf. At its northern end the supposed river Lollé enters the Nile on the western bank.* Opposite the southern end of the Tonga Island the last Shilluk village is met with, and from this point south no signs of human habitation are visible. It becomes impossible to tell where the swamp ends and the solid ground begins; the width of the former may be five, ten, or even as much as twenty miles. The ambatch and papyrus reeds grow in tall masses on all sides, and the rush known as the 'om-soof,' or 'mother of wool,' fills up the spaces left between the other two. The river surface is covered with a thick mass of floating weeds some four to five feet in thickness. This is composed partly of rotting vegetation and partly of a variety of swimming plants with feathery streamers. These last bind the whole in an impassable tangle, through which nothing can force its way. At 560 miles from Khartoum the Bahr El-Zaraf, or Giraffe River, enters the Nile on the right bank. Four isolated peaks lie to the east of the junction. This stream is an overflow from the main river, has a length of over 200 miles, and runs in a winding course through a succession of vast marshes and shallow lagoons. It is frequently blocked by the 'sadd' barrier, but when free it brings down a very considerable volume of clear amber-coloured water. Its current in places is very strong. That it has a connexion with the main Nile near Shambé is certain, but through navigation is at present impossible. At 610 miles from Khartoum Lake No is reached. This sheet of water, called by the Arabs 'Moghren El-Buhur,' or the 'meeting of the rivers,' is a wide shallow lake covered with reedy patches, whose extent is unknown.† It is full of rotting vegetation, and forms a large evaporating basin for

* An attempt was made last April to navigate the Lollé. At its mouth it is about 100 yards in width, with a depth at low water of five feet. Twenty-six miles upstream its width was forty yards, and from this point it was blocked by 'sadd.'

† Its area has been estimated as sixty square miles, but the swamp extends all round it to such a distance that any accurate estimate of its superficies is impossible.

the waters of the Nile. At its northern end the Bahr El-Jebel * enters it, having passed through some 200 miles of hopeless swamp since leaving its upper and more open reaches. The channel of this river is, at present, completely barred by the 'sadd,' and navigation is impossible. So thick is this barrier, that in places men can walk upon its surface without danger. Underneath it the river flows with a fair velocity. Its width at the mouth is about eighty yards, and its course can be traced through the swamp by the different colour of the vegetation which blocks its channel from that of the adjacent reeds. Some four miles south of the point where the Bahr El-Jebel enters Lake No, the Bahr El-Ghazal, or Gazelle River, discharges its waters into the same lake. This river, which has its source in the southern portion of the Darfur mountain chain, comes in from the westward. It is joined from the west by the Bahrs El-Arab and El-Homr, and south of Meshra El-Rek by an important tributary called the Sueh, whose sources are as yet undetermined. During the winter and summer months the Bahr El-Ghazal is practically stagnant. In flood it brings down a large quantity of water. It passes through a horrible treeless swamp, bounded by immense grass plains.

Monotonous and melancholy as is the White Nile scenery as a whole, under certain conditions of light and atmosphere even these lonely marshes attain a weird picturesqueness almost amounting to beauty. Moonrise in these swamps, at times, creates a succession of striking pictures. Until the moon has risen sufficiently high to clear the mists which brood over the water surface, her orb assumes a deep rosy red, and set in a smoke-coloured sky the effect is so remarkable as to appear unnatural. As she ascends, her colour changes to a golden orange, her path being reflected in the stream by a series of brilliant bars, and the increasing light bathes sky and water in one uniform violet hue. The feathery tops of the reeds and the funereal-looking heads of the papyrus stand out in black and ghostly-looking masses. Not a breath stirs the reeds or the water. The air is full of strange sounds; night birds croak, heavy fish splash, crickets sing in the grass, and the mosquito hums his eternal song. The hippopotamus, at intervals, utters hoarse bellows and grunts, as he forces his way through the

* South of Lake No the White Nile is called the 'Bahr El-Jebel,' or 'mountain river.'

rushes and occasionally reveals his huge proportions in the moonlight. Myriads of fireflies flit about, each switching on and off his tiny flame as though it were an electric lamp. Altogether, a night in these swamps produces an effect of unearthliness rarely to be experienced in other localities, and renders it possible, at the time, to believe almost any wild legend regarding their extent and origin, and the mysterious dangers which lurk within their lonely fastnesses.

At sunset, again, when the sad landscape is enveloped by the brilliant lustre which invariably accompanies the disappearance of the sun, the strange beauty of the colours casts a brief enchantment over the scene, and the dismal reality is for the moment forgotten.

A dead-level horizon unbroken by a single tree or bush extends upon every side. In the west, as the sun sinks, bars of pink, amber, salmon, cream, and gold slant across a pale green sky, the radiance extending vertically overhead. Outside the limits of the light, in all directions, stretches a veil of blue-grey mist of the most tender colour imaginable. In the north-west, on the extreme horizon, separated from the real sunset by an expanse of pearly sky, is a deep rose glare, which by degrees becomes a glowing crimson. This, again, is separated from the blue above by a violet and purple line of light clouds.

In the grass country during the early spring months the jungle fires present a most imposing sight, especially on a moonless night. An immense range of flame lights up the sky for miles, at times blazing fiercely, and at others dying away. The crimson tints of these fires are reflected in the water with startling clearness, and the outlines of the trees stand out in inky blackness. The brilliancy of the stars in these latitudes is remarkable, and the Southern Cross and the Great Bear may frequently be observed in the heavens at the same time.

One great and endless charm the White Nile possesses, in the varied animal and bird life which throngs its banks and its waters. On the river itself, the clumsy hippopotamus shares his domain with gigantic crocodiles of unparalleled length and hideousness. On the edge of the swamp, storks, cranes, divers, ibises, and endless varieties of ducks congregate in countless numbers. On the grassy plains and in the forest, antelopes of many species graze at will. Occasionally a troop of giraffes may be seen, their dappled hides catching the light from the sun, and their fore legs dangling

in a manner peculiar to themselves as they trot away. Now and again, if he be fortunate, the traveller may have the luck to watch a herd of wild elephants unconscious of observation. The bulk of these monsters, their gleaming ivories, their gigantic ears flapping grotesquely as they walk, all combine to form a picture which he will not easily forget. Upon one side, a group of patriarchs may be seen standing in line, apparently lost in meditation, a mighty bull, with long white tusks, towering above all his fellows. On the other side, the younger and more frivolous members of the herd are perhaps grazing, tearing down trees, or playing with one another in a series of clumsy gambols. On the back of each elephant are invariably seated one or more white birds.

Many more instances might be given, did space permit, of the charm which the Soudan possesses for the sportsman and the naturalist. Upon all, indeed, who have once visited it, this country appears to cast a spell which impels them to endeavour to return to it. The influence is inexplicable, but it is there. However glad the traveller, at the time, may be to leave its fierce heat, its mosquitoes, and its fever-stricken swamps, it is certain that, sooner or later, he will forget all these discomforts, and only long to once more see that mysterious and fascinating land. Should it happen that, even when far away, anything, such as the faint sweet smell of the mimosa flower, shall recall the Soudan to him, he will be seized with an irresistible longing once more to revisit its lonely plains, and once more to navigate its wondrous rivers.

The inhabitants of the Soudan may be divided into two great classes, those of Arab and those of Negro blood. In many places the two races have been much mixed, but both the nomad tribes and the Negroids have retained their racial characteristics unchanged. The parallel of lat. N. 12° may be said to fairly accurately mark the boundary between the two. In certain localities, more particularly east of the Blue Nile, mixed races are to be met with south of this parallel, but as a rule the Arab is not to be found south, or the Negro north, of the above-mentioned degree of latitude.

Commencing from the Atbara River, the general distribution of the principal Arab tribes may be briefly described. Between the Atbara and Khartoum, remnants of the once powerful clans of Jaalin, Hassaniyeh, and Batahin occupy the country on either side of the Nile. On the Blue Nile,

and in the Gezireh, the Shukhriyeh, Wad Medani, Dabahna, Kawalhab, and Kenana Arabs form the bulk of the nomad population. On the White Nile, the Shanabla, Guamar, and Wad Selim (the two latter being branches of the Baggara tribe) are located upon the western bank, the Wad Ragheb and Shankab Arabs taking their places upon the eastern bank. All of the above are split up into numerous subdivisions, each having a distinctive tribal name, although retaining their brotherhood with the main tribe from which they are descended. The Arabs of the Soudan, although preserving the marked features of their race, represent all shades of colour in their complexion. The majority are very dark-skinned, many of them rivalling the tint of the Negro. The men are, as a rule, tall and well built. Most of them shave the head, anointing it copiously with grease, and allowing the beard and moustache to grow. To this the Kenana, and some others of the Blue Nile Arabs, form exceptions, as they wear the hair in straight plaits, like the Kabbabish of the Dongola deserts. All males are marked by two, or more, scars, cut slanting upon either cheek. The usual dress of the Arab tribes is a loose white smock and drawers, with a white turban wound round the 'takya' or skull-cap. Yellow leather slippers, or occasionally long, soft leather riding-boots, complete their costume. Their arms consist of cross-hilted swords, broad-bladed lances, and antiquated rifles and muskets. They are great camel breeders, and many tribes possess large flocks of sheep and goats. Horses are rare among them: Several of the tribes, notably the Kenana and Shankab, are reputed to still cherish strong leanings towards the Khalifa. Although treacherous and untrustworthy, they are brave, and fierce fighters. Fanaticism, in the true sense of the word, can no longer be said to exist.

All over the Soudan the women of the Arab tribes dress their hair in short, thick, twisted plaits, cut square at the ends, and exactly resembling the style so commonly reproduced in the Egyptian paintings and sculptures. They are as a rule extremely ill-favoured, probably owing to the severe drudgery which they have undergone since childhood. Occasionally the younger girls are good-looking. Married women wear petticoats and sheets of unbleached, or indigo-dyed cotton. Young girls only wear the 'rahia,' or apron of twisted cords.

South of Hellet El-Reng the Fung and Hamegh country begins. The former tribe, which is supposed

to have originally emigrated from Darfur, has almost disappeared, being replaced by the latter. The Hamegh are a race of Negroids who, from their former intermixture with the Arabs, have retained the religion of Islam. They are reputed to be a dirty, indolent race, but very little is known as yet regarding them. The Beni Shangul chain of hills is inhabited by a race calling themselves by that name. They are of mixed blood, Mohammedans by religion, and talking Arabic. South of these mountains is the Galla country, which is well-watered and fertile, and it seems likely, should the Cape to Cairo railway scheme ever approach the region of possibility, that the line, instead of traversing the White Nile plains and swamps, will be taken along the spurs of the Beni Shangul hills and through the Galla district, *via* Lake Rudolph, to Uganda.

The principal Negro races inhabiting the reconquered provinces of the Soudan are the Shilluk, the Dinka, and the Nuer. Other tribes which formerly existed in the vicinity of the Saubat, such as the Bonjak and Falang, have now disappeared, while the once powerful race of Nyuak has been so completely mastered by the Nuer that it can scarcely now be said to exist as a distinct tribe.

The Shilluk country commences at Abu Zeid, on the western bank of the White Nile, 190 miles south of Khartoum. From this point to Tonga, a distance of 325 miles, the villages of this tribe form an almost continuous line along the west bank of the river. Between Fashoda and the Bahr El-Zaraf the Shilluk inhabit both banks of the Nile, but the western bank is their particular stronghold. The Dinka, at one time the most numerous of the Negro tribes of the White Nile, formerly occupied the whole eastern bank of this river from Gebelain to the Saubat, and their country extended far inland, into the Ghezireh and the Fung district. Owing to the continual raiding to which they were subjected by the slave traders, they eventually deserted the river banks entirely, and although a few Dinka villages are still to be met with in the interior, it is in the western portion of the Bahr El-Ghazal province that this people must now be sought for. In the first sixty miles from the mouth of the Saubat, Dinka are to be found upon the right bank of the river. The next forty miles are occupied by the remnants of the Nyuak tribe; beyond this the Nuer have seized the whole country bordering this river and its branches. The latter are also to be found on the Bahr El-Ghazal, between Lake No and the junction of the Bahr

El-Arab. South of this point they are replaced by the Dinka, with whom they appear to have a constant feud. On the swamps of the Bahr El-Zaraf and the Bahr El-Jebel a few Nuer and Dinka villages exist, on the higher spots which emerge from the surrounding marshes.

The Shilluk probably now number something over half a million in all. They cultivate sufficient dhurra for their needs during the rainy season, also a certain amount of vegetables, but their principal occupation is cattle breeding. They possess immense herds, which form their chief wealth. Although they breed sheep, they do not value these as they do their cattle, for which they have a special affection almost amounting to reverence. They never kill them, and only eat those which have died a natural death. It is with the greatest difficulty that they can be induced to sell them. Their affection for their cattle would seem to be much greater than for their parents or children, for neither of whom do they appear to have any special regard. A Shilluk woman will leave her six-months-old baby out in the rain and mud, while she most carefully sees to the housing of the cattle at nightfall. As a race the Shilluk appear to attach no value to social ties. Their women are mere drudges, and perform all the field as well as the house work. The men devote themselves to hunting and fishing, and when not thus employed lie about all day smoking, with their beloved spears within easy reach of their hands. They are true Negroes, but, with the exception of the full lips, they show few of the Negro characteristics. It is true that the colour of their skin is black, but their features are extremely good. They have straight noses, and a pleasant, good-humoured expression. The men are exceptionally tall, few of them being under six feet in height, many of them reaching six feet six inches, and occasionally even more. They are of slight build, with narrow shoulders. Their length of limb is remarkable, but notwithstanding their extreme length of thigh, the hand reaches well below the knee when the arm hangs loosely down. The men are, as a rule, entirely naked, with the exception of a string of beads round the neck and a double row round the loins. They wear thick ivory armlets on the arms above the elbow. Since the advent of the Anglo-Egyptian force the Shilluk would appear to have become ashamed of their nakedness, and at the military posts are generally to be seen wearing a short toga over the left shoulder, leaving the right bare. This garment is made of unbleached cotton, open at either

side, and reaching to the knee. A Shilluk dandy dresses his hair, which is very abundant and long, in the most fanciful and fantastic methods possible. The most common fashion is to wear it standing up like a large fan, or comb, at the back of the head. It is worked into the required shape with a mixture of ashes, cow-dung, and grease, until it becomes perfectly stiff and hard, and until its texture resembles felt. The size of this ornament is about ten inches by five. Others, again, wear their hair raised along the centre of the scalp, giving it the appearance of a cock's-comb or the crest of an old Greek helmet. Some, again, work it into parallel ridges exactly resembling the teeth of a cogged wheel. The short hair on either side of these erections is frequently worked up into a series of reddish, glistening blobs, much resembling sealing-wax. This effect is obtained by anointing it with a mixture of red earth and cow's urine. The men are also in the habit of ornamenting their foreheads and chest with a kind of tattooing. This decoration consists of one, two, or three lines of raised lumps on the skin. These are evidently caused by incision and the insertion of some foreign substance into the wound. Some paint these forehead spots white, with black centres like eyes. Others tie rows of common metal buttons across their foreheads. One and all are fond of sticking bits of ostrich feathers about their hair, and many of them cover their bodies with a coating of white wood-ashes; this, with their extraordinary head-dresses, gives them the aspect of long-limbed spectres.

The women, as regards their appearance, are the very opposite of the men, and take but small pains with their toilet. In stature they are extremely short, and in feature most repulsive. They either shave the head completely, or leave the hair in very short, close curls. Their only garment consists of a couple of goatskins, hung by a cord round the neck, one in front and one behind. These skins have the hair outside, and, being quite stiff and open at either side, remind one irresistibly of the boards carried by a sandwich man. Round the waist they wear the usual apron of plaited leather. Both sexes wear rings in the tops of their ears, but the women carry few ornaments beyond quantities of beads. The Shilluk, like most Central African tribes, remove the lower incisor teeth at an early age. Circumcision is not practised, and is looked upon as a disgrace. The favourite arm of the Shilluk is the spear, and no male ever, if he can help it, moves without one. These weapons

are hereditary, and nothing will induce them to sell them ; they have a long, thin, broad blade, tapering to a fine point, about eighteen inches in length. The butt of the lance is decorated with a thick bunch of black ostrich feathers. Their other arm is a club made of hard wood, with a shaft about two feet long. This tapers to a point, and has a hemispherical head much resembling a gigantic nail. When walking the Shilluk carries his club in one hand and his spear in the other, the latter carried horizontally with the point behind him. He swings along, thus armed, with an indescribable swagger. Their pipes deserve mention. The bowls are made of burnt clay, and hold several ounces of tobacco ; the stem is a hollow reed about two feet long, and the mouthpiece is made of a small dried gourd.

They are great hunters, and kill both the hippopotamus and the crocodile with rude harpoons. They attach floats of ambatch wood to the latter, and, finding the animal asleep, harpoon him and let him go. The following day they find him by means of the floats, and despatch him with their lances. Their canoes are of the rudest description, some twenty feet long by two feet six inches wide by two feet deep ; they are flat-sided and flat-bottomed ; the planks are attached to one another by cords ; the paddles are six feet long, with a narrow blade of two and a half inches in width. They also use rafts made of bundles of ambatch stems tied together and tapering to a point. In these they fish, or cross the river. The Shilluk, in common with the Dinka and the Nuer, have the habit of standing for long periods upon one leg. They press the sole of one foot against the calf of the other leg, and rest themselves upon a spear. Although liable to sudden fits of ferocity and treachery, as their past history shows, they are on the whole trustworthy. They show an almost touching confidence in the English officers whom they have met, and will leave their most cherished possessions in their charge.*

The Shilluks are governed by a 'mek,' or king. Under him are superintendents governing from seventy to a hundred villages, and to each village there is an overseer or headman. The procedure at the death of a mek is as follows. The dying mek calls an assembly of all the headmen. Before this assembly he himself names his successor,

* A very bad impression was made among them owing to the men of an Egyptian battalion having stolen the spears which the Shilluks had left in their charge.

who must be of royal blood. He hands him the spear of office, and the headmen and people then swear allegiance. Should the mek die suddenly, before the people can be assembled, the headmen and people elect his successor, if possible, in accordance with the wishes of the deceased.

Justice is administered by judges regularly appointed by the mek. There is one chief judge and two sub-judges to the tribe. All disputes are laid before the king, who either disposes of them himself or sends them for trial. The court is always composed of one judge and five members selected from among the headmen. Some of their punishments are severe. One of the commonest is to place a heavy forked piece of wood on the prisoner's neck, with his throat in the fork. At the back a second piece is lashed, through which a sharp nail is driven. This works into the neck on the slightest movement. In cases of murder the person convicted suffers confiscation of all his household property, his wives, children, cattle, and flocks. All these become the property of the nearest relation of the murdered person. The murderer is, according to the degree of his offence, hanged, banished, or suffered to remain in the country deprived of all tribal privileges.

Some of their customs are curious. When a Shilluk falls ill, his friends sit round him in a circle, and cutting off the ear of a live sheep, give him this to eat. They then kill the animal, and taking out its intestines, spread these all over the patient.

They appear to have no religion, but are said to revere the name of a certain former hero of the tribe. They are polygamists.

The Shilluk houses are of the type generally known as 'tukls.' These are circular buildings with mud walls, about ten feet in diameter and six feet in height. They have no windows, and one door about four feet high. They are surmounted by a beautifully thatched roof, made of dhurra straw, coming to a point about twelve feet from the floor. The plaiting inside is most cleverly done, and these roofs keep out the heavy annual rains. The floors are of mud, and are kept scrupulously clean. At night the doors are closed, and fires are lighted inside the huts to keep out the mosquitoes. They drink much milk, mixing it with the urine of the cow; using the latter also to clean their cooking utensils and to anoint their persons.

The present mek, or king, is named Koor Wad Medok, and was appointed by the Khalifa in 1890. He wears

clothes, and a tarbush, or fez. In age he is about forty, and his complexion is very dark. He is an intelligent-looking man. His people obey his slightest gesture. In walking he leans on the shoulder of a Shinagir Arab, who accompanies him as interpreter. The saddle of his donkey is covered with a leopard skin. He never moves without an escort of some fifty chiefs, armed with spears and clubs. He has developed a strong liking for alcoholic drinks, and always indulges in a whisky-and-soda when visiting the English officers. Upon first hearing the pipes of the 3rd Battalion of Egyptian Infantry, the king's dignity fell off him like a cloak. He rose up and danced a solemn but savage measure to the sound of the music. Upon the whole he appears to govern well, and to be friendly to the new Administration.

The Dinka closely resemble the Shilluk in figure and in stature; if anything, they are the taller race of the two. They have good and intelligent features. Here, again, the chief sign of Negro blood is in the lips. In colour they are extremely dark, probably darker than any other specimens of the human race. Their hair is far scantier than that of the Shilluk, and they take no pains to dress or train it. As a rule, it sticks up straight from the head, although occasionally it is plaited in fine braids. The reddish brown colour which distinguishes the hair of the Dinka is produced artificially.* Some shave the head altogether, and some, again, whiten the hair with wood-ashes; like the Shilluk, they are fond of covering their bodies with this last substance. The men are perfectly naked, but the women wear goatskin aprons. The Dinka women are also much shorter than the men, but are not as ill-favoured as are their Shilluk sisters. Both sexes pierce the ears and insert pieces of iron. The women sometimes bore the upper lip, and run an iron pin, with a bead at the end, through it like a skewer. They remove the lower incisor teeth. Both men and women wear beads round the neck and loins, and the males are fond of ivory armlets. The women put on as many heavy iron anklets as they can carry. The Dinka is fond of decorating his forehead with a series of lumps raised on the skin; but instead of running horizontally across, like those of the Shilluk, they radiate upwards from the nose as a centre, as many as ten rows being sometimes seen. The arms of the Dinka are lances

* By washing it in cow's urine.

and clubs, but the latter are their favourite weapons. These clubs are made of very hard wood, such as the heglig (balanites). They somewhat resemble those of the Shilluk in their general nail-like appearance, but beneath the head several rows of rings, something like the threads of a screw, are carved. They are great cattle and sheep breeders, and resemble the Shilluk in their affection for the former. They are an extremely clean people, and keep their huts or 'tukls' in a state of great cleanliness. They cultivate dhurra largely, and a certain amount of tobacco, ground-nuts, &c. They are better agriculturists than the Shilluk. The Dinka are skilled hunters, and trap elephants in pits. Antelope they catch by means of nooses attached to springes, very like those used by poachers in Europe. They are said to revere snakes, and even to make pets of them.*

They are not ruled by one mek, each section of the tribe being under one chief or headman. The principal subdivisions are the Bow-Wan, Akkou, Agare, Gee-Yel, Barr, Nea-Yell, Baw-Yen, and Dungal.

The Nuer, the natural rivals of the Dinka, with whom they appear to have a standing feud, are perhaps the most shy of all the White Nile Negroids. So far all attempts on the part of the English officers to win their confidence have failed. Some few have come in, but as a whole the tribe has stood entirely aloof, the people taking to the forest at the approach of a steamer. This is to be attributed to their classification of all Europeans and Egyptians as Turks, for whom they have the greatest dread and hatred. Their timidity may also be due to their near neighbourhood to the Abyssinians, a proximity which the Nuer have good reason to regret.† When a Nuer can be induced to visit a European his method of approach is upon his hands and knees. He testifies his respect by planting his tongue in the palm of the great man's hand. The men go stark naked, but the women wear a diminutive piece of goatskin hung in front, and an arrangement of rushes, like a bustle, behind. They possess large herds of cattle and sheep, but do not appear to attach such reverence to the former as do the Shilluk and the Dinka. Neither do they value their spears to the extent that the Shilluk do. The Nuer are of fine physique,

* Casati.

† In June 1898 an Abyssinian force, some 4,000 strong, marched down the Saubat River to its junction with the White Nile, raiding the country as it passed. It was accompanied by two French civilians, one Russian Guardsman, and at least one mule-battery.

and in colour are much lighter than the Dinka. They are distinguishable by their hair, which stands up straight and is almost invariably dyed red. They have medicine-men, or witch doctors, who wear most fantastic head-dresses and wigs of false hair. When they see a European or a stranger they wave their hands, apparently to keep off evil. Their 'tukls' are larger than those of the Dinka and Shilluk, but are kept equally clean. The only entrance is by a circular door from eighteen inches to two feet in circumference. The Nuer are very excitable, and when the young men quarrel the older men promptly hide all the spears and other weapons upon which they can lay their hands. A very noticeable fact is the way in which the Nuer have increased their power in the vicinity of the Saubat River. They have practically wiped out the Falang and Bonjak, who were the original occupiers of this region. Of the Nyuak only a remnant now remains, and this is completely subject to the Nuer. Like all the adjacent tribes, the Nuer are polygamists; their women are short and extremely ugly. They are said to be fierce fighters and expert hunters, but as yet very little is known of them. Owing to their extreme shyness it will require years of patient kindness before this interesting people can be induced to trust to the justice of their new rulers. The foregoing description comprises all the tribes included within the present limits of the Egyptian Soudan.

The climate of the Soudan varies considerably, according to the locality, but it may be divided into two great seasons, the dry and the rainy. Although the regular rains are not met with north of the 15th parallel of latitude, many showers and thunderstorms occur as far as lat. N. 17°. The climate in the northern portions much resembles that of the Dongola Province. For nine months of the year it is very dry, in the winter being quite cold, and in the early summer extremely hot. During the dry months the prevailing winds are from the north and north-west; with the first showers they veer round and blow steadily from the south and south-east. The rainy season in the neighbourhood of Khartoum commences in July and ends in September. During this period thunderstorms are of frequent occurrence, and heavy showers fall almost daily. After the cessation of the rainy season malarious fevers are rife. On the Blue Nile and in the Ghezireh the rains commence about the end of May, and an intermittent rainfall is experienced to the end of October. From June to the end

of September this becomes regular and of daily occurrence. The hottest months of the year are April, May, and June. The maximum temperature during this period frequently averages 103° F. It rarely sinks below 89° F. South winds blow constantly during this season, but when storms ensue the wind veers round to all points of the compass. During the latter days of the rains the temperature falls, the average maximum and minimum ranging from 99° F. to 74° F. The air is very damp and muggy, especially after 4 P.M. In the winter months the climate is cool and pleasant, although the sun is hot. North and north-west winds prevail, generally falling at sunset. The nights are frequently warm and steamy, but as a rule about 3 A.M. the temperature falls and a breeze springs up. On the White Nile and its affluents the rainy season begins rather earlier than on the Blue Nile. Thus, on the Saubat River the rains commence in the end of April and continue to the end of October. On the Bahr El-Ghazal and in the 'sadd' region the first rain falls in March and the last about the middle of October. There are two periods when heavy and continuous rain falls in these localities. The first is during April and May, and the second in July and September. Here, as on the Blue Nile, winds blow steadily from the south throughout the rainy season, while during the dry months they blow equally steadily from the north. The temperature on the southern reaches of the White Nile is not subject to the same variations as in other parts of the river valley. Thus, in the 'sadd' region the average temperature throughout the year is 85° F. In the neighbourhood of Fashoda, even in the winter, it reaches 100° F. in the shade, but it rarely exceeds this at any period of the year. West of the White Nile, in Kordofan, where there is less moisture, the differences of the temperature are much greater. In the winter months the average maximum and minimum temperatures are 89° and 59° F. In the heat of summer these increase to 100° and 77° F.

The excessive rainfall which visits the Soudan during many months annually gives rise to malarial fevers of an especially severe type. These fevers are common to the whole country during the autumn and winter months, more especially so in the vicinity of the White and Blue Niles. In the former, the swamped area and the rotting vegetation are sufficient cause for the unhealthiness of the tract; in the latter, the denseness of the forests and the accumulated leaf-mould of centuries produce damp and steamy mists

under the hot rays of the equatorial sun, and create an atmosphere which seems to be specially favourable to the germination of malaria. From the end of September to the beginning of January both these rivers are hotbeds of fever; even in the months of February and March certain localities remain dangerous to all except the natives of the district. During last year's expedition the troops which visited the two rivers suffered very severely from the pestilential climate, and the number of officers and men who were invalided was very considerable. From 80 to 90 per cent. were incapacitated, and even the Soudanese troops did not escape. The inhabitants of the Blue Nile exhibit all the appearance of chronic malarial poisoning. They are extremely anæmic, and suffer from enlarged spleen and dropsy. Egyptians fall victims to the fever equally with Europeans, and the garrisons of Nasser and Fashoda show a terrible return of sickness. The Shilluk and other Negro tribes appear to be free from the ill-effects of these fevers, but upon the advent of the rainy season they invariably leave the river banks and make their temporary abode in the higher and more open lands of the interior. This extreme unhealthiness of the climate must of necessity prove an almost insuperable bar to the reclamation of the country. Until the forests are cleared and the swamps drained, Europeans will never be able to remain in the fever-stricken districts during the seasons when the disease is prevalent. Even in the more open parts of the country malaria of a milder type is existent at the close of the rains, when the country is drying up. It is indispensable, if Englishmen are to remain in the Soudan and introduce the necessary reforms, that they shall be enabled to absent themselves annually for several months, and have the opportunity of recruiting their energies in a cooler and more healthy climate. Other diseases common to the Soudan are dysentery and small-pox. At times an epidemic of typhus fever sweeps over it, and syphilis is apparently prevalent everywhere. On the Blue Nile the guinea-worm is met with, and in the Bahr El-Ghazal Province the 'sleeping sickness' claims its victims.

Allusion has already been made to the peculiar disease known as cerebro-spinal meningitis. In the present year it worked its way up both Niles, and it is said, that no such severe epidemic of this malady has been known since the year 1878. The Soudan climate during the early summer months is healthy, and if protected against the sun, and

clothed so as to guard against chills, the European may venture into any part of the country with impunity.

It is difficult at present to foresee in which direction the future developement of these vast regions lies. So little is as yet known regarding their possible resources, and so much necessary work lies before the governing staff in forming the elements of an Administration, that for some years to come the time of its officers must be fully taken up by this task. Years of patient labour and self-sacrificing work on their part must pass before any decided result of their efforts will be visible. There are many grave obstacles to immediate progress, some of them due to physical causes, and others resulting from years of misgovernment.

The first, and perhaps the most insuperable of these, lies in the extreme unhealthiness of the country, to which ample allusion has been made. A land, in great portions of which the European cannot live without serious risk of loss of health, and even of life itself, is not one in which the energy of the white race can easily assert its superiority. It cannot too strongly be insisted upon, that if Englishmen are to remain in and administer the Soudan they must be generously treated both as regards leave and salary. They will voluntarily give up all social pleasures and ties, and it is to be feared that, with all precautions, the deadly climate will slowly but surely undermine their health. It is imperative that continuity, as regards the English officials, should be secured, and that there should be as few changes as possible in the *personnel* of the governing staff. With these 'silent, sullen peoples,' the only possibility of overcoming their shyness and winning their confidence will lie in their attaining personal knowledge of their rulers, and in their belief that the latter will remain with them, and live in their midst. The most careful choice must be exercised in the selection of the English mudirs or governors, and, once found, every possible endeavour must be used to enable them to support the arduous life which they have accepted, and to give them such comforts and privileges as are compatible with the situation. The lives of such men will be of incalculable value to the country, and any attempt to treat them on other but liberal terms will speedily prove to be a false economy, and will inevitably retard progress.

The depopulation of the Soudan is another and serious bar against any early return to prosperity. It will be impossible to restore trade, or to extend and improve cultivation upon any large scale, until there shall be a sufficiency

of inhabitants for the purpose. Time, peace, rest, and the recuperative forces of nature are the only restoratives for this evil. In all probability, a generation or more will elapse before the population attains to anything like the figure existing prior to the advent of the Turks. A third obstacle to quick recovery is caused by the nature of the people themselves. The Arab of pure blood scorns to work with his hands, and has invariably in the past made use of the inferior race—the black—for all work necessitating manual labour, either in the field or in the town. With the suppression of slavery the supply of such workers is no longer at his disposal, and if any toil is to be undertaken he must perforce do it himself. No one acquainted with his character and traditions will be confident that he will speedily change his nature, and become either a hard-working trader or a capable agriculturist. In the case of the Negro the prospect is not much more hopeful. By nature he is indolent, and as little inclined as is the Arab to labour, provided that he can obtain sufficient food for himself and his family and sufficient pasture for his herds. Thanks to the bounteous rainfall and the fertile soil of the Soudan, both these factors are assured to him. His wants are simple, and his women-kind relieve him of all drudgery. So long as he can hunt and fish when the humour seizes him, and when not thus engaged bask in the sun, the black is contented, and feels no inclination to exert himself, even if by so doing he can better his condition. Money to him represents less than nothing, and to labour for the purpose of acquiring what possesses no value in his eyes is, in his opinion, a work of superfluous folly.

All these things are against the Soudan and its immediate return to prosperity.

In time, the pressure of population and the consequent struggle for life must, as in other countries, create the necessity for work. Such a state of things is not, however, to be anticipated for very many years, as the areas inhabited by the black races are so vast that it is difficult to foresee a time when they will be overpeopled. Constant contact with Europeans will doubtless eventually engender a desire for barter and a spirit of trade, even in the Negro. He will one day discover that he possesses products which represent a certain market value, and by the exchange or sale of which he can obtain the simple luxuries which he loves. For the present little can be done but to exercise patience and carefully foster any signs of a desire to trade. The people of all

racés must learn to rely upon and have confidence in the justice of their British rulers. They must understand that whatever work they do for the latter will be fairly paid for, that their land and possessions are their own, and that there is no intention of dispossessing them. Simple sanitary measures tending to decrease mortality, easy taxation, and an extremely simple code of laws, will all materially assist in the restoration of the country. A system of elementary education, and technical schools in which the people can learn trades, will go far towards developing their intelligence and stimulating a desire to better their condition.

For many years to come it is to be feared that the Soudan expenditure will constitute a heavy annual burden upon the Egyptian exchequer. Money must be spent with little expectation of any immediate return. Even so it will not be money thrown away. Prosperity must one day return to the country, and sources of wealth at present unknown will be discovered. One of these, most probably, lies in the vast virgin forests which cover many thousands of square miles. Minerals may also exist within the boundaries of the Soudan. Gold is found in the beds of the tributary rivers of the Blue Nile, and is said to exist in several of the rocky hills in the southern portion of the Ghezireh. Iron ores are found in the Darfur mountains, but without coal it is difficult to see how this metal could be profitably worked. The valuable gum of commerce is met with throughout the immense areas lying east and west of the two great rivers, and this product will in all probability be, for some years to come, the chief export of the Soudan. As regards the trade in ivory, this must ere long be a thing of the past, unless effective measures be taken, as they undoubtedly ought to be, to preserve the elephant from extinction. Irrigation works will doubtless one day be undertaken, which will enable the country to cultivate cereals and other valuable crops upon an extended scale, and the developement of a railway system will permit of their exportation to the sea-coast. The great swamps of the 'sadd' region may one day be drained, and the river where it passes through them be confined in one single channel, thus largely increasing the summer supply of the White Nile.

Egypt will one day export her sugar, cotton goods, dates, and such grains as cannot be raised in the Soudan, perhaps receiving in exchange timber, india-rubber, gum, senna, and hides. The cultivation of tobacco, which at one time was general, may some day be reintroduced. Before very many

years have passed the Soudan should be able to support an economical civil administration from its own revenues. The military charges are a more difficult problem.

With the return of peace within her borders the necessity of a garrison, maintained upon a war footing, should ere long disappear. Levies, raised from the pick of the local fighting material and officered by English officers, should eventually replace the Egyptian regulars. Such material is plentiful. The blacks require no encomium on their soldierly qualities, and the fierce resistance offered by the Arab tribes to our troops proves that they too possess most of the qualities which go to make first-class fighting men. It seems probable that among the savage Baggara the best recruits will be obtained. Incredible as this statement may at present appear, it has been made advisedly. Wherever the Englishman has wandered and settled, he has invariably made use of the fiercest and most virile races subject to his control, and converted them into loyal and faithful followers. The Baggara is undoubtedly the most intelligent tribesman of the Soudan, and, in spite of his brutality and savagery, possesses many of the manly attributes required in a soldier. He has certainly proved his superiority to the other races by the manner in which he has mastered them for so many years. His very fierceness and fearlessness will in the end lead him to appreciate similar traits in the character of his masters. Treacherous he may be, and at times fanatical, but hardly more so than are the wild hillmen of the North-Western frontier of India. The race which has succeeded in making good soldiers out of the Pathan, the Afridi, and the Biluchi, is hardly likely to fail in attempting to do the same with the Baggara. It is, of course, essential that the British officers who shall endeavour to tame these savages shall possess special aptitudes for the task. Happily England has never been at a loss to produce an inexhaustible supply of such men. The prospect, then, if calmly reviewed, is not altogether a hopeless one. It is possible to look far ahead and see light on the horizon. Although prosperity cannot be anticipated in the immediate future, its eventual advent may be expected with a fair amount of confidence.

One last point. Few things strike the visitor to the Soudan more forcibly than the sight of the Union Jack and the Khedivial flag flying side by side over every Government building and fort in the Soudan. These two flags are mute witnesses that the land is held conjointly by England and by Egypt. The Convention of the current year proclaimed

to the world that the area conquered by the Anglo-Egyptian forces had been annexed in the names of Her Majesty the Queen and His Highness the Khedive. Such being the case, it would seem to be a logical sequence that the two countries should share equally in the cost of the administration. At present the whole burden is laid upon Egypt, and the money required for the Soudan comes out of the pockets of the Egyptian fellah. It can hardly be seriously intended by the British Government that such a state of things shall last. It is true that England contributed largely towards the cost of the late expedition, and to the reconquest of the provinces, once belonging to Egypt, which her weak hands could not hold. This is undeniable; but putting aside the question of whether this expedition was really undertaken in the interest of Egypt, or from motives of England's Imperial policy, the fact remains that the latter country has accepted the joint proprietorship of this land, and that her flag flies over it, even in its remotest localities. This being so, she cannot absolve herself of the responsibility which she has incurred, and cannot in honour refuse to assist Egypt in the matter of administering and restoring their joint possessions. What would be a comparatively small sum to a rich and great nation like England means a very serious item in the annual Budget of a small country like that of Egypt. Further, all sums spent by the latter upon the Soudan mean a reduction in useful improvements within her own natural limits. It is earnestly to be hoped that Great Britain will shortly acknowledge the liabilities which she has incurred by her own acts, and put an end to this anomaly.

Should she do so, and should she be as liberal in the expenditure of her money as she has been in the lives of her sons, she will be fulfilling her legitimate mission and continuing that policy by which she has won her place among the nations. She will be restoring prosperity to a land which, many centuries ago, was one of the richest and most fertile in the globe; a land which supported a dense population and created an empire, of which the traces to this day excite wonder and admiration. Even should she not be altogether successful in her task, she will have instituted a noble work, and one worthy of her great traditions; she will, moreover, have brought the blessings of her civilisation within touch of a not inconsiderable portion of

'The last, the greatest Empire,
The map which is half unrolled.'

- ART. II.—1. *Perturbations of the Leonids.* By G. JOHNSTONE STONEY, F.R.S., and A. M. W. DOWNING, F.R.S. Paper read before the Royal Society, March 2, 1899.
2. *The Great Meteoric Shower of November.* By W. F. DENNING, F.R.A.S. London: 1898.
3. *General Catalogue of the Radiant Points of Fire Balls and Shooting Stars Observed at More than One Station.* By W. F. DENNING. 'Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society,' vol. liii. London: 1899.
4. *Sur les Orbites des Biélides.* Par TH. BRÉDIKHINE. 'Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Petersbourg.' Nouvelle Série, iii., xxxv., 1894.
5. *Sur l'Origine des Étoiles Filantes.* Par TH. BRÉDIKHINE, A.R.A.S. 'Bulletin de la Société Impériale des Naturalistes de Moscou,' tome iii., 1890.

SHALL we, a few weeks hence, meet a tempest of falling stars? There is good reason to believe that we shall. The Leonid meteors are even now, in all probability, streaming across the earth's track, at a point it is bound to reach in a month's time. The Andromede meteors may arrive in force some days later. Thus a double event is on the cards, although the turning up of the second—which is entirely unconnected with the first—depends upon somewhat hazardous chances. A Leonid encounter, on the other hand, *seems* inevitable; yet even here we dare not add Hamlet's 'Nay, it is.' There are qualifications to the sureness of the prediction. It does not stand on the same level with those to which astronomers absolutely commit themselves. Eclipses, occultations, and the like, can be trusted to come off to a second; the sun dips below the horizon, the 'slender moon' waxes round, in exact accordance with the prescriptions of the almanac; the planetary team is well under control; their satellites, too, are thoroughly broken in to the harness of calculation. But comets and meteor swarms are less tractable. They still roam the vast prairies of exterior space, nor always along beaten paths. Deflecting influences act upon them during their long wanderings, often to an unknown extent; and they consequently 'revisit the glimpses of the moon' at intervals irregular by comparison with those habitually dealt with by the compilers of national ephemerides.

They are, besides, structurally unstable, being subject to

many forms of change and disintegration. Their individuality is not of the strong planetary stamp. It is capable of indefinite multiplication and subdivision. Comets have been seen to split up by fission, abolishing themselves in their offspring, like amoebas; others to shed nebulous seed so freely that witches' brooms would have been needed to 'sweep the cobwebs out of the sky' where they had passed. Meteoric aggregations go to pieces on still slighter provocation. They are large and loose, to begin with, containing, perhaps, an ounce or two of solid matter per cubic mile; and their sparsely strewn components, held together by no sensible mutual attraction, pursue round the sun, each on its own account, orbits nearly but not quite identical in periods infinitesimally unequal. These small differences, however, steadily accumulate; the accelerated particles creep further and further to the front, the lagging particles drop continually behind, and the originally spherical agglomeration comes at last to be drawn out into a ring. But this is not all. There are exterior disturbances to be reckoned with. Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, the Earth, lie in wait along meteoric tracks, and compel deviations from them. And since the mode and efficacy of their action fluctuate as their positions alter, the occupants of successive segments of those tracks are very diversely affected, and tend to depart more and more from community of motion. Hence the dispersed swarm is likely to take the final shape, not of a simple hoop, but of an intertangled set of spires,* knotted and, as it were, elastic, unfixed in space, and yielding, now here, now there, to ever renewed gravitational strains. Computation, as can readily be imagined, is powerless to follow out completely the consequent intricate modifications; and for this reason our encounters with meteoric arrays remain subject to residual uncertainties. Surprise-showers are occasionally witnessed; anticipated displays fall short, or wholly fail.

The history of meteoric astronomy, up to the present century, was a mere chronicle of events that seemed inexplicable, and were often accounted prodigious. In the light of modern research they may be described as terrestrial collisions with cosmical bodies—collisions fortunately on a small scale, and deadened by the interposition of our atmospheric buffer; else incidents more tragic than a chance conflagration, or an ignorant panic, might have to be re-

* Schiaparelli, '*Le Stelle Cadenti*,' p. 112 (1885).

counted. As it is, the meteorites get the worst of it. The vast majority are utterly consumed in the highest air strata, and, in the guise of shooting stars, announce almost at the same instant their existence and its close. Nothing remains but an imperceptible quantity of gas and dust. Not all, however, are thus fragile. A few of larger build reach the ground, generally as the fragmentary products of explosions due to the resistance of the air and the ensuing sudden development of heat. 'Aerolites,' as these samples of other worlds are commonly called, bear every mark of rough usage. They are coated with melted slag, as if they had passed through a furnace; they are pitted, sometimes almost riddled by the furious onsets of the air-blasts they raise and meet. Yet so swift are their transits from ether to earth that the cold of space at times survives inside their roasted shells. As Agassiz said of the Dhurmsala meteorite, which fell in the Punjab on July 14, 1860, they realise the Chinese culinary ideal of 'fried ices.' These survivors of the middle passage are indeed of vanishing scarcity compared with the multitude that succumb. One in ten millions, at the most, escapes to tell the tale of its hardships. Daubr  e estimated the annual number of stonefalls over the whole globe at from six to seven hundred, while in a single day more than twenty million shooting stars, of naked-eye brightness, perish self-consumed. Of telescopic meteors the name is legion, and each one becomes permanently incorporated with the earth's bulk. Yet the increment is relatively insignificant, and has never been considerable, if geological evidence speak truly. The extreme minuteness of bodies adequate only to create evanescent fire-streaks can hence be inferred.

Our meteoric assailants would, nevertheless, be formidable both by numbers and velocity but for the protective intervention of the air. Their devastations should render an unclothed earth, even if otherwise habitable, a highly inconvenient dwelling-place. For a single gramme of solid matter, travelling thirty miles a second—the average speed of encounter—would make a perforating implement of singular efficiency, and the Murranging meteorite, recently imported from Australia, weighs four tons. Nor does it rank among the very largest objects of its class. The warding off of these multitudinous projectiles is a secondary but most essential function of our atmosphere. It is exercised continuously by night and by day, and with conspicuous success during certain bombardments in form, when all the celestial batteries seem to open fire together.

Just one hundred years ago Humboldt, the 'champion' scientific traveller, and his botanical friend Bonpland, were sojourning at Cumana, the capital of New Andalusia. Debarred from sleep by oppressive heat, they were indemnified, in the early morning of November 12, by a sublime and amazing spectacle. During four hours the heavens were ploughed with fire. The furrows, running chiefly in a north and south direction, covered the whole sky with continually renewed phosphorescent gleams, left behind by thousands of meteors, ranging in brilliancy from delicate light-points to globes rivalling the magnitude of the full moon. Many burst like spent rockets, scattering sparks all round, yet no attendant sounds reached the ear, nor did any detached fragments touch the ground. 'The phenomenon was grand and awful,' wrote Mr. Ellicott, an astronomer, who witnessed it from on board a ship in the Gulf of Mexico; and incidental glimpses of it were caught as far to the north as Greenland; but no serious attempt was made to unravel its meaning; no moral was pointed by it.

Meteors were in those days all but universally held to be—as their name imports—of aerial production, *ignes fatui* of the sky. This opinion, however, owed its prevalence to inaccuracy of observation; it collapsed at the first touch of the Ithuriel-spear of reasoned method. Two students of the University of Göttingen, named Brandes and Benzenberg, were the first to apply it. Acting upon a suggestion from Ernst Chladni, of Wittenberg, they measured, in 1798, the heights of some few meteors by simultaneous determinations from distant stations; and their relegation of them, on demonstrative evidence, to the outskirts of the atmospheric fields, together with their ascription to them of planetary velocities, formed the nucleus of meteoric science. Yet it appeared to lack the principle of growth. Thought remained inert on the subject until stirred by the repetition, with enhanced splendour, and on a widely manifest stage, of the Cumana event.

Between midnight and dawn on November 13, 1833, close upon a quarter of a million of meteorites, many of them astonishingly large and lustrous, ran their course above the horizon of Boston. They fell like snowflakes, and they fell far and wide. From Florida to Nova Scotia, the earth was wrapped in a storm of fire. The heavens literally blazed for seven consecutive hours. In South Carolina the plantations resounded with the cries of the negroes as they lay, in abject terror, prostrate on the ground. Indeed, the scene

was awe-inspiring to the most stoical beholder. The 'shooting' of the stars, according to one observer,* was at the rate of a thousand a minute. 'Their coruscations,' he added, 'were bright, gleamy, and incessant. One was witnessed which left a path of light clearly discernible for more than ten minutes after the ball had exploded. Compared with the splendour of this celestial exhibition, the most brilliant rockets and fireworks of art bore less relation than the twinkling of the most tiny star to the broad glare of the sun.'

This is certainly rather steep, considering that the disparity alluded to is of the order of many thousand millions to one; but hyberbolic phrases may be condoned in a description of what was undoubtedly the premier star-shower of history. 'None were left,' a Pennsylvanian farmer remarked next day to Professor Kirkwood; and he anticipated the sight, as darkness closed in, of a blank vault, disgarished of its shining spangles by the devastating catastrophe of the night before.

Observers of a different calibre noticed that the meteors did not travel at random. Their paths rarely, if ever, intercrossed; all could be traced back to a common focus. The situation of this point in the Sickle of Leo led to the designation as 'Leonids' of the objects diverging from it. They were the first meteor family to be recognised and distinctively entitled; and their separation constituted in itself no trifling advance in knowledge, the bare fact of unanimity in movement implying a great deal as to their nature and origin. The 'radiant'—to give the focal spot the name invented for it by Greg in 1865—was seen to be independent of terrestrial locality. Fixed among the stars, it rose with them above the horizon, and shared their diurnal motion. That is to say, it was left behind, like the stars themselves, not carried along by the earth's rotation. It represented, accordingly, a direction in space—the direction from which the meteors ran down to meet us. The Leonid radiant, in short, is the vanishing point of a congeries of parallel tracks, sections of circumsolar orbits which intersect that of the earth just where it happens to pass in the middle of November.

So much was learned directly from the meteors of 1833; and a great deal more came to be inferred. Documentary research brought out their periodical character. The display

*. Quoted by Denning, 'The Observatory,' vol. xx. p. 128.

witnessed by Humboldt and Bonpland proved to be only one of a series recurring every thirty-three or thirty-four years. Records going back to A.D. 902 were disinterred by the late Professor Newton, of Yale College, and the prediction was hazarded that, on November 13-14, 1866, the spectacle of that original 'year of the stars' would be renewed. Its punctual verification is matter of history. The Leonids did not fail to keep their appointment; they fell abundantly, and were seen to advantage in most parts of Europe. An English watcher reckoned a hundred a minute at 3 A.M., and a single pair of eyes can take in about one-fifth of the entire. Multitudes were of the brightness of a first-magnitude star—Regulus, for instance, or Pollux—some rivalled Venus; nearly all left behind a phosphorescent greenish train; but none were on the scale of the grand bolides viewed with amazement in 1799 and 1833. There had been premonitory showers in 1864 and 1865; nor did the drift fairly exhaust itself until 1869. Similarly 1833 was only a maximum Leonid year; it had forerunners and followers; but, whether through an actual extension of the meteoric stratum during the present century, or through lack of observational data in past centuries, earlier accounts show no tendency to run into series.

'The three successive returns of the meteoric group in about 1799, 1833, and 1866,' Mr. Denning writes in the useful and timely pamphlet quoted at the head of this article, 'offered some distinctions. In the former case the display was apparently confined to one night and to one year only. This would appear to indicate that the group existed in much more condensed form in 1799 than at the subsequent returns, for it was seen during the nine consecutive years from 1831 to 1839, and during the six consecutive years from 1864 to 1869. But it would, perhaps, be unsafe to argue that it did not appear in 1798, 1800, and 1801, as it might escape record, though it could hardly elude observation somewhere or other. Still it is certainly curious that no descriptions of it in the years immediately contiguous to 1789 have been found among the historical records of the period. And it is perhaps still more strange that in about the years 1733 and 1766 our chronicles are silent as to the apparition of a meteor shower in the month of November. That it occurred in the years mentioned is highly probable. If the group formed, at the periods referred to, a far more compact one than at present, it might only exhibit itself in a single year, instead of during a series of years, as at the last two returns. It might also have passed the earth during daytime in the most civilised parts of the world, and this would increase the chances of its escaping record. There are some other impediments which would assist in obliterating it, such as moonlight and cloudy weather; but, even allowing for them all, it seems unlikely that brilliant

showers of Leonids, if they really occurred, could entirely escape mention.'

A tradition, indeed, although no distinct memory, of a star-spurt in 1766 lingered at Cumana at the time of Humboldt's visit; but it may have been trumped up by the 'oldest inhabitants' in order to lend celestial *éclat* to the indubitable earthquake of that year.

The date of the November meteors is continually retarded. In 902 they commemorated the death of Ibrahim-ibn-Ahmed on October 12 (o.s.); in 1898 they emerged tardily to notice on the morning of November 15. The delay is at the average rate of two days in seventy years. This means that the 'node,' or place of rendezvous, shifts annually forward over an arc just long enough to be traversed by the earth in forty minutes. Planetary perturbations are responsible for this systematic postponement; and its amount furnished the clue needed by mathematicians for the determination of the true Leonid orbit. There are several, differing widely in dimensions, and in the periods required for traversing them, which would suit the more obvious phenomena; there is only one compatible with the ascertained rapidity of the nodal advance along the ecliptic. The reason is easily understood. Jupiter is the main agent of disturbance in the solar system. Apart from his influence, Leonid chronology would alter only by insensible degrees. The marked character of its changes shows that the meteors come within striking distance of him as he revolves in his remote sphere. They must then thread an ellipse long enough to bridge the immense gap between his orbit and that of the earth. The test was applied in 1867 by Professor Adams in a masterly investigation, demonstrating the revolution of the November swarm in an orbit so large that thirty-three and a quarter years are needed for the completion of its circuit. Thus the current and inevitable expectation of encounters with it towards the close of the present century came to be hall-marked in the mint of exact knowledge.

The Leonids are only one among a multitude of similar associations. A flight emanating from the constellation Perseus has been remarked long enough to get linked, by a popular phrase, with the fiery martyrdom of St. Lawrence. They circulate with a periodic time of about 120 years, in a vast orbit, over the entire circumference of which they are loosely scattered. No sections of it are inordinately crowded; none are vacant; although some are so much more richly

stocked than others that the 'horary number' of Perseids fluctuates, from year to year, between twenty and two hundred. Each August, however, brings them as regularly as it brings grouse-shooting, while there are good and bad seasons no less for the meteors than for the birds.

A meteoric train, known as 'Orionids,' because of the situation of their radiant in the Club of the kneeling Giant, make unfailing, but numerically feeble, incursions into our October skies. The main army, to which these stragglers once belonged, has never, within human memory, marched past the saluting-point, and has almost certainly been disbanded.

'A regular annual display, without periodical outbursts,' is defined by Mr. Denning as 'the prevailing feature of the 'great majority of meteoric systems. Undoubtedly,' he adds, 'a proportion of the known streams have definite 'periods of recurring activity; but observation has not yet 'succeeded in determining many such showers.'*

One of the kind indicated may be the 'Lyrids,' centred in time about April 20, and in space near the brilliant star Vega. Their apparitions are invariable, though, as a rule, feeble. But they have been, in the past, of most capricious intensity. Ten probable ancient outbursts were enumerated by Professor Newton;† and possible notices of sundry others have been extracted from mediæval chronicles by way of aftermath to his harvest.‡ During the present century the Lyrid stream has been swollen with repeated freshets;§ it has, however, since 1864 become—to quote Professor Herschel—'very inconspicuous, and much mixed and diversified, apparently with companion or branch streams.' Perplexing variations in the position of its focal point have ensued. Thus it is well characterised by him as 'an 'irregular and scanty system.' Mr. Denning's surmise that its maxima might prove to be periodical in forty-seven years was negated by the poverty of the show in April 1897.

Quite recent, comparatively, is the meteoric aggregation of the Andromedes. Astronomers might almost say, with Edie Ochiltree of Monkbarns's Prætorium, 'We mind the 'bigging o't.' And a singular process it was. For the

* Popular Astronomy, vol. i. p. 151.

† American Journal of Science, vol. xxxvi. p. 145 (1863).

‡ W. E. Besley, 'The Observatory,' vol. xxii. p. 154; S. J. Johnson, *ibid.* p. 235.

§ Denning, 'Monthly Notices,' vol. lix. p. 333.

materials were obviously furnished by the break-up of a comet. This was a paltry-looking object named after Wilhelm von Biela, who established, in 1826, the fact of its return to the sun once in six and a half years. It is now known to be one of those 'short-period comets' domesticated in the solar system through the reiterated attractive pulls of Jupiter. His opportunities for exercising them must at first have been few and far between, so that the completeness of the capture argues a lapse of time indefinitely great since Biela's original entrance within the planetary precincts. Presumably it was one of the oldest of the sun's cometary clients, and, as a consequence, one of the most dilapidated. Already in 1826 it had reached an advanced stage of senile decay. Yet it held together until 1845, when surprised telescopic observers saw it in duplicate! A pair of Siamese-twin comets, united by a delicate ligament of faint light, marched side by side over the sky; and they survived to effect one more perihelion passage in 1852. But this was apparently the last. In cometary shape neither one nor the other could ever afterwards be detected. In their stead vivid star-bursts were witnessed in 1872, 1885, and 1892. The substitution strikingly illustrates the intimate meteoric relations of comets, yet may have been less direct than the bare circumstantial sequence implies. Thus the theoretical place of the comet was a long way in advance of the node when the earth arrived there on November 27, 1872; and it was still further behind it at the next ensuing shower, on the thirteenth anniversary of that day. Only the wreckage of the comet, accordingly, not the comet itself, was encountered; but the wreckage was strewn over an extent of at least five hundred million miles. A remarkable change then supervened. The node suddenly started backward to meet the oncoming earth, and the epoch of passage through it was anticipated by four days. The meteors expected on the 27th arrived on November 23, 1892. They were visible almost exclusively in America. 'On the average,' Professor W. J. Hussey* wrote from Palo Alto, in California, 'a single observer could see from fifty to sixty fairly bright ones every five minutes, which corresponds to a daily rate of from four hundred to five hundred millions on the hemisphere of the earth towards the radiant.' And Professor Young reckoned that in five hours at least thirty thousand traversed the skies of Princeton, New Jersey. Their

* Astronomy and Astrophysics, vol. xi. p. 944.

premature advent was attributable, as a matter of course, to the action of Jupiter; but it took every one by surprise except M. Berberich, and he published his forecast in a quarter where it was little likely to excite attention.* After the event, however, M. Brédikhine demonstrated that it was bound to happen as it did.† Indeed, displacements of the Bielid orbit are no abnormal events, but make part of an irreversible course of change, the intermissions and resumptions of which depend upon fluctuating planetary configurations. Some bewilderment might, on a superficial view, be occasioned by its contrary character to the movement of the Leonid node, both processes being nevertheless due to precisely the same class of influences. In the former case there is a retreat of the line where the orbits cut, with a corresponding acceleration of the meteoric shower; in the latter the node advances and the star-fall is delayed. The cause of the difference, however, is not far to seek. It lies in the oppositely directed flow of the two streams. The Leonids are retrograde travellers; they run counter to the grand sweep of planetary movement; while the Andromedes follow the west-to-easterly current. Hence the opposite effects upon them of similar disturbances. Another and a more manifest distinction directly results. Retrograde meteors rush to meet the earth; their collisions with it are nearly end-on. They occur with a velocity representing approximately the sum of the elliptic speed of the earth and the (virtually) parabolic speed of the meteors. This, for the Leonids, amounts to forty-four miles a second, being within a mile of the greatest possible. They bear the stamp of this tremendous pace. The abundant supply of heat derived from its arrest by the air consumes them with extreme rapidity. Their brief incandescence is peculiarly vivid; and the shimmering trains which they leave behind sometimes persist long after the originating bodies have vanished. Scarcely any, it is probable, approach within less than forty or fifty miles of our globe's surface, and none have been known to fall. They are 'crumpled up' aloft by the destructive resistance which their vehement onsets evoke.

The Andromedes, on the other hand, come from behind. They overtake us as we fly before them, and penetrate the atmosphere with a *differential* speed of ten miles a second. Their aspect is to correspond. They look slow and dull;

* Naturwissenschaftliche Rundschau, November 5, 1892.

† Astr. Nach. No. 3166.

and are followed, not by continuous trains, but by retinues of evanescent sparks. A practised observer can thus distinguish an Andromede from a Leonid meteor at a glance, apart from any reference to lines of movement. And already stray specimens of both species viewed now and then simultaneously betoken the fuller concurrence to be expected hereafter.

Biela's is not the only comet with meteoric appurtenances; there are Leonid, Perseid, and Lyrid comets as well. The connexion has, in each case, been established by the close agreement of the respective orbits; and it can hardly be regarded as exceptional. Whether it be universal is another and a very obscure question. The enormous majority of cometary tracks run *clear* of the earth's orbit; but, unless they intersect it, we have no access to information as to the débris with which they may, or may not, be strewn; for the particles of which it consists become perceptible only through the kindling of their funeral pyres. Outside of their aerial burying-place they elude notice, direct or indirect. It is true that of the thousands of meteoric families individually recognised four only possess assured cometic affinities. Yet it has to be borne in mind that the proofs of such affinities are of a perishable nature. The transmutation of a comet into a meteor swarm, once effected, cannot be demonstrated ever to have taken place. How rapidly its evidence becomes effaced is shown palpably by the unique example of the Andromedes. We know as a matter of history that they had a parent comet; yet it no longer exists. Under the very eyes of nineteenth-century astronomers it met the doom anticipated by Newton for all such bodies: '*Diffundi tandem et spargi per cœlos universos.*' And what has visibly befallen Biela may—nay, must—

‘In the dark backward and abysm of time,’

have befallen a host of its congeners. Hence we can infer nothing from the actual absence of a comet-member from any given meteoric group. We are only certain that the more antique its formation the less likely is the primitive mass to survive in its integrity.

The Perseid comet, nevertheless—discovered by Tuttle at Cambridge, U.S., August 18, 1862—was a fairly conspicuous object as it swept past the sun thirty-seven years ago. Yet its pulverulent refuse has virtually closed up into a ring; and untold ages must have been needed for effecting so prodigious an amount of diffusion. ‘The facts,’ in the

late Professor Kirkwood's words,* 'point to an indefinite 'antiquity of the cometic and meteoric clusters, to a slow 'change in the relative positions of the principal parts, and 'to a more considerable disturbance of more limited sections.' Those adjacent to the comet do not seem to be especially crowded. The Perseids of 1862, its immediate forerunners, came, as usual, rather in a trickle than as a shower.

The comet of the November meteors takes a very low spectacular rank. It bears, indeed, all the marks of effete-ness. Detected by Tempel late in 1865, it reached perihelion on January 11, 1866, at nearly the earth's distance from the sun, and was computed to have a period of thirty-three years and two months, but with so wide a margin of outstanding uncertainty that its non-appearance in the spring of the present year did not take celestial sentinels quite by surprise. The possibility, too, was contemplated † of its slipping by unperceived, owing to the highly unfavourable circumstances of its prescribed course. Whether it was miscalculated, or has been delayed, or has evaded the watch kept for it, remains to be proved. Meanwhile its absence cannot but be deplored, since it was an object no less interesting chemically, than mechanically and physically. Sir William Huggins found its light in 1866 to be of a quality shared with but one other known comet. It was concentrated in a solitary green ray, seemingly identical with the chief line of the nebular spectrum. Of the carbon bands normal in comets there was not a vestige; 'nebulum' was the sole ingredient that made a spectroscopic show. This exotic substance is none the less unknown in meteoritic chemistry. Its distinctive radiation has never yet been elicited in the laboratory. The 'unearthing' of nebulum may yet be accomplished, but it is more desirable than probable.

A Leonid aerolite, were such a thing obtainable, would offer the most promising material for analysis with this end in view; but, as we have already said, the Leonid radiant discharges no tangible missiles. The Perseid artillery is equally harmless, and, as a rule, with a very few possible and no proved exceptions, star showers are wholly of the 'flash-in-the-pan' order. The alleged exceptions are these two. First, during the memorable Lyrid display of 1095, when, according to the Saxon Chronicle, 'stars were seen

* *Astronomy and Astrophysics*, vol. xii. p. 790.

† Berberich, '*Astr. Nach.*' No. 3526.

'falling from heaven in manifold ways for nearly the whole of the night, not one or two at a time, but so thickly that no man could count them,' one plunged into the ground somewhere in France, presumably at Gemblours, since one Sigebert of Gemblours is the authority quoted for the statement; and a bystander, having noted the spot, 'cast water upon it, which was raised in steam with a great noise of boiling.'* The story sounds apocryphal. The resourceful rustic, the douche in the dark, the responsive effervescence, have the air of fiction. Surely the captor of the extinct 'star' would have dug it up to see what it was made of, in which case some tradition of its preservation ought to have lingered and been transmitted. More whimsical narratives, however, have often been in part verified, and the interests of truth are compromised as much by scepticism as by credulity. But, even if the aerolite did indeed fall *during* the shower, it may not have *belonged* to the shower. Upwards of fifty radiants, according to Mr. Denning, are active each night in every year, and the Gemblours stone might have proceeded from any one of them. Its connexion with the Lyrids was perhaps apparent only, an ostensible relationship created by the chance coincidence of their simultaneous arrival.

The same objection applies to the second example of the kind. Here, indeed, there is no question of fact. The Andromede tempest of November 27, 1885, was still trailing its skirts over the earth when a ranchman at Mazapil, in Mexico, witnessed the descent from the sky of a body some eight pounds in weight. It proved to be composed of nickeliferous iron, and specimens from the Mazapil meteorite have been freely disseminated and examined with all conceivable care. Popularly supposed to have made part of Biela's comet, they are looked upon with especial interest. Nothing, however, is really known about their origin in the absence of any indication as to the sky-point whence the aerolite issued. Its title to be called an Andromede is dubious, and must always remain so.

Gregarious meteors differ, then, from sporadic meteors, either in average mass or in the nature of their materials. Probably the latter is the essential point of diversity. The incoherent stuff of which they are likely to be composed crumbles at once before the resistance of the air, and thus

* Sir Francis Palgrave, 'Philosophical Transactions,' vol. cxxx. p. 175.

becomes a ready prey to the heat developed by rapid motion ; there is nothing left for gravity to act upon. Highly symptomatic, besides, is the silence of their explosions. They go to pieces visually, not audibly. Detonating meteors, such as that which burst over Madrid on February 10, 1896, travel apart from swarms.* The unproductiveness of the latter is of remarkable significance, and may safely be brought into correlation with the dumbness of their onrushes. These features lend to meteoric displays an almost unearthly character. Audible or material outcome there is none from the fast-coming flakes of fire ; the empyrean 'strews its 'lights below ;' the spectacle seems more a vision than a reality.

The conditions favouring sky-falls are large mass and small velocity. The faster the invading bodies travel the less their chance of touching the ground. No dash or hurry avails for the attainment of the goal. The results justify the proverb, 'Fair and softly goes far in a day.' The reason is this : heat developed by motion increases as the *square* of the speed. A doubled rate of advance implies a fourfold accession of temperature ; triple velocity, a nine-fold thermal increment, and so on. The destructive intensity of the conflagration, thus augmenting by a duplicate proportion, greatly outweighs the advantage of passing quickly through it. Solitary meteors, however, are not, in general, more leisurely travellers than meteors in flocks. Rather the reverse. The majority pursue hyperbolic paths, with velocities beyond the solar power to control. That is to say, they are deflected from their rectilinear course by the sun's gravity, but not permanently subjugated. They effect their escape—untoward accidents apart—back to space. Accidents of attraction, and accidents of encounter, are mainly those to which the runaways are liable. Some, through planetary capture, are reduced from the status of hyperbolic 'plungers' to the ranks of mere elliptical plodders. And it is these chiefly—as Professor Newton first pointed out—which stock the shelves of our museums. They are apt to fall just because they have been deprived of a portion of their original movement. Others, which retain it undiminished, do indeed get entangled in the meshes of our atmo-

* Schiaparelli, indeed ('*Memorie dell' Istituto Lombardo*,' t. xii. p. 148), speaks of detonating November meteors, but these are unlikely to have been true Leonids. Mere coincidences of date are eminently misleading in questions of meteoric identification.

spheric net, and there is, speaking generally, no breaking loose from them; but they are demolished, *cæteris paribus*, at an earlier stage of their careers than their more tardy brethren, and hence produce relatively few aerolites.

We have said enough to show that the barrenness of meteoric showers cannot be attributed to their swiftness; aerolites, in fact, taken all round, are animated by more rapid motions. It must, then, depend upon the fragility of their materials. There seems no alternative to the inference that substantial bodies, of many tons' weight, are essentially solitary wayfarers. Confirmatory spectroscopic evidence of chemical diversities between them and swarming 'stars' may eventually be forthcoming, but the subject has still to be prosecuted.

The distinction is emphasised by indications, not to be mistaken, of a divergent origin. Hyperbolic meteors cannot proceed from comets. The nature of their orbits proves them to be thorough-paced vagrants, owing no allegiance to sun or star, and running into our system as blindly as migrating birds dash against lighthouses. But comets are true clients of the sun, although belonging, so to speak, to the exterior department of his household organisation; they accompany his interstellar journey, and move round him in elongated ellipses: in ellipses, however, not—unless through the effects of chance disturbance—in hyperbolas. And the closing of the path marks all the difference between habitual resort and adventitious arrival.

To recapitulate: Meteors may be divided into those that have, and those that have not, primitively made part of comets. The second class, being of more solid structure, are virtually the exclusive source of stonefalls; and they yield them with added facility when their rate of going has been curtailed by planetary pulls. This is not, indeed, a condition *sine quâ non*; hyperbolic aerolites from time to time present themselves; but they need to be of very considerable mass to pass unconsumed through the furnace thrice heated by the arrest of their enormous velocities. It must be remembered that the specimens collected usually represent only a small part of the original body. They result from shattering explosions, the products of which are dispersed far and wide. Thus fragments of the Madrid meteorite fell near Cadiz; and such wreckage is sometimes abundantly spread over regions many square miles in extent.

Meteoric streams, on the other hand, undoubtedly result from cometary decay. As to the mode of their generation

we are unluckily ignorant; for the theory propounded ten years ago by M. Brédikhine, the eminent Russian astronomer, of their expulsion towards the sun in the guise of 'anomalous tails,' is scarcely convincing. They must have entered our system as a single mass with the parent comet; otherwise the observed orbital unanimity could not exist; and their capture once effected, the process of their diffusion doubtless set in forthwith. It was quickened by the unequal attractions of the sun and planets, and went on without let or hindrance. The associated meteors that come within our cognisance do not constitute genuine swarms. No inner ties unite them; none are in mutual revolution. They pursue a common route, yet quite irrespectively one of the other. Each Leonid, each Perseid, revolves on its own account, dynamically alone, and is gradually getting further and further separated from its companions. The law of development of their relations is one of disaggregation.

We have applied the term 'sporadic' to certain meteors, so far, without qualification; modern observations, nevertheless, hint at a *caveat* regarding it. As they accumulate, the probability augments that bodies strictly so describable are not to be found. Association, however distant, is coming to be established as prevalent. The point from which one meteoric apparition, insignificant or conspicuous, has emanated frequently proves, if long and carefully watched, to be the source of others. The phenomenon of radiation, in a word, is much more general than had been supposed. Mr. Denning, in a paper the title of which appears at the head of this article, enumerates 4,367 radiants, determined from about 120,000 recorded tracks; and none of these are situated further to the south than twenty degrees from the celestial equator. The profusion of foci might indeed, at first sight, appear to involve a begging of the question at issue. No possible meteor, it may be argued, can avoid passing near enough to some one of the 4,367 points of convergence to be plausibly connected with it, especially when the somewhat wide limits of observational error are taken into consideration. The objection, however, loses much of its force on a more attentive scrutiny of the facts. The care used in their amassment, far from effacing their significance, places in a clearer light the concentrative tendency of solitary-seeming fire-balls, bolides, and shooting stars. Even those endowed with hyperbolic velocities not uncommonly follow one another in Indian file, so as to arrive successively, year by year, from an identical direction

in space.* This implies, of course, a stream always flowing, although met by the earth only at annual intervals; and it must have a source, not being 'regenerative,' like the Leonid and Perseid flows. For the component droplets of these, since they move in oval rings, come round and round continually; while the law of hyperbolic travelling is 'Vestigia nulla retrorsum.' Radiants, it is true, may prove exhaustible. Certain meteoric currents possibly resemble rivers without well-heads. They will perhaps run dry in a comparatively short time. The poet's 'Labetur in omne volubilis ævum' may not fit their case. An 'expectant rustic' may, after all, see the end of them. Their future depends upon the nature of their origin. Was it catastrophic, or did it fall in with the regular order of things? It is impossible to decide, and scarcely allowable at present to conjecture. In speculation, however, no less than in practice, 'Zeit bringt Rath.'

The same consolatory maxim is appropriate in other perplexities regarding meteoric radiants, above all in attempts to expound the distinction between the 'stationary' and the 'shifting' kinds. The Perseid focus exemplifies the latter. It advances among the stars with the earth's progress in its orbit. It behaves, that is to say, normally, since its apparent place on the sphere results from a combination of the meteoric and the terrestrial movements at each given instant. And the stream being very diffuse, the earth does not get wholly clear of it for some weeks, during which time the angle of direction of its motion wheels through nearly thirty degrees. The lie of the Perseid paths ought then to vary in correspondence with this considerable change; and it does. There is here no anomaly. But in other cases theory and fact are at daggers drawn. Certain radiants continue fixed, not merely night after night, but for weeks and even months. They exempt themselves absolutely from the ordinary law of aberration. The well known Orionid centre, to take one of many similar instances, preserves entire rigidity during the twenty-one nights of its activity (October 9 to 29).† Here, and quite as conspicuously elsewhere, geometrical necessity seems to be set at naught. Mr. Denning, the discoverer of this strange peculiarity, has taken the judicious course of leaving it unexplained.

Meantime we cannot avoid asking ourselves the crucial

* Niessl, 'Wochenschrift für Astronomie,' Bd. xx. pp. 246, 277.

† Denning, 'Popular Astronomy,' vol. i. pp. 210, 269,

question, 'What are meteorites? Whence do they come? 'What is their history, what their destiny?' Scraps of adventitious mineral that, after whole Odysseys of adventure, have come to rest within the shelter of a glass case, they can, like the flower 'plucked out of the crannies,' be 'held 'in the hand;' they can be examined, analysed, compared. Nor is there any scarcity of workable material; the Paris Natural History Museum alone contains specimens of 463 distinct falls; yet the mystery enveloping them has not been dissipated.

Between thirty and forty of our home-bred elements, and no foreign substances, enter into their composition. But the modes of combination of these elements present novelties. In other words, meteoric chemistry is familiar, meteoric mineralogy strange to our experience.

Meteorites separate of themselves into two classes—'siderites,' which are virtually blocks of native iron; and 'uranoliths,' or 'sky stones.' Intermediate or 'siderolithic' varieties consist of an amalgam of metal and stone. Siderites contain notable proportions of nickel and cobalt, and a small percentage of the rare metal gallium.* They differ, accordingly, in the most marked way from ordinary telluric iron, yet are deceptively imitated by some infrequent volcanic ejecta, such as those met with by Nordenskiöld at Ovifak, in Greenland. Subterranean stores of material indistinguishable from theirs may then exist.

Cosmic stones, too, bear a strong eruptive stamp. The more profound, indeed, the source of subterranean products, the closer is their similarity to extra-terrestrial masses. Basaltic lavas, serpentines, volcanic bombs, present striking analogies to them;† yet in the main features of their structure meteoric minerals stand quite apart. They are mostly 'chondritic' or 'brecciated'—that is, compacted of spherules embedded in their own débris, or of miscellaneous splinters and shards. Their purely igneous origin, inferred by Dr. Sorby in 1858, from a study of their microscopic glassy 'inclusions,' was confirmed by M. Daubrée in 1866; while a recent authority, M. Cohen, concludes them to result from hurried crystallisation, attended by rapid changes of temperature.‡ Complex processes are certainly

* Hartley and Ramage, 'Astrophysical Journal,' vol. ix. p. 227.

† Daubrée, 'Revue des Deux Mondes,' December 15, 1885, p. 904; Stanislas Meunier, 'La Géologie Comparée,' pp. 91, 92; Vaughan Cornish, 'Knowledge,' vol. xiv. p. 165.

‡ Meteoritenkunde, Heft 1, p. 329.

indicated, carried on at high temperatures and, in many cases, under strong pressure. The rending effects of explosions or eruptions may have been superadded, besides those of a kind of hammer-and-anvil play between gaseous blasts and imprisoning rock-walls. Manifold traces of urgent violence are legible.

The 'occlusion' of gases in meteorites forms in itself a curious and interesting branch of research. Many appear to have been formed in an atmosphere of compressed hydrogen, of which they have absorbed otherwise unaccountable quantities. Carbonic acid, carbonic oxide, nitrogen, and—in minute proportions—argon and helium are also driven off by heat from sundry specimens. Professor Ramsay's detection of argon in the 'Augusta County' siderite gave a hint of the universal diffusion of the new gas. But all his efforts failed to induce reabsorption. The emancipated genius in the 'Arabian Nights' was not more successfully recalcitrant; and the Professor could only surmise 'the condition of retention' to be a heating to fusion of the iron in an atmosphere of hydrocarbons, followed by sudden cooling. It might, he imagined, have been complied with in the case of ejection 'from some stellar body 'at a high temperature.'*

Aerolites are certainly not of the *teres atque rotundus* order. Initially they doubtless formed part of comparatively huge masses, of which they are the refuse or the remnants. Now theories of expulsion encounter one fatal objection. They assume enormous volcanic activities, such as can only, and with difficulty, be conceived to prevail in *young* worlds. But young worlds possess dense atmospheres; and, if our own is an almost perfect shield against projectiles aided by gravity, we can fancy how ineffectual for its penetration would be bombs launched in defiance of gravity. We may, then, rest assured that no body resembling the earth ever discharged into space any portion of its solid contents.

The alternative view is that meteorites are the very dust of cosmic decay, mementoes of world-mortality, proclaiming the *sic transit* of the 'pale populace of heaven.' As globes cool and harden they cease to be plastic; and at last, instead of yielding to strains, they are rent by them. The fissures in the moon, due possibly to this

* Nature, July 4, 1895.

cause, are held,* with good show of reason, to betoken incipient disruption. A fractured sphere, however, will not permanently continue to revolve and rotate as one mass. It must finally go to pieces, and strew its orbit with ruins. The subject is obscure; but we welcome the gleam of an illustration on the darkness of meteoric origins, and such a gleam appears to be supplied by the actual state of our satellite. Effete suns perhaps meet the same fate; and the plunge through our air of a barrow-load of blackened stones may, for aught we can tell, announce the perishing of some once glorious orb. The meteoritic stage is defined by M. Stanislas Meunier as 'the 'last term of astral metamorphosis; '† and he adds that it reveals to us the mechanism by which the substance of dead globes is reincorporated with those still in organic relations with their environment. There can, for instance, be no doubt that the waning atmospheric stock of carbon is reinforced by meteoric infalls, the extinction of life through its expenditure being thereby postponed or averted; while the oxygen that they bring, although in less immediate demand, is also, so far as it goes, a desirable contribution to the resources of a city in space devoid of any other commissariat arrangements.

The meteoric displays anticipated for last November severely disappointed expectation. Some Leonids appeared; next to no Andromedes. A lacuna in the distribution of the latter chanced to coincide with the earth's passage of the node. We crossed the stream, so to speak, dry-shod. The vanished comet was due there about April 23, 1899; hence the earth *led* by five months; and it will be seven months in the rear when the point of orbital intersection is reached next month. A dense shower can thus hardly be looked for; yet stragglers in considerable numbers are likely to cross our path. No further chance of a meeting will occur until 1904 or 1905, and meantime its epoch will have advanced to November 17, under compulsion exerted by Jupiter in 1901.‡ The two great meteoric tribes of November will then have become almost synchronous in their displays.

The earth needs only a few hours to cut its way through the main body of the Leonids; but rovers, formerly diverted from it by the attraction either of our own or of some other

* Meunier, 'Encycl. Chimique,' t. ii. p. 420.

† Comptes Rendus, t. cv. p. 1038.

‡ Abellmann, 'Astr. Nach.' No. 8516.

planet, flit more or less numerous across the skies during at least ten days—say, from November 10 to 20. They travel hundreds, if not thousands, of miles apart, while the space-allowance for their most closely packed associates is ten to twenty cubic miles. Their distribution, however, is marked by striking inequalities, *rolleys* from the radiant alternating with pauses in meteoric musketry practice. Platoon firing is often suggested.

The transversal section of the array is, however, insignificant compared with its longitudinal extent. The procession across the node occupies fully three years. It does not cease when we no longer perceive it. Month after month, during the long absence of our wheeling globe, it continues uninterruptedly; on our annual return to the trysting-place we find it still in progress; the end comes only after a train some two thousand millions of miles in length has passed by. Hence the consecutive showers of the thirties and sixties; and hence the full persuasion of astronomers that the Leonid season, which has recently set in, will see the present century out, and finish in the next. The years 1899, 1900, and 1901 may, in short, be safely counted upon for profuse November falls.

According to Dr. Johnstone Stoney, whose researches into the dynamics of the system have extended over many decades, the van of the 'ortho-Leonids,' as he calls the regularly marshalled battalions of the rushing multitude, came upon the earth in the early morning of November 15 last. The most successful and the only significant observations were made in America. At Harvard College Observatory 800 meteors were registered, the maximum occurring at 3 A.M. Professor Barnard, favoured at the Yerkes establishment by the timely clearing of a sullen sky, described those seen by him as 'all white, with very 'rapid motions, leaving beautiful greenish or bluish streaks, 'which persisted for a large fraction of a second.' They 'came in spurts,' but none appeared to explode, and only one approximated to the brilliancy of Venus.

The shower was indeed nowhere of imposing effectiveness; yet its records are of eminent scientific interest; and chiefly on this account, that, through its means, meteoric photography was at last raised to its proper place in astronomy, and has definitively entered upon a career of incalculable possibilities. At Harvard College the radiant was determined by prolonging backwards the trails left on the plates by four meteors. Dr. Elkin, of Yale, derived a Leonid orbit

from autographic data; and for one meteor, caught in duplicate at a co-operating station, determined heights respectively of apparition and disappearance of 69 and 61 miles.* Professor Pickering, the energetic Harvard chief, noticed, moreover, sudden explosive changes in some of the imprinted light tracks, and the envelopment of others in a luminous sheath. He might well claim for his results that they proved the efficiency of the camera in meteoric investigations. These already, by their means, stand on a higher level than could previously have been assigned to them, and their progress need no longer be hampered by the vagueness of eye estimations. Data, both permanent and precise, can now be accumulated, and will serve as the basis of conclusions, few in number perhaps, but no longer hesitating and inconclusive.

An important accession to knowledge in this direction seems, accordingly, to be at hand; and we shall probably find our ideas on many kindred topics simultaneously enlarged and illuminated. Much, however, will depend upon the issue of the manifold preparations for coming meteoric events. The fundamental condition for success is the due arrival of the swarm. 'First catch your hare,' as Mrs. Glasse did *not* say. Then there is weather to be reckoned with; not too hopefully, but for the prospect, recently opened, of getting above the clouds. This an aeronautic party from Meudon perfectly succeeded in accomplishing last November, although on the wrong night. The serene sky under which they found themselves at an elevation of five hundred feet, was virtually blank of meteors. This year numerous and completely organised balloon ascents have been planned in view of the probability of overcast skies, which may thus be rendered comparatively innocuous. Finally, the 'wandering moon,' 'riding near 'her highest noon,' must inevitably efface the less conspicuous elements of the display. The sensitive plate, it is true, comes to the rescue, yet, for the present, tentatively. Moonlight photography is an art in itself, and it has few adepts. The most distinguished is Professor Barnard. He can manipulate his plates so as to avoid 'fogging,' while sacrificing no material part of the effects due to carefully timed exposures. We may hope that he and others will

* The feat was anticipated by Professors Schaeberle and Colton at Lick, November 14, 1896 ('Popular Astronomy,' September 1897, p. 232).

succeed in rescuing the coming Leonids from lunar submergence. Their scenic beauty, indeed, cannot but be marred; but this may be borne with equanimity, if only the scientific situation be saved. Here in England, especially, the outlook for a celestial 'sensation' is discouraging. It should be at its best, if calculations are verified, about noon, Greenwich time, on November 15; so that the sun and moon will conspire to exclude us from the spectacle, which may be additionally cloaked by an unwelcome canopy of clouds.

ART. III.—1. *Report of Lord Rothschild's Committee on Old Age Pensions.* (C. 8911 of 1898.)

2. *Report of the Select Committee on the Aged Deserving Poor.* (C. 296 of 1899.)

3. *Report of the Select Committee on the Cottage Homes Bill.* (C. 261 of 1899.)

4. *Provision for Old Age by Government Action in certain European Countries.* Report by Labour Department of the Board of Trade, 1899.

UNDER the modern manufacturing system most of those engaged in hand labour are as useful soon after twenty as they ever will be, and their strength is quickly spent. In the lawyer's trade, or the doctor's, or banker's, or merchant's, the wary instinct acquired by experience counterbalances up to an advanced age the inevitable loss of energy, but this is so in few of the modern manual occupations. Skill and moral perseverance are supplied, in large industries, by the machine; the workmen need only possess those gifts of youth, physical strength and quick agility. In many occupations a labourer finds it increasingly difficult to obtain a new place after he is fifty, and his savings may be spent long before he has bridged the interval between cessation of employment and departure from this sad abode of earth. Hence, in all countries covered by the modern 'Western civilisation' the question of public provision for old age of the poor has assumed much social and political importance.

An interesting report recently published by the Labour Department of the Board of Trade shows that, out of eleven European countries with which it deals, only two, Germany and Denmark, can be said to have adopted a general system of pensions or relief in old age. Under the German system of compulsory insurance against old age or invalidity, established in 1889, over 400,000 persons, in 1897, drew pensions amounting to 2,750,000*l.*, of which over a million was contributed by the State, the rest being derived in equal shares from deductions from wages and payments by employers. Thus the average pension is at present about 7*l.* a year, or about 2*s.* 8*d.* a week. The system appears to be cumbrous, and, even in hierarchical Germany, is certainly expensive to administer, and is said not to give much satisfaction to those for whose benefit it is designed. It has not fulfilled

its author's hopes by checking the advance of Socialism. The Danish system is, the Board of Trade Report points out, rather a 'special form of old-age relief to necessitous persons 'of good character.' The amounts given are small and varying, and are awarded on the principle of supplementing the recipient's other means so as just to enable him to live. As the Select Committee presided over by Mr. Chaplin say, 'it is difficult to see what substantial difference there is, in practice, between the pensions in Denmark and the out-relief given in this country to the deserving poor, except that in Denmark such relief can be claimed as a matter of right, and conveys no civil disqualifications.' Outside Europe a true old-age pension system, upon a very generous scale, has been established by the colony of New Zealand, but this recent experiment has not yet been tested by time.

In Holland a Royal Commission reported in 1895 in favour of a scheme of compulsory insurance after the German model, but no legislation has yet taken place. In Sweden there have been similar attempts, not yet successful, to follow the German example. In France, compulsory provision for old age exists in the case of seamen and miners. Otherwise the line of action favoured by the French, who have feared too much the logic of Socialism ever to embark upon a Poor Law, has been that of placing a bonus upon savings. This is effected through a 'Caisse nationale des retraites pour la vieillesse.' The Caisse itself is quite an old institution, but, under a law of 1895, persons of seventy years and upwards who have paid contributions to the Caisse, or subscribed to an approved friendly society, having a pension fund, for a specified number of years, are entitled to a State-given increment to their pensions. The whole pension, with this addition, must not, however, exceed 14*l.* 8*s.*, and the increment must not exceed a fifth of the pension. As yet this system has a very small operation. In another country no less distinguished for an inveterate spirit of thrift—Belgium—a similar 'Caisse de retraite' has been established, and, though no bonus is given as in France, the acquisition of superannuation annuities is greatly encouraged and widely taught. In Italy there is a State-aided 'National Pension Fund' to meet contributions of workpeople.

In our own country the modern phase of the question may be said to date from certain returns made to Parliament by the Local Government Board in 1890 and 1891. These

returns show that between childhood and the sixtieth year of life the ratio of pauperism to population is now very small indeed, but that after that age it increases swiftly. Upon these figures was based the famous statement in the Report of the Aberdare Commission that 'nearly 20 per cent. of the total population above the age of sixty-five 'receive relief in one day, and nearly 30 per cent. in the 'course of one year.' If from the total population were deducted the well to do, it was evident that a very large proportion—perhaps half—of the population below their level were, after sixty-five, in more or less frequent receipt of Poor Law relief. These returns were the heralds of three subsequent public inquiries into the matter.

The Royal Commission, of which Lord Aberdare was chairman, was appointed at the beginning of 1893, and instructed 'to consider whether any alterations in the 'system of Poor Law relief are desirable in the case of 'persons whose destitution is occasioned by incapacity for 'work, resulting from old age, or whether assistance could 'otherwise be afforded in those cases.' This Commission sat for two years, and took from about seventy witnesses evidence ranging over the whole administration of the Poor Law. They also examined numerous schemes for dealing with the old-age question.

The chief facts established by this well-conducted inquiry seem to be the following. Since the middle of the present century there has been a great decline in the ratio of total pauperism to the whole population. This decline is no doubt largely due to the increase in national wealth and to the larger share in it which the working classes have been able to secure, and to their own savings and organisations. It is also in part due to the success of the policy of 1834, and the disestablishment of the able-bodied pauper. Able-bodied pauperism has almost been rooted out; widowhood and sudden distress accounts for most of it that is left. In recent years most of those who have received relief, whether indoor or outdoor, have been the aged, the infirm, the sick, and children. Those of the aged who receive indoor relief are persons, as a rule, who by reason of infirmity of mind or body, or because the usual out-relief will not enable them to keep a home together, cannot live outside a public institution. Except in a very small number of Unions, all aged poor of fairly respectable character who need relief, and are not too infirm to live outside, do receive out-relief. The amount of out-relief varies much, but on the

average comes to about half a crown a week. This is not sufficient to support existence, but in almost all cases the recipients possess some supplementary means, derived from charity or small earnings. The relief is given as a rule upon this assumption. It is given without much discrimination or inquiry; a Board of Guardians has been timed to deal with 177 cases in one hour and eleven minutes. The theory of the Poor Law is that out-relief, when given at all, should be given after full investigation and in adequate amount. It is clear that, as a matter of fact, it is given after most scanty investigation, and without any pretence that it is sufficient of itself to support existence. In some cases it is virtually a grant to meet charitable donations; in others it operates as a public grant in aid of wages, or in aid of small pensions from old employers. The Aberdare Commission also made it clear that cases are not properly watched or revised, so that, as circumstances change, the relief originally granted often becomes too little or too much. It is further evident that this indiscriminate outdoor relief often flows more copiously in the direction of the less deserving but more pushing applicants, and that it frequently is a cause of deception and bitterness. An aged pious impostor can extract a very fair income by at once drawing Poor Law relief and tapping the fountains of several rival religious organisations.

The Aberdare Commission in their Report recommended

‘that Boards of Guardians, in dealing with applications for relief, should inquire with special care into the antecedents of destitute persons whose physical faculties may have failed by reason of age and infirmity, and that outdoor relief should in such cases be given to those who have been of good character, thrifty according to their opportunities, and generally independent in early life, and who are not living under conditions of health or surrounding circumstances which make it evident that the relief given should be indoor relief.’

It is to be feared that this good advice is like the seed which fell upon rocky ground. A Board of Guardians is most often a body of not highly enlightened tradesmen or farmers, with here and there (more rarely perhaps than in the days of *ex-officio* members) a squire or clergyman, meeting at intervals for a couple of hours or less, and having to dispose in this space, not only of out-relief, but of the household cares of the workhouse. In rural districts, since 1894, exactly the same men, meeting under a different name, have to administer roads and sanitary matters. How should we

expect them to go into every case as if they were a Charity Organisation Society, specialised for that business? *Guardians* might have replied to the Royal Commission, as the old woman of Kent to the Vicar, 'Ha, nice advice, nice 'advice!'

At the same time the *Aberdare* inquiry—and this has been confirmed by much evidence before the recent Select Committee on Cottage Homes—showed how much improved the state of workhouses has been in recent years. A certain melancholy must always attach to old age spent in great public institutions, but there is no doubt that, so far as material comfort—food, warmth, and cleanliness—can compensate for the loss of a home, aged inmates are often much better off than if they lived outside. Especially in great cities is this the case, both because life outside is harder than in the country, and because the workhouses are better. In some places such as Liverpool and Sheffield, and some London Unions, the system of classification is being carried out on a large scale. In Liverpool, for instance, in the West Derby Union, all deserving old people are drafted into an entirely separate building in another part of the town. This building is in effect an old-age asylum. There is every reason to think that the system will spread. It is chiefly in consequence of improved accommodation, nursing, and medical treatment in workhouses, that the total Poor Law expenditure increased by three millions a year in England and Wales between 1861 and 1891, and has rapidly increased since then, especially since the administration was entrusted in 1894 to more democratically elected bodies.

The modern 'House,' with all its melancholy, is at least a far better abode than the miserable little *Inferno* so powerfully described by Crabbe at the end of the last century:—

'Theirs is yon house that holds the parish poor,
Whose walls of mud scarce bear the broken door,
There, where the putrid odours, flagging, play,
And the dull wheel hums doleful through the day;
There children dwell who know no parents' care;
Parents, who know no children's love, dwell there;
Heart-broken matrons on their joyless bed,
Forsaken wives, and mothers never wed;
Dejected widows with unheeded tears,
And crippled age with more than childhood fears;
The lame, the blind, and, far the happiest they!
The moping idiot, and the madman gay.'

The account given of such places by the Poor Law Commissioners of 1834 is but a prose version of the strong and exact poet. Describing the smaller parochial workhouses (and the larger were not much better), they said :—

‘We usually find the building called a workhouse occupied by sixty or eighty paupers, made up of a dozen or more neglected children (under the care, perhaps, of a pauper), about twenty or thirty able-bodied adult paupers of both sexes, and probably an equal number of aged and impotent persons, proper objects of relief. Amidst these the mothers of bastard children and prostitutes live without shame, and associate freely with the youth, who have also the examples and conversation of the frequent inmates of the county gaol, the poacher, the vagrant, the decayed beggar, and other characters of the worst description. To these may often be added a solitary blind person, one or two idiots, and not infrequently are heard, far away from the rest, the incessant ravings of some neglected lunatic. In such receptacles the sick poor are often immured.’

To the poor inmates of that day a modern Union house would have seemed a paradise of peace, order, and comfort. The strong existing tendency towards further amelioration may be hastened if, by legislation or administrative pressure, the recommendations recently made by the ‘Select Committee on Cottage Homes’ can be carried out. They suggest that, in order to make space for the better classification of aged inmates, all children other than infants should be maintained outside of the workhouse premises, and that it should be the duty of County Councils to provide separate institutions for the reception of all pauper imbeciles and epileptics, as they already do for the insane. They advise also that Guardians should provide cottage homes within the Unions for married couples and ‘respectable old persons whose poverty is not their own fault but the result of misfortune.’ In all this advice Mr. Russell’s Committee do but swim with the tide of feeling which is even now bringing these things to pass.

The Aberdare Commission did not restrict themselves to the examination of the existing Poor Law system and suggestions as to its improvement. They investigated the various methods by which provision is made for old age through endowed charities, friendly societies, and other organisations. They carefully examined several pension schemes which were brought before them. Among these were Mr. Charles Booth’s plan for universal pensions for the good and the bad, the saving and the thriftless, the millionaire and the man without a penny. They examined

also Canon Blackley's scheme of compulsory insurance and the scheme then advocated by Mr. Chamberlain of deferred annuities assisted by the State. None of these schemes were the majority able to recommend. Mr. Chamberlain, however, and some of his fellow-commissioners were of opinion that these schemes had not been sufficiently dealt with, and suggested that a further inquiry into this part of the subject should be made by 'a Special Commission less numerous than ours, and better able to deal with the complicated technical details of the subject in an impartial and scientific spirit.'

This suggestion led, after the present Government had come into power in 1895, to the appointment of the committee presided over by Lord Rothschild. This committee was composed of several distinguished permanent officials, together with two or three actuaries and representatives of friendly societies. They were instructed

'to consider any schemes for encouraging the industrial population, by State aid or otherwise, to make provision for old age . . . with special regard, in the case of any proposals of which they may approve, to their cost and probable financial results to the Exchequer and local rates, their effect in promoting habits of thrift and self-reliance, their influence on the prosperity of the friendly societies, and the possibility of securing the co-operation of these institutions in their practical working.'

The Rothschild Committee presented a virtually unanimous report after two years' consideration of the subject. They held themselves to be forbidden by the terms of their reference to recommend any scheme not involving a direct and positive contribution in money made by the recipient towards his own endowment in old age. They examined various schemes for attaining that end by way of deferred annuities assisted by the State. They condemned these schemes for various reasons, especially because no system of this kind could have any direct effect until some forty years after its introduction, and because it seemed to them most undesirable that the State, already unable to make the Post Office Savings Bank pay its way, should become the holder of further great accumulations of money, and subject to uncertain future liabilities. The Rothschild Committee then constructed with great care a model scheme of their own, upon the basis of one suggested by Sir Spencer Walpole. This scheme is, in short, that any person over sixty-five years of age who could produce an income from an 'assured source' of not less than 2s. 6d. and not more

than 5*s.* a week should receive from public funds a supplement, varying inversely to his own income, but not exceeding 2*s.* 6*d.* a week. An 'assured income' was to mean an income derived from real estate, or a Post Office or friendly society annuity, or any other safe source. The Committee offered this scheme as the best which they could devise within the limits of their reference, and then crushed it themselves with powerful criticism. After pointing out that the system would encourage thrift up to a certain point, and after that would actually discourage, that it would only assist a part, perhaps a third part, of the manual labour classes, since the 5*s.* income limit would exclude those who were better off, and the impossibility of providing the 2*s.* 6*d.* contribution would exclude all the poorest, and that of the remnant many, through infirmity, would be unable to live upon a pension outside of public institutions, the Committee said:—

'We can hardly, for the benefit of so limited a section of the community, recommend the Government to establish a pension system, which must be extremely difficult and costly to administer, which excludes the really destitute and those who, owing to broken health and misfortune, or want of employment, or a lower rate of wage-earning, can make no contribution, and which would be open to considerable fraudulent claims, difficult, often impossible, to detect.'

We think the Rothschild Committee did valuable service in closing certain paths of advance and thus diminishing the number of possible directions which policy in this matter may take. Many paths once considered open are now 'hedged up with thorns,' to use a Biblical phrase. The system of compulsory insurance against old age, imposed with doubtful success upon Germany by the iron will of Bismarck, is generally felt to be repugnant to the genius of English liberty. The universal system of Mr. Booth, by reason of its immense cost, is felt to be as yet beyond the range of the possible. The report of the Rothschild Committee is a sentence of death to schemes dependent upon deferred annuities or direct money contributions by the recipients.

The movement in favour of better old-age relief was not checked by the Rothschild Report, but it was forced to flow through fewer channels. Several Bills were brought by private members before the House of Commons embodying different principles. Probably there was a division of opinion upon the whole question in the Cabinet itself since—usual sign of compromise—it was resolved to remit the

matter to a new inquiry. This time it was entrusted neither to a Royal Commission nor to a Treasury Committee, but to the less coldly critical judgement of a Select Committee of the House of Commons. The Committee were instructed 'to consider and report upon the best means of improving 'the condition of the aged deserving poor, and providing for 'those of them who are helpless and infirm.' They were also instructed to examine the several Old-Age Pension Bills and to see whether any of them could be recommended to Parliament with or without amendment.

A study of the proceedings of this Select Committee shows that three main views were represented there. First we find the view that any kind of pension system will do more harm than good. Any such system, it is urged, must discourage thrift, self-reliance, industry, affect wage rates, immensely increase the intervention of administrative authorities in the affairs of life, and even then be extremely difficult to administer, and must open a source of temptation to future politicians. To take such a step would be, according to this view, to put back the clock of economic progress. It would be an error like in kind to that committed by Mr. Pitt's Government when, in 1796, they conferred a right to out-relief upon able-bodied labourers. Mr. Lecky, the chief exponent of these views upon the Committee, thus ends his rejected but very able draft Report:—

'To open a new and ever-increasing fund, amounting to many millions a year, derived from compulsory taxation, and employed in directly subsidising the poor, would, in my opinion, be a most retrograde and dangerous step. It would reproduce, in a most dangerous form, the evils of the old Poor Law as it existed before the reform of 1834. It would certainly arrest that steady decline of pauperism which has been one of the happiest features of our time. It would check the growth or destroy the efficiency of voluntary organisations and arrangements which are of the highest value. It could scarcely fail to weaken the habits of providence and thrift which have been rapidly growing among the poor, and which are a vital element in national prosperity, and in many other ways which I have endeavoured to indicate it would prove in a very high degree detrimental to the interests of the Empire.'

To Mr. Lecky and those who think with him—including many high social authorities—no reform seems to be advisable beyond a gradual and cautious improvement of the administration of the Poor Law, by way of better classification of the recipients both of indoor and outdoor relief.

This, they believe, can safely be left to the local authorities, stimulated by a more attentive and humane public opinion, and guided by the central administrative wisdom. This view is, we think, entitled to great respect. It remains to be seen whether there is any tenable ground between it and the extreme policy of advance espoused by Mr. Charles Booth.

The second line of action which found advocacy in the Select Committee is that of conferring a legal right to old-age pensions upon all persons qualified by definite acts of merit. The qualification most commonly suggested is membership of a friendly society during a fixed term of years. This proposal encountered the objection that, in theory, membership of a friendly society is not the one proof of an economically virtuous life, and that, in practice, the adoption of such a qualification would exclude a vast host of meritorious persons. In Ireland, for instance, there is plenty of thrift, but membership of friendly societies is not the form which it usually takes. A still more serious consideration is that, in the United Kingdom, the majority of persons over sixty-five are women. For the most part women are unable to keep up the regular and unfailing weekly contributions which these societies require. At bottom, moreover, friendly societies, as their jovial titles indicate, are based upon a principle of masculine club life, exclusive by its nature of womankind, since women for many reasons are not 'clubable.' As a matter of fact, an inappreciable number of women belong to these societies. But then this question arises: A flourishing artisan has earned his 30s. a week for thirty years; without great sacrifice of his meat, beer, and tobacco he has kept up his club subscription and has received his reward by pay in sickness: a woman has had six children, has spent all the money allowed her by her husband in food and clothing, has never had sixpence to spare to put by in a savings bank or to subscribe to a society, and is now left an old widow and destitute; on what moral grounds should a pension be given to the artisan and refused to the widow? Or, even, why should a pension be given to a member of a friendly society, but refused to a man who, in a free country, has chosen rather to place all his savings in a savings bank, or to subscribe to a building society, or accumulate share capital in a co-operative society, or to help his children, or to turn his spare cash to some of fifty other no less meritorious purposes? And is it expedient that the State

should hold out an express inducement to persons to join societies which are too often financially unsound? It is true that to give pensions to those persons only who had belonged for a fixed time to friendly societies (including trades unions with friendly benefits) would make the cost of the system much less alarming. Yet public opinion would scarcely be satisfied by an economy effected through the exclusion of almost all women, Irishmen, and the multitude of labourers whose employment is fluctuating and habitation unfixed. The present movement had its source in the statistical revelation of the great number of old people who were compelled to seek the shelter of the workhouse or to live on insufficient doles of out-relief. The Aberdare Commission supplied abundant evidence that but a small proportion of those who have belonged for long terms to friendly societies ever do apply for relief. The movement would hardly find its goal in a system which did not assist those whose need for assistance was the fountain and origin of the movement itself.

A third view urged before a Select Committee was that a legal right to a pension should be given to every person who was over sixty-five, had not received Poor-Law relief (save under exceptional circumstances) for twenty years, had not been convicted of any criminal offence, and did not derive from other sources an income of more than 10s. a week. This plan escapes the objections upon which we have just been dwelling. It is certainly not open to the charge of exclusiveness. A vast number of people possess, after sixty-five, an income of less than 10s. a week, and do, or can, fulfil the conditions of not receiving Poor-Law relief before sixty-five. In this case the practical difficulty is not injustice, but the enormous cost. There are at present about two millions of persons in the United Kingdom over sixty-five years of age. There is much reason to believe that of these not more than about 700,000 possess incomes exceeding 10s. a week. Certainly, at any rate, this would be the case if a public pension system gave an excellent reason to employers to reduce the wages and pensions at present given by them to their old or superannuated *employés*; and if so strong a motive to reduce or conceal income were applied to those who possess two or three shillings a week beyond the line. How many of the remaining 1,300,000 persons over sixty-five would be disqualified by the receipt of non-exceptional poor relief? Many at first, no doubt, if (which is unlikely) Parliament made no exception in favour of those already too old to

qualify under the new law. But one has to consider what would happen when the system came into full play. In some years' time the existing mass of aged paupers would have died out; all the efforts of private charity would have been turned to keeping those below sixty-five off the rates; the poor themselves would have made greater efforts, in the hope of a pension, to avoid relief before the age. Thus a multitude of persons would rise into this favoured class from below, and drop down into it from above. The result of all this would be, we think, that within fifteen or twenty years after the law had been passed almost the whole of the industrial class, and part of the lower middle, or small trading class, would, on arriving at the pension age, be legally entitled to pensions. In view of the rapid increase of population in the middle of the present century it seems probable that if the system were established in 1900, some million and a half of persons might, by the year 1920, be in receipt of pensions. If the pension was 5*s.* a week—and why should it not be doubled by some ambitious statesman?—the annual expenditure upon this object would then amount to nearly twenty millions, or, if a large deduction be made for saving to Poor-Law relief under the present system, the net additional expenditure might be some fifteen or sixteen millions. The country might, of course, be then so much wealthier that it could bear this burden with ease. But, again, it might be poorer, or have far larger military and naval expenditure to meet, and, in any case, have we a right so to mortgage the future? Adapting the famous Irish bull, one might ask what burden posterity has imposed upon us, that we should impose such a burden upon posterity?

Thus, on the one hand we have a scheme involving exclusive partiality, on the other a scheme involving an almost unthinkable cost. Between this Scylla and Charybdis the majority of the Select Committee endeavoured to steer. Their recommendations are evidently in the nature of a compromise between contending ideas. If the test of a successful compromise be that it should unite men of opposite views, each side believing that their object is substantially achieved, then Mr. Chaplin may boast that the compromise suggested and carried through by him has been successful. It has united the suffrages of men so unlike as Sir Samuel Hoare, Sir James Rankin, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Lionel Holland, and Mr. Michael Davitt. A combination of this kind shows, we suspect, that there are very

different ideas as to the way in which the scheme, if it became law, would be administered.

The Select Committee, after summarising the evidence which they had taken, thus state the problem to be solved:—

‘In dealing with this question there are two considerations which should always be borne in mind. One is the painful position and the hardship of the lot of many of the poor who are deserving, but who cannot help themselves, and who are relegated in their closing years either to inadequate out-door relief or to the still more distasteful shelter of the workhouse. The other is the striking and marked developement in the efforts of many of the poorer classes to make provision for themselves, and the problem to be solved is how to reconcile two objects which may appear to be conflicting; in other words, how to devise the means of making kindlier and more humane provision for the one class, without doing anything to discourage or arrest the laudable efforts of the other.’

In briefer words, how is it possible to help some without discouraging others to help themselves—a difficulty, be it noted, which is also attached to the present system of out-relief to the old? The Committee then state the scheme of conferring a right to pensions upon all persons over sixty-five, except those who have received poor relief, or have been convicted of a criminal offence, or who possess an income of more than 10s. a week. They state also the rival scheme, based more strictly upon justification by works, which requires the applicant either to have belonged to a friendly society for twenty years or to have secured a contributory income by the exercise of some definite kind of saving or thrift. They point out the costliness of the first scheme, the exclusiveness of the second. They then state their own *via media*. It is to this effect: Any person who satisfies the pension authority that he is a British subject, is sixty-five years of age, has not during a fixed preceding term received Poor-Law relief (other than medical) save under altogether exceptional circumstances, is resident within the district of the authority, has not an income from any source of more than 10s. a week, ‘and has endeavoured to the best of his ability, by his industry or by the exercise of reasonable providence, to make provision for himself and those immediately dependent upon him, shall receive a certificate to that effect and be entitled to a pension.’ The Committee add this important definition:—

‘With reference to the exercise of “reasonable providence,” we think that the authority should be bound to take into consideration

whether, and how far, it has been shown, either by membership of a benefit society for a period of years, or by the endeavour of the applicant to make such provision for his own support by means of savings or investments, or some other definite mode of thrift.'

The pension districts are to correspond with the present Unions, and the pension authority is to be a body chiefly consisting of persons appointed by the Board of Guardians from among their own members, together with some nominees of other representative bodies in the district. The cost of the pensions is to be borne primarily by the local rates in each district, but a subvention is to be given by the Exchequer in aid of the general Poor-Law expenditure in each district.

It will be observed that this scheme differs from one of those already described in that it requires the applicant to furnish some proof of positive thrift and self-help, and from the other in that there is no absolute or hard-and-fast requirement that he or she should have belonged to a friendly society, or should produce a contributory income from an assured source. The terms are wide enough to allow a pension to be given to an old man who could show that twenty years ago he had belonged for five years to a village benefit club which had broken, or to an old woman who could show that she had at one time accumulated 10*l.* or 12*l.* in the savings bank, though she had long ago had to spend it all. The words, were they law, would even allow the authority to give a pension to a man who had not been able to belong to any society or put by a penny, but 'by his industry . . . had made provision for 'himself and those immediately dependent on him'—that is, we suppose, had kept himself and his wife, and had brought up his children and started them in life. It is clear that legislation upon these lines would leave open a very wide field to the discretion of the administering authority, and that very different interpretations might be placed upon it in various districts. The administration would certainly not be at all the same in Middlesex and in Kerry. There is much to be said in favour of this elasticity, allowing, as it does, room for experiment and adaptation to varying local conditions. It does, however, mightily increase the difficulty of calculating beforehand what the total cost will be; indeed, it really renders anything approaching to a near estimate wholly impossible. The Select Committee very wisely declined to undertake such a task, and advised that it should be committed to 'competent experts.' But how

should experts, however competent, determine a question like this? There cannot be an expert where there is no experience. It should rather have been referred to a mixed committee of prophets and students of human nature. If a system of this kind should be rigidly administered, its cost might be confined within not too extensive boundaries. Liberally administered, the cost might be not much below that of the other scheme, the cost of which we have already discussed. It is not clear—though this is a most important matter—whether the Committee contemplate that an applicant whose claim is rejected is to have a right to try the question by suing the authority in a court of law. If so, the cost of the system will depend on the interpretation which courts may in future adopt. How can the ‘competent’ experts’ predict what this will be? If, on the other hand, courts of law are to have no voice in the matter, the interpretation of an Act upon these lines would largely be the resultant of the conflict in different districts between two forces—that of the local ratepayers, upon whom it is proposed to throw part of the burden, and that of those inhabitants who are less directly interested in the height of the rates than in the free distribution of pensions—a conflict modified by the alternate ebb and flow of various moral feelings. We need, certainly, seers rather than competent experts to forecast this result in terms of pounds sterling. If they are to make any calculation at all, the experts will probably find themselves obliged to assume that everyone who has not received poor-relief before sixty-five will fall within the category of the pension-worthy. Then, again, the Committee recommend that each district authority should be allowed to fix the pension scale for its own district at any sum not less than 5*s.* or more than 7*s.* a week, according to the cost of living in that locality. It is difficult to predict what the choice of most districts would be; yet this unmade choice is a most important element in the calculations as to the total cost. The competent experts will probably take an average of 6*s.*, but who can say whether this will correspond with future realities?

It is not, we repeat, clear whether the Committee contemplate that a legal right to pensions shall be given to applicants who fulfil the conditions. Any person, they say, who satisfies the pension authority upon certain points ‘shall receive a certificate to that effect, and shall be ‘entitled to a pension.’ Does this mean that, if they refuse him a pension, he may resort to a court of law and prove

that they ought to have been satisfied? The use of the word 'entitled' would incline one to think that this is the meaning of the Committee. Yet there is no mention in their Report of a court of law, or even of an appeal to a central administrative authority. It is a pity that their intention, if they had a conscious intention, is thus veiled in obscurity, because here is the crucial point of the whole matter. If the right to sue at law for a pension is not given, the scheme may be regarded as a great extension of the existing principles of the Poor Law. If a right to sue is given, the scheme is a revolutionary departure from those principles. Courts would soon have to decide questions like these: What kind of poor relief disqualifies for a pension? What are the 'exceptional circumstances,' relief under which does not disqualify? If a man has voluntarily reduced his income from 12*s.* to 9*s.* 6*d.* a week in order to claim a pension, can he have it? What is the meaning of residence within the district of the authority? Must he have resided for six months, one year, two years? As to the last qualification—that the applicant should have 'endeavoured to the best of his ability, by his industry or by the exercise of reasonable providence, to make provision for himself and those immediately dependent on him,' almost every word would afford material for a leading case. In the end rigid lines within which such pensions might be granted would be established, and all experience of the judicial mind teaches us to believe that the terms of the statute would be construed as strictly and literally as possible. This would, no doubt, be to the advantage of the taxpayer, until, at any rate, an indignant House of Commons removed the restrictions by new statute. On the other hand, the following considerations lead us to think that Parliament should confer no right to pensions enforceable in courts.

It is at present law in the United Kingdom that every destitute person is legally entitled to relief from the public taxes. The word 'destitute' means that he is unable to supply himself with the bare necessities of existence—food, clothing, and shelter, sufficient to keep him alive. Practice has often been lax, but no one has ever had a legal right to more than this. Nor, taking the whole history, has there ever been a right to anything more than relief given in a workhouse. The great deviation from this rule was under the statute of 1796, by which any applicant was allowed to appeal to any justice of the peace for an order to the over-

seers to give him out-relief. This deviation had most disastrous consequences, and almost ruined the country. The right was taken away by the Reform of 1834, a measure which could perhaps only have been carried at a time when the poor had hardly any electoral power. Since then no one has had a legal right to more than the shelter of the workhouse. Guardians have, however, been permitted to give out-relief to the old and infirm, and, in special circumstances, to others. This faculty the Guardians have used so largely that, as we have seen, there are few deserving old persons in workhouses, except those who are there by reason of unwillingness or physical or mental inability to live outside. Thus the case stands. The Guardians are not obliged to give out-relief to the old, they cannot be sued for it; but, in fact, they do give it in the great majority of possible cases. Now, the object of modern reformers is that the class of old persons who now receive uncertain and inadequate doles of out-relief should receive certain and adequate pensions, and that the benefit of such pensions should be extended to another large class—that of the people who, at present, are able with some difficulty to maintain themselves in old age just above the line of receipt of Poor-Law relief. We think that the experience acquired under the working of the reformed Poor Law has proved the wisdom of restricting most narrowly the legal right to public assistance, while giving to the local authorities power to relieve, less distastefully, the old and infirm. We believe that the same rule should apply to pensions. The word ‘pension’ has been adopted as a euphemism, but the name does not affect the fact that pensions would still be relief from public funds given to more or less poor persons on the ground of poverty. The relief is to be given in a more adequate and permanent form, and to a larger class, but it will not differ in its essential character—that of assistance from public funds, from the present out-relief. We think that it is advisable to establish such a system of improved relief, but we contend that, as in the case of the present out-relief of which it will be a developement, the applicant should have no legally enforceable right. Legislation should fix the minimum and maximum amount of pensions, and should, for the guidance of administering authorities, indicate in a wide way the terms upon which they may be given, and should provide for central subventions in aid of the increased expenditure.

Two roads, to resume this part of the discussion, seem to

await the choice of the Government and Legislature. One road is that of conferring a legal right to pensions upon all who fulfil certain conditions. These conditions may either be exactly fixed by Act of Parliament—a proposal wisely rejected by Mr. Chaplin's Committee—or they may be indicated in wide terms, the interpretation being left to the pension authorities, subject to correction by courts of law. But under this system also the conditions would become, though gradually, rigid and universally binding. As points were decided by courts of law it is probable that there would before long be considerable pressure upon Government to alter the conditions by statute. This road seems to us to be a new and dangerous departure.

The other road is that of developement upon the lines of the existing Poor Law. No legal right to pensions would be given; the line of progress would be towards the complete substitution of permanent, adequate, and discriminating relief to the old, for the present system of casual, inadequate, indiscriminating relief, given on a principle which certainly involves some discouragement to thrift. This, we think, is the line which would be adopted by prudent statesmanship desirous not of revolution but of reform.

In any case, Ministers must now choose, if they intend to make any large change, between these two main lines of policy. Either they must give a legally enforceable right to pensions, or they must entrust to local bodies the same power to grant or refuse pensions, as Guardians now have to grant or refuse out-relief, without being exposed to actions at law. An Act of Parliament could hardly, like the Report of the Select Committee, leave this important question in obscurity. We may add, in support of the policy which we advise, that the legal right, if once granted to a multitude of electors, could never be revoked; but that, on the other hand, if the local authorities failed to discharge properly the duty entrusted to them, the legal right could be established by further legislation. It is in accordance with the spirit of British legislation to proceed by slow steps, and not to use compulsion until it has been proved to be necessary.

If a pension system be established, the question next arises whether the law should fix a line of income from other sources, excess whereof in the case of any applicant should be a disqualification. In the Report drafted for the Select Committee by Mr. Chaplin no definite line is fixed; but the question of the need of the applicant is left to the

discretion of the administrative authority. Many passages in the Report show that Mr. Chaplin took as the chief model of his proposals, as originally framed, the common form or type upon which the Charity Commissioners, guided by experience of forty years, have moulded the numerous pension schemes established by them for endowed charities. The conditions contained in these schemes are usually five in number. The pensioners must be: (1) poor; (2) of good character, and able to show that they have led 'reasonably provident lives;' (3) they must have been resident in the parish for a fixed term; (4) not have received Poor-Law relief during the same period; and (5) they must be 'wholly or in part unable to maintain themselves by their own exertions by reason either of old age, ill-health, accident, or infirmity.' It is left to the discretion of the administering trustees of the charities to decide what is poverty, reasonable providence, good character, inability for self-maintenance; nor is there any appeal from their decisions. The evidence taken by the Select Committee showed that this system works in a satisfactory manner. In the Report as originally drafted by Mr. Chaplin it is a condition that the applicant for a pension should be 'unable to maintain himself without assistance.' These words were deleted in a division carried against the Chairman, and for them was substituted the qualification that the applicant should not have 'an income from any source of more than 10s. a week.' The effect of this very important alteration is that the administering authority, instead of taking into consideration, upon the point of need, all the circumstances of the applicant, as the trustees of a charity would do, would merely have to ascertain the amount of his income, whether from wages or any other source.

The most obvious criticism on this provision is that a person who by restraining his saving or earning powers had only 9s. a week, would obtain five more from the public, while his more saving and industrious neighbour who possessed 11s. a week would get nothing. Unless, therefore, a man could earn more than 15s. a week, he would be under a strong inducement to earn no more than nine. If, again, an employer were paying a man over sixty-five 12s. a week, it would be to the advantage both of the employer and the employed that the wage should be reduced to 8s. This would be hard upon the man of sixty-three, not entitled to a pension, whose wage-rate would also be affected. In the same way, if an employer were giving a pension of

12s. a week to an old servant, it would be to the interest of both that this pension should be reduced to 8s. If the Act were passed, it would be necessary to revise the pension systems at present obtaining in the lower State services, railway services, and other large employments. The system would benefit employers at the cost of the general public. It would be a partial return to the plan of paying half wages out of rates in use before the reform of the Poor Law. Charitable persons and good employers would be relieved at the public cost. So would the trade-unions and friendly societies, to whom the support of their aged members, from funds calculated to meet sickness only, is becoming a source of great financial difficulties. If no precise line of pension-excluding income were fixed, but discretion upon this point were left to the administering authorities, the element of uncertainty would, at any rate, be an obstacle to definite reductions of wages, private pensions, and other sources of income of old persons.

It is true that if there were no fixed line of disqualifying income there might be some danger lest the local authorities should give pensions to the really well to do. This danger would not, we think, be great if part of the burden were thrown upon local rates. A better argument in favour of the Committee's proposal to fix a definite income line is that, without this, the local authorities would be likely to refuse pensions to all who had more than a shilling or two a week. This would be a discouragement to thrift and exertion in the same way that present out-relief is a discouragement, but on a larger scale. At present a man by saving, through the agency of a friendly or commercial insurance society, a penny a day from the age of twenty, can secure for himself an income of 5s. a week after sixty-five. Why do so if that income were likely to debar him from receiving the same sum from the public? If the line of disqualifying income were fixed at 10s., he would be deterred from saving more than enough to secure 9s. 11d., but would have some motive to save or earn a smaller income, so that he might add something to the public assistance. Thrift would be checked at a higher instead of a lower point.

Whether legislation left discretionary power to the local authority, or whether it fixed a definite line of disqualifying income, there would be great difficulty in ascertaining the facts, and much temptation held out to fraud and deception. The fact is that the mere statement of these 'pros and cons'

shows the complexity of the whole problem, and indicates the immense and far-reaching economic disturbance of our present social arrangements which any large step will cause. Difficulties of this kind, together with those attending investigation of merit, led Mr. Charles Booth, whose opinion is entitled to very great consideration, to reject any scheme save one for establishing pensions entirely without regard either to need or to desert. His maxim is to give either to all the old or not at all.

It remains to be said upon this point that the disqualifying line of 10*s.* a week adopted by the Committee against the will of their chairman is a very high one. Assuming that legislation followed the lines of the scheme, and that the other conditions were construed liberally, a line of 10*s.* would make the cost of the scheme enormous. If any definite line be fixed, it would seem more prudent that it should not—at first at any rate—exceed 5*s.* a week. Any line taken might be raised if necessary, but in a matter like this there are no steps backward.

This, then, is the position which the Government have to face. A Royal Commission, after examining the subject for two years, reported strongly against the adoption of any general scheme of old-age pensions. An 'expert committee,' after another two years' meditation, found it impossible to recommend any scheme involving definite voluntary contributions by the pensioners. At the same time, they clearly intimated their concurrence with the view held by the Royal Commission that a more general scheme would be injurious to the economic health of the community. A Select Committee of the House of Commons, chiefly composed of men already deeply pledged to some large change, has recommended a scheme of which the cost, depending as it does upon contingencies, cannot be estimated with any approach to exactness, but certainly will, in the near future, be very large. Even at first it will probably be so great as to make necessary a development of our financial system. Either there must be an increase of death duties and income tax or, as Mr. Chaplin and others have already proposed, a return to discarded Custom duties, such as taxation of imported foodstuff. The results of any large step taken by the Cabinet will be as far-reaching in the way of finance as in that of industrial economy. It is possible that, as in that fatal year of Poor-Law reform—1796—we may be on the verge of doing much harm in order to do some good. The remedy may be more desperate

than the disease. We think, indeed, that the hardship of the existing system to the poor has been somewhat exaggerated in the preliminary part of the Select Committee's Report. There are, no doubt, a multitude of hard cases both below and just above the line of actual pauperism, but these may, perhaps, be met by a reform less full of risk to the social health of the nation. If the evil can only be met by a very large measure there is much to be said in favour of the adoption of that proposed by the Select Committee. But if the Government think it best not to embark at once upon a scheme so large, and possibly so full of latent dangerous consequences, they will, as cautious trustees of permanent national interests, have good reasons for their decision. They may well prefer to submit to Parliament, at least as an interim experiment, some less ambitious measure, remembering that one can proceed, if necessary, from the smaller to the larger, but not conversely. There are various ways of modest dealing with the hard cases of old age, but we think that the following suggestions may deserve some attention.

The simplest plan, and possibly the most effective, would be to enact that whenever outdoor relief was given to any person over sixty-five years of age it should not in future be less than 5s. a week, that it should be given for long terms, subject to revision, and that the receipt of it should not involve any civil disqualification. A large subsidy would have to be made by the central exchequer to local rates to aid in meeting the additional cost imposed by such legislation. If this were done, and if a special committee of guardians (with some co-optative members) were constituted in each district to deal with the old age cases, and if workhouse classification were pushed forward, the primary necessities of the case would probably be met, although the sentiment of the more ambitious reformers would not be satisfied. We shall conclude by suggesting an alternative, and perhaps a better, method.

In addition to what may be called the elementary relief given under the Poor Law, there has always been a large secondary relief, derived partly from voluntary and partly from endowed charity. The income derived from endowed charity and applicable to old-age relief in almshouses or by way of pensions now exceeds 600,000*l.* a year in England and Wales, and a good deal more money, now more or less ill-applied in dole charities, might be converted to the same excellent use. Almshouses and charitable pensions thus

solve the problem of existence for many deserving old persons. But these resources, like those of secondary education, are scattered over the country in a quite haphazard way, dependent on the chances of history. One old city has more charities than are good for it, while, in a district hard by, a new and poor suburb of a manufacturing town has nothing at all. This system might be strengthened, and the gaps in it be filled up by public aid, much as the old elementary education system was strengthened, and the gaps in it filled up. In every Union district, for instance, a new Board of Relief might be constituted by secondary election from existing representative bodies, somewhat in the manner suggested by the Select Committee with regard to the Pension Authority which they propose. Parliament might then vote an annual grant of, say, two millions, to be divided among these boards in proportion to population, and to be applied by them, within certain lines as to mode, but with a wide discretion, in relief of the necessitous deserving old and infirm persons in each district. In order that relief might not overlap, the new boards should be in touch with the Guardians, and with trustees of charities and with charity organisation societies, and, in fact, form a centre of all relief of this kind in each district, as in France do the '*Bureaux de Bienfaisance*.' The boards would both give pensions directly, and have power to make grants in aid of new or insufficiently endowed almshouses, infirmaries, nursing associations, and similar institutions. Inasmuch as they would largely relieve the poor rates, their funds might be supplemented by a share in those rates. At the same time, if it were desired to make reform at the centre correspond with reform at the circumference, the Poor-Law side of the much enlarged and overburdened Local Government Board might be amalgamated with the Charity Commission into a single and distinct Parliamentary department of Public Relief, destined to devote specialised energy to the supervision of the education of 'Poor-Law children,' the treatment of able-bodied vagrancy and incapacity, and the better care of the deserving old and infirm.

We think the advantage of some scheme of this kind would be twofold. On the one side the country would not be involved in indefinite liability to expenditure beyond the power of Parliament to check. On the other side, the local authorities, having only a definite sum to spend—being as it were the trustees of a very large, yet finite, endowed charity—would be more careful in their investigation of

cases. They would know that, as they had only a certain number of pensions to grant, the gift to a person who did not need or deserve might exclude the gift to one who did. Many of the schemes submitted to public attention are based upon the principle of giving to the administering authorities very narrow discretion as to granting or refusing pensions, but a bottomless purse upon which to draw. It seems to us that it might be wiser to give to the authorities a limited fund, but a wide discretion both as to the conditions upon which relief shall be granted and the manner in which it shall be applied.

ART. IV.—1. *English Prose*. Selections, with Critical Introductions by various Writers, and General Introductions to each Period. Edited by HENRY CRAIK. Vol. V. 'Nineteenth Century.' London: 1896.

2. *Style*. By WALTER RALEIGH. London: 1898. (Third edition.)

3. *A Book of English Prose: Character and Incident, 1387–1649*. Selected by W. E. HENLEY and C. WHIBLEY. London: 1894.

THE developement of literature seems to follow in all countries a fixed and accountable line of evolution. From irregularity and looseness it gradually closes in to order and coherence; then, when individual differences have been, so far as may be, obliterated by general acquiescence in a common standard of taste, a reaction asserts itself, and men seek to excel by a studious eccentricity. Poetry comes to its flowering earlier than prose, for poetry must always lose more than it gains by the imposition upon the poet of ideals not personal to himself. But prose is essentially the vehicle of thought and clear narrative, so that it submits, without diminution of its peculiar value, to be disciplined into strict conformity with reason, the common faculty of man. Nothing will awaken precisely the same emotions in two human beings, and the appeal of poetry is from emotions to emotions; a man makes out of words something that affects us we cannot describe how. It touches us through all our experience of life in a way that logic cannot, like a sight or a sound in lonely places, awakening in us faculties older and deeper than articulate reason. But from two premises accurately stated in syllogistic form all men will draw the same conclusion; and of this thought, capable of reduction to abstract form, prose is the appropriate vehicle. For the distinction between poetry and prose, though not wholly logical, is real and not fallacious. Poetry uses for its medium impassioned language which, in obedience to an instinct apparently as old as man, is grouped into arbitrary rhythms and called verse. It may also, and with astounding effect, use true prose, the language of common speech, but only with a consummate artifice of setting. Take Webster's line, 'Cover her face; mine eyes 'dazzle; she died young,' and what is it apart from its setting? Yet in the scene where it stands no speech in verse that even Shakespeare could have written would ever equal

it. But, broadly speaking, prose is the natural medium of ordinary speech, which aims not at the feelings, but at the mind, and it is used to relate, to convince, or to discourse. It aims at conveying a meaning which can be repeated in other words, whereas the poem seeks to convey itself. The best poetry is untranslatable; the best prose can be rendered, though not without loss. In short, for a poet, words are equal in importance to the meaning itself; in prose they are subordinate. Read Milton or Shakespeare, and you never for a moment, even when passion is at its highest, lose sight of the actual beauty of the words. Read 'Gulliver's Travels' or the 'Drapier's Letters,' and nothing will divert your attention from the full precision of the narrative or lucid exposition of the thought. Anybody telling the same story or arguing the same case might, one would say, have used those very words. Yet no one since the world was created ever wrote better prose than Swift.

It was after this fashion that prose in the world's history was first employed. Men who wished to write beautifully wrote in verse; men who had something to say that was of interest, and did not pique themselves upon the way of saying it, set down their narrative or their argument in prose. The result, in English, was that admirable plainness which may be judged of from the selections which Mr. Henley and Mr. Whibley have put together in a fascinating volume. Foxe and Holinshed wrote roughly and with some uncertainty of grammar; but they wrote better, because plainer, English than the average Englishman with pen in hand wrote a century later. But it is as natural to man to ornament his discourse as to ornament his person; and while Holinshed still flourished there came into vogue an elaborate prose. None more elaborate has ever been written than that of which Lyly set the example in 'Euphues,' and it developed into the dialogue of Shakespeare's comedies, and may be traced even in the elaborate antitheses and interwoven alliterations of Sir Thomas Browne. But in those days popular literature was mainly written in verse; the number of poetry books printed was greater than that of prose works, and the conditions of authorship carried all professional writers into composition for the stage. Prose became the province of the cultured amateur, the scholar, and the controversialist. Sidney's group, Harvey, Spenser, and the rest, condemned drama because it had to please the groundlings on pain of ceasing to exist; and literature, they held, had no concern with the commonalty. Harvey wished

to Latinise the vulgar English, and Spenser and Sidney complied so far as to experiment with Latin metres; but their good sense as artists prevailed. Verse they understood; prose unhappily they did not understand. They all knew Latin as those only know a language who use it in the business of their life—as Sidney knew it, who conducted much of his correspondence in Latin, and as Milton knew it, who wrote in it Cromwell's despatches. Moreover England in the seventeenth century was fiercely occupied with theological controversies, which involved recourse to Latin diction and Latin models at every turn. Thus, written for a limited audience and written by Latinists who set an exaggerated value upon the Roman literature, the language was warped from its natural directness and wrapped up in a convolution of relative clauses. If the Restoration did nothing else for England, at least it clarified the language. The stage again became popular, but the dramatists were members of a society guided by France in its tone and sympathies at a time when the French literature was at the height of its perfection. French models marred our poetry, but they made our prose. Congreve and Wycherly set an example of lucid, terse, and pointed English in dialogue, which Dryden applied to the more formal manner of his critical discourses; and the thing was done. At last men wrote as they spoke, and wrote well.

For, after all, that is, in our opinion, the root of the matter. Poetry, by its artificial and arbitrary rhythm, is rightly marked off from the language of common life; but a man who has an argument to enforce, or a series of facts to relate, ought never in his argument or his relation to lose touch with spoken speech. Plato demonstrated once and for all that the utmost elaboration and the utmost perfection of style may be attained, and yet that the speaking voice may be audible throughout, with its variety of cadence and inflection, its natural emphasis, and its easy transitions of tone. Johnson is an extreme case, but a conclusive one; for no one ever talked in the least like 'Rasselas'—let us set this down to the credit of humanity—but he learnt as he went on, and in the 'Lives of the British Poets' you can hear Johnson declaiming with the very accent that Boswell has immortalised. In Goldsmith, the fine flower of these later eighteenth-century writers, there is scarcely a sentence that would sound pedantic in conversation; and in Burke it is never the eloquence of a book that we hear, but the speech of an orator. Burke's style is consummate for

written oratory; but it appears that he had the fault of speaking as he wrote. The written word ought always to suggest the spoken, the spoken utterance should never suggest the written. Speech is the model, not the copy. And the best prose style, in our judgement, is one that contains no sentence which might not conceivably have been spoken on some appropriate occasion, yet that differs continually from speech. It must be closer in grain, more sharply cut and pointed, for it has to dispense with all the aids of gesture and of varied pace in delivery; yet the difference should hardly be definable. No man could have commanded a hearing who spoke as Milton wrote; and for that reason we should characterise his prose treatises as magnificent examples of mistaken prose. Laden as the style is with every wealth of illustration, every sonority of diction, every splendour of imagery, it is like an army encumbered with baggage, too unwieldy to strike. Compare his method in controversy with Swift's, and it is the difference between an Oriental host passing in opulent but disorderly parade and the lean, grey lines of a modern corps, stripped of every encumbrance, supple and springy in movement, yet rigid as their steel.

The prose of Queen Anne's day offers undoubtedly the classical type of English prose; whether, in using the word classical, we mean—as M. Brunetière has recently declared we ought to—that at a certain period every language reaches its full and normal developement, the acme of its growth, from which point it can change only for the worse, or whether we adopt the explanation of the term given by Professor Raleigh in his extraordinarily brilliant essay on style: 'Fixity in the midst of change, fluctuation at the heart of sameness, such is the estate of language. According as they endeavour to reduce letters to some large haven and abiding-place of civility, or prefer to throw in their lot with the centrifugal tendency and ride on the flying crest of change, are writers dubbed classic and romantic.' The centripetal tendency was strong in Queen Anne's day. Men endeavoured to work to a common standard, and would have keenly resented the theory, had any one then produced it, that every writer should in so far as possible be a law to himself—that he should make the utmost of individual differences between him and his neighbours rather than seek to lessen them. Anarchy in thought was impossible when men almost deified reason, that abstract faculty which is the common meeting-ground of human intelligences.

Good sense was their canon, and in its application it favoured the impersonal. 'Style,' says Professor Raleigh, 'is gesture'—it is the way in which personality expresses itself. But by the ordinary rules of good breeding we are taught to subdue our gestures, to keep them within bounds, and whatever we do to do it in the closest possible conformity to a certain accepted type. That was practically the theory of the eighteenth century about writing. The writer was urged rather to avoid blemishes than to seek after qualities. Lucidity was their ideal, and they attained it by confining their attention to what could be analysed—the operations of the mind—and neglecting what could only be suggested, the sense impressions. The result was a curiously impersonal view of life, and a curiously colourless style. The classics, Swift and Addison, Fielding and Goldsmith, were classics without knowing it; they wrote without affectation, and they wrote with their eye on the object. M. Brunetière declares, and we incline to agree with him, that their excellence was largely accidental; they were born at the happy moment, when the language in its growth had just attained perfection. Men coming after them saw, as Johnson did, that it was impossible to write better English than Addison's, and prescribed it as a model. Thus English prose enters upon a period in which it seems as if every writer were watching himself very closely not to transgress some convention; and the result was an entire loss of that directness and simplicity which characterised the work of Swift and Addison, and the introduction of a mechanical artifice of diction. Sir Henry Craik, in the introduction to his new volume of 'English Prose Selections,' acutely observes that this infected even the greatest of all romantics—Walter Scott himself. Passage after passage could be produced from the Waverley novels where Scott, without any reason, employs words and phrases which neither he nor any sensible man would use in that connexion in talk.

But the reaction against the abstract classical spirit had seized upon poetry, and was not long in making itself felt in the other medium. Lamb, that gentle rebel, was the first to give to English prose a new turn. Few writers have had a mannerism more strongly marked, but it was a peculiarity that could not be reproduced save by a mind steeped, as Lamb's was, in the phrases and feelings of a half-forgotten literature. It is odd that his innovation should have awakened no protest; but perhaps the truth is that the battle had been fought, and won, in the field of poetry.

Classicism was not defunct, but romanticism had at least established its right to existence, and Lamb was allowed to be as centrifugal (to retain Mr. Raleigh's metaphor) as he chose. The romantic poets, however, in their prose were rigorously classical, and Coleridge carries on the eighteenth-century tradition without a break. But the same group gave to the world another prose-writer besides Lamb, and one whose example was of more general utility. William Hazlitt has received his due as a writer from Stevenson, and from Stevenson only; his influence has made itself felt late indeed, but efficaciously, in affording a model to the man who has done more than any other in this century towards a deliberate remoulding of prose style. Stevenson owed much to Hazlitt, and frankly acknowledged his indebtedness. Hazlitt is no votary of abstract reason; his way is to insist upon the personal aspect of every argument, and in his frank egotism he goes back to the example of Montaigne. Prose in his hands takes a warmth and colour from the fact that he persistently deals, not with abstractions, but with sensations, and directly the testimony of the senses comes to be heard the resources of language are taxed to afford a corresponding vivacity of impression. Here, for example, is the description which he wrote of Coleridge:—

‘I may say of him here that he is the only person I ever knew who answered to the idea of a man of genius. He is the only person from whom I ever learnt anything. There is only one thing he could learn from me in return, but *that* he has not. He was the first poet I ever knew. His genius at that time (1798) had angelic wings and fed on manna. He talked on for ever. His thoughts did not seem to come with labour and effort, but as if borne on the gusts of genius and as if the wings of his imagination lifted him off his feet. His voice rolled on the ear like the pealing organ, and its sound alone was the music of thought.’

There is about that passage a combination of bold, almost poetical imagery, with a curious *naïveté* of self-assertion, and the eighteenth century would have repudiated the one as strongly as the other. Hazlitt's is the method which has prevailed, obeying the centrifugal tendency of which Mr. Raleigh speaks. But Hazlitt was a forerunner, so far ahead that he did not live to see even the advance guard following in his track, and he died to all seeming without disciples. About the same period two other men were writing, each a master of style, and each an innovator, but never destined to found a sect. Landor, by the mere austerity of his genius, repelled imitators, and, frankly, we cannot think that the

public judgement erred in neglecting him. His style is dignified, no doubt, but it has the dignity, not of life, but of death. It does not convey the impress of a personality; rather it suggests always the voice proceeding from behind a mask, as of a gentleman who could not afford simply to be himself, but was statuesque in his attitudes of set purpose. De Quincey, another of the men who have been praised without limit, is of a very different order from Landor; there is no artificial air of restraint about him, rather a too profuse overflow of words. In a few purple patches he attained admirable results, but his work, if it be judged by the standard which we have suggested, can only merit condemnation. It smells of the lamp. All his studied rhapsodies are not poetry, and have not the rhythm of song; nor are they true prose, for they could never have been spoken by mortal lips to mortal ears; man is neither capable of such ingenuity nor of such tolerance. If De Quincey can boast of a disciple he must point—and it is no small claim—to the author of ‘Vivian Gray’ and ‘Tancred;’ but whatever quality we may select to consider admirable in those very interesting novels it will certainly not be the style. Good taste revolts against such bedizenments as both De Quincey and Disraeli heaped upon their utterance.

But neither Lamb, Hazlitt, Landor, nor De Quincey produced any perceptible effect upon the general average of prose-writing during the first forty years of the century. That was the great period of the more serious reviews, when an immense part of the available literary ability was devoted to anonymous writing. Now, anonymous writers always tend, both by design and by the unconscious sinking of their own personality, to an impersonal manner. Among them the manner of the eighteenth century flourished, and the new writer who was destined to be accepted for a while as the authentic representative of English style at its best was recruited into their band from his earliest appearance. Macaulay is a person who can never be spoken of without respect in this Review, and scarcely without enthusiasm. He carried the manner with which others were working to the utmost perfection of which it was capable. The journalist cannot have a better model, for the object of journalism is to be effective, to gain a hearing in a shouting crowd; but, considered as an artist, Macaulay leaves a great deal to be desired. As Mr. Ker points out in his prefatory note to the ‘Selections,’ he was little of an

innovator. 'His fondness for short, abrupt sentences does not always conceal the model on which they are formed. His short sentences are generally clauses in an old-fashioned antithetic sentence.' That is to say, he arranged the old thing in a new way by a lavish use of full stops, so as to make it more telling to the eye. He heightened the emphasis of each individual part in his utterance; but he added to English style nothing personal to himself; he never really set his stamp upon the language. You hear in his pages a man talking well, certainly, but a man talking too loud and always in the same tone. He has an infinite deal to say that is well worth hearing, but the gesture—to borrow from Mr. Raleigh again—is monotonously repeated; the emphasis wearies. He does not know the value of reserve, of the thing hinted or only half said; he cannot render the fine shades which in talk are given, not by words, but by tone; and he has not the art to take the reader into his confidence, to share a point of view with him. He must always be instructing, and his voice has the strident insistence of a teacher's harangue. He is a lecturer, not an acquaintance, and when we have read Macaulay we know his facts, his opinions, and his prejudices, but we know very little of the man himself. He is for us almost as impersonal as the 'Times;' he is a name associated with a group of beliefs and a certain propaganda, a storehouse of information, but not a living human being.

Yet there is no writer of this century who has been so much imitated, and with reason, for none is so imitable. No one, for instance, tried to copy Sir William Napier, for Napier's way of writing was the direct outcome of his temperament and experience; it would have been intolerable in any one else. The rattle of arms is heard all through it, and the spirit of military pride breathes in every sentence, chivalrous and defiant. Napier stands alone, but he stands as one of the great masters of style; only, the gesture which becomes him is appropriate to very few in a generation; the rest of us cannot be heroes. If we were to select from Sir Henry Craik's list the men who have afforded to the world an example of what English style may be and ought to be, in its perfect adaptation to all the needs of life that have to be chronicled or commented upon, we should name without hesitation Thackeray and Newman. Newman's writing derives straight from the fountain head of English; he is full in the main current of prose style, in every sense a classic. Mr. Beeching, himself a master of graceful English,

in his prefatory note has written so admirably that one can do no better than quote him:—

‘Newman’s prose style may be compared in its distinguishing quality to the atmosphere. It is at once simple and subtle; it has vigour and elasticity; it penetrates into every recess of its subject; and it is transparent, allowing each subject it touches to display its own proper colour. The comparison holds also in two points, the apparent effortlessness of its successes and the fact that in consequence its virtue attracts little notice. That this appearance of inevitableness and spontaneity is nevertheless not entirely a result of chance or happy instinct we may learn, if we need the lesson, from a letter of Newman’s, in which he says—

“It is simply the fact that I have been obliged to take great pains with everything I have written, and I often write chapters over and over again, besides innumerable corrections and interlinear additions. I am not stating this as a merit, only that some persons write their best first, and I never do. . . . However I may truly say I have never been in the practice, since I was a boy, of attempting to write well, or to form an elegant style. I think I have never written for writing’s sake, but my one and single desire and aim has been to do what is so difficult, viz. to explain clearly and exactly my meaning; this has been the whole principle of all my corrections and re-writings.”’

Newman’s example is invaluable, and one cannot lay too much stress on the fact that by his own avowed style came to him unsought, a superadded grace—a grace which has all the more power to please because it is so obviously unstudied. The art of which Professor Raleigh writes—which, indeed, he practises to admiration—of evoking a beautiful procession of words that go upon their way singing, is less fine than this. In a sense the less a prose-writer thinks about words the better. The main thing in prose-writing is the art of expression, of delineating the event or the thought. Words, we repeat, are not and should not be paramount in the estimation of a prose-writer. They are subservient to the meaning, and the most perfect prose style is the one which calls least attention to itself. Thackeray, of nineteenth-century writers, alone approaches Newman in this respect: it is difficult to describe his manner, which can handle the lightest or the gravest subject with equal ease and equal fitness, and never betray a trace of effort. How near it is to the historically classic models he has proved by the extraordinary *tour de force* accomplished in ‘*Esmond*,’ where the very speech of Queen Anne’s day is suddenly resuscitated. For, if a passage of ‘*Esmond*’ be examined carefully it is surprising to see how few are the little tricks

of expression by which the illusion of unfamiliarity is supported. Thackeray disguises his own writing by a trifling archaism or two, as a man might alter his face by putting on a false moustache; but the light in the eyes, the movement of the features, the contour of the whole, is unaltered. In this extract from the great scene between the two Esmonds and the Pretender at Castlewood there is nothing that might not have been written by Swift or Steele; yet set aside one or two uses of the historic present, half a dozen discarded verb forms, and you have a masterpiece of contemporary English prose:—

“If your Majesty will please to enter the next apartment,” says Esmond, preserving his grave tone, “I have some papers there which I would gladly submit to you, and by your permission I will lead the way;” and taking the paper up, and backing before the Prince with very great ceremony, Mr. Esmond passed into the little chaplain’s room, through which we had just entered into the house. “Please to set a chair for his Majesty, Frank,” says the Colonel to his companion, who wondered almost as much at this scene, and was as much puzzled by it, as the other actor in it. Then going to the crypt over the mantelpiece, the Colonel opened it and drew thence the papers which so long had lain there.

“Here, may it please your Majesty,” says he, “is the patent of marquis sent over by your Royal Father at St. Germain to Viscount Castlewood, my father; here is the witnessed certificate of my father’s marriage to my mother, and of my birth and christening. I was christened of that religion of which your sainted sire gave all through life so shining an example. These are my titles, dear Frank, and this what I do with them; here go baptism and marriage, and here the marquise and the august sign manual with which your predecessor was pleased to honour our race;” and as Esmond spoke he set the papers burning in the brazier. “You will please, Sir, to remember,” he continued, “that our family hath ruined itself by fidelity to yours: that my grandfather spent his estate and gave his blood and his son to die for your service; that my dear lord’s grandfather (for lord you are now, Frank, by right and title too) died for the same cause; that my poor kinswoman my father’s second wife, after giving away her honour to your wicked, perjured race, sent all her wealth to the King, and got in return that precious title that lies in ashes and this inestimable yard of blue ribbon. I lay this at your feet and stamp upon it; I draw the sword and break it and deny you; and had you completed the wrong you designed us, by Heaven I would have driven it through your heart, and no more pardoned you than your father pardoned Monmouth.”

And yet the manner is not impersonal. Nearly all the words that Thackeray uses might have been used by almost anybody else, but there is no writer whose natural voice

is more unmistakeable. He is as easy to recognise as Carlyle, though with Carlyle the centrifugal force whirls us to the very outermost limits of the circle within which speech can revolve and continue to be known for English. There is no use in discussing a manner which happily no one any longer imitates. A personality so abnormal in any way could hardly find expression in the ordinary method, but let it be observed that what Carlyle has expressed chiefly is himself. Not of his style could it be written that it 'allows each object it touches to display its own proper colour.' The naked truth which he was for ever threatening to loose upon the universe comes before us so heaped upon with the rags and tatters of a windy eloquence that we can scarcely tell which end of her is uppermost. But for all that the style is a style, the 'voice gesture,' to quote Mr. Raleigh, of a man, and therefore infinitely preferable to the manner of many other writers whose frigid sentences Sir Henry Craik thinks it worth while to reproduce—of Grote, for instance, or of Miss Martineau. In Carlyle's pages you can at least always hear 'the Annandale voice golleying at them.' In Macaulay you hear a man talking, no doubt, but a man talking like a book—as, indeed, by all accounts, Macaulay never failed to do. But these precise and academic ladies and gentlemen would never lead you to remember that behind the hand that held the pen there was a soul to be saved or a body to be burned. What in the world does Sir Henry Craik want with seven pages of extracts from Thomas Chalmers and seven more from Henry Mansel? The book would be far better wanting them. On the other hand its completeness and representative character are sadly marred by the omission of Ruskin and of Kinglake. For this, Sir Henry Craik cannot be blamed, since the scheme of the work admitted only extracts from dead writers. But it is none the less unhappy, for Ruskin at his best is incomparable. His best is to be found, not in the long involved sentences, wonderful though they were; which he deliberately modelled upon Barrow and Jeremy Taylor, but in the passages where he has a thing to say, a message to deliver, and he sets it forth with the incisive directness of witty and pregnant speech. No man knows better the value of plain words; no man is better able to startle a torpid mind into activity. But in his discipleship to Carlyle he did not escape the affectation of strangeness, and he is too prone to seek for emphasis by a strained use of language, and to fall into mannerisms. The adverb

'entirely'—'entirely good,' 'entirely beautiful,' 'entirely 'admirable'—becomes a sort of King Charles's Head in his pages, and one resents it. And these tricks of manner, contortions of gesture, are precisely the things which the unwise notice and imitate. But Ruskin and Carlyle lie out of the common track; their manner is not for ordinary uses. As we said of Napier, the gesture that becomes them would misbecome us; much emphasis may be pardoned to a prophet. Sir Henry Craik's other omission would be more lamentable if we were considering his book as a collection of models. As an artist in style Kinglake can produce the thing of all others which most imperatively demands perfection in writing—a book of travel, dealing with countries which cannot afford any startling novelty to interest us by the bare recital, which are only a little stranger than those which we habitually visit, yet which are strange enough easily to encumber the narrative with a mass of explanations. 'Eothen' is a book of description and comment, relying for its charm not upon the intrinsic interest of the thing described, but upon the vividness of presentment and the individual turn of the observation. Take, for example, this passage:—

'We heard at a little distance the brawling of a rivulet, and on the banks of this it was determined to establish our bivouac. We soon found the stream, and following its course for a few yards came to a spot which was thought to be fit for our purpose. It was a sharply cold night in February, and, when I dismounted, I found myself standing on some wet, rank herbage that promised ill for the comfort of our resting-place. I had bad hopes of a fire, for the pitchy darkness of the night was a great obstacle to any successful search for fuel, and, besides, the trees or bushes would be so full of sap, in this early spring, that they would not easily burn. However we were not likely to submit to a dark and cold bivouac without an effort, and my fellows groped forward through the darkness till, after advancing a few paces, they were happily stopped by a complete barrier of dead, prickly bushes. Before our swords could be drawn to reap this welcome harvest it was found, to our surprise, that the fuel was already hewn, and strewn along the ground in a thick mass. A spot for the fire was found with some difficulty, for the earth was moist and the grass high and rank. At last there was a clicking of flint and steel, and presently there stood out from the darkness one of the tawny faces of my muleteers, bent down to near the ground, and suddenly lit up by the glowing of the spark which he courted with careful breath. Before long there was a particle of dry fibre or leaf that kindled to a tiny flame; then another was lit from that, and then another. Then small crisp twigs, little bigger than bodkins, were laid athwart the glowing fire. The swelling cheeks of the muleteer, laid level with the earth,

blew tenderly at first, then more boldly, and the young flame was daintily nursed and fed, and fed more plentifully till it gained good strength. At last a whole armful of dry bushes was piled up over the fire, and presently, with a loud, cheery cracking and crackling, a royal, tall blaze shot up from the earth, and showed me once more the shapes and faces of my men, and the dim outlines of my horses and mules that stood grazing hard by.'

That presents at once, not a picture, but the scene itself with the ripple and movement of life over it; it calls up magically the physical sensations, the excitement which every one can enter into, over a business which, one would say, has no excitement so strong as to be communicable by recital. Yet, in spite of the deft trick of words, here and there almost fanciful—'the glowing of the spark which he 'courted with careful breath'—the whole thing is in the key of ordinary talk. Further on, when style has to be put to graver purposes, and there is the ugly story to tell of plague in an Eastern city, one cannot sufficiently admire the art which, without bating one jot of due seriousness, still maintains the same equable utterance, and is never tempted into rhetoric, though rendering with the same fulness every detail of the impression. It might, perhaps, be urged that here was Kinglake's snare when he came to work in a larger field. His passion for physical realisation, his study of closeness to the very motion of life, led him in later years to devote a whole large volume to the description of one battle, and, as his critics have insisted, to lose the whole in the parts. Froude, divided by a greater tract of time from the events of which he treated, was under no such temptation, and in the historical manner Froude's mastery is unchallenged. Here again you have the living voice always recognisable, yet infinitely various, altering its tone with the changes of the recital, but never straining beyond its compass. The movement of the words is supple, free, unconfined, yet governable; and the style never gets between you and the object. Froude's merit cannot be shown by quotation of an extract: the virtue of his writing is that it carries you along easily from page to page, from chapter to chapter, and he excels in the summary treatment and grouping of events. Nothing could be more enthralling narrative than his story of the Spanish Armada, so succinct and yet so full and moving. If one observes it closely perhaps the effect of so many short sentences—which are really short, disjointed statements, not clauses in a period, like Macaulay's—leads the ear to desire some relief. In

this respect, and in this alone, it varies materially from the manner of Swift or Addison; even Gulliver rounds his periods a little more smoothly. But, take it upon the whole, the tale is told as few men could tell it, and told in English perfectly pure and natural, which conveys in every phrase the accent of a highly cultivated man, yet is entirely exempt from the least suspicion of pedantry or affectation.

It is not ten years since this narrative was written, and long before that an ideal of English writing wholly incompatible with Froude's had taken hold of the younger generation. Stevenson in 1882 caught the ear of the public with a romance, and the attention of the literary world was attracted to the fact that a new writer possessed a style the like of which had scarcely been known before in English. If 'Treasure Island' was a narrative apparently simple as Defoe's there were passages in its author's earlier writings—in 'Virginibus Puerisque' and in the various studies of travel, 'Through the Cevennes' and the rest—as elaborate and as intricate in their harmony as any that the seventeenth century could show, yet moulded in a simpler and more graceful structure. What was more, this writer was a theorist in style; a self-conscious student of his work, who had set himself deliberately by long study and imitation to learn the craft of words; and who was continually disposed to discuss for the world's benefit the mystery of the craft which he practised.

Since then no writer of any considerable mark has appeared in whom one cannot trace the influence either of Stevenson or Stevenson's master, for the world owes to Stevenson this double debt, that beyond his own literary achievement he did more than any other ten men to secure for George Meredith the recognition which for thirty years had been denied him. But no doubt the change in style is not due to one man only; it is part of a general alteration in our attitude towards art. The world has become enamoured of individuality, of the vivacity of personal impressions. It is anxious that an artist should see things in a way unmistakeably his own, and should represent them in a manner that is admired for its unlikeness to that of his predecessors. Side by side with this increasing assertion of the individual experience there has gone an increasing interest in the purely technical qualities of artistic work. A certain school of art critics inclines to judge all painters exclusively, or at least chiefly, by the vigour or elegance of their manipulation, and reduces painting to a question of

brush work. The result has been that self-conscious style of handling in which the artist seems to challenge attention not so much for the landscape or portrait as for the ingenious manner in which he has applied his paint. There is no doubt that Stevenson's critical writings have done much to produce a similarly self-conscious method of expression in literature. He divides prose style into four elements—the logical evolution of thought; the apt choice of words; rhythm, the artistic disposing of longs and shorts; and, lastly, the combining of single sounds, vowel or consonantal, not merely in alliteration, but according to what he calls certain ancient harmonies in nature. Now all these four elements have been present more or less, consciously or unconsciously, to the mind of every good writer. But with such writers as those of the eighteenth century logical arrangement has been paramount; Stevenson elevated the other considerations to a parity with it, and later writers have made rhythm and sound predominate considerably over mere sense. Further, the apt choice of words used to mean selecting the word which was recognised as correct and which could not shock good taste; Stevenson set himself with the most deliberate care to pick the word which should render something of the crudity of the original impression and administer a kind of shock to the sensibility. The other two elements—rhythm and alliteration, assonance or consonance—he insisted upon in his earlier and more decorated writings as scarcely any one had done before; and by doing so he set the example of divorcing prose style from the standard of ordinary speech. One would call Stevenson a euphuist undoubtedly were it not that in his novels he showed himself the possessor of a prose style plain even to baldness, where these subtle harmonies were concealed as carefully as they had been elaborately paraded in those essays where his main object had been to weave a beautiful and intricate pattern of words. Yet even in narrative too sometimes, as in 'The Ebb Tide,' he adopted what he himself has called a 'violent and alembicated style;' and upon the whole it must be set down against Stevenson that he did something to confuse the frontiers of prose and poetry. One finds, for instance, Mrs. Meynell, whom many critics have hailed as the best essayist since the author of 'Virginibus Puerisque,' not only praising the 'perpetual slight novelty' which Aristotle recommends for poetic language, but exemplifying it in

her diction. We quote from an essay in her book 'The Colour of Life.'

'Now and then, at regular intervals of the summer, the suburb springs for a time from its mediocrity; but an inattentive eye might not see why, or might not seize the cause of the bloom and of the new look of humility and dignity that makes the road, the rise, and the villas seem suddenly gentle, gay, and rather shy.

'Nevertheless the little, common, prosperous road has bloomed, you cannot tell how. It is unexpectedly liberal, fresh, and innocent. The soft garden winds that rustle its shrubs are, for the moment, genuine.

'Another day and all is undone. The rise is its daily self again—a road of flowers and foliage that is less pleasant than a fairly well built street. And if you happen to find the men at work on the retransformation you become aware of the accident that made all this difference. It lay in the little border of wayside grass which a row of public servants—men with spades and a cart—are in the act of tidying up. Their way of tidying it up is to lay its little corpse all along the suburban roadway, and then to carry it away to some parochial dust heap.

'But for the vigilance of vestries grass would reconcile everything. When the first heat of the summer was over a few nights' rain altered all the colour of the world. It had been the brown and russet of drought—very beautiful in landscape, but lifeless; it became a translucent, profound, and eager green. The citizen does not spend attention upon it.'

This is no extreme example of Mrs. Meynell's style, which, indeed, is never extravagant, though sometimes it requires a sympathetic reader. 'The nimble art of Japan,' she says somewhere, 'is unessential; it may last or perish, may settle or be fanned away.' The uses of the words 'nimble' and 'unessential' are here, of course, highly esoteric; the Philistine cannot fairly be expected to understand. Even in her charming remarks about the grass there is a tinge of ultra-refinement, a delicate indication of superior culture that shows itself in the vocabulary. It is a trifle apparent at the very start in the word 'mediocrity'; nor would any Philistine have thought of calling the road 'shy' or 'liberal.' 'Parochial' has a pretty accent of scorn; and the citizen, if by some unforeseen accident he read Mrs. Meynell, would become what Stevenson calls a 'staring burgess' at sight of the locution 'eager green.' However he would conclude very wisely that Mrs. Meynell was a clever woman, but that he could not always understand what she was driving at. We do not wish to make the parochial ratepayer the arbiter of fitness in literature; we only seek to emphasise the fact that Stevenson brought

into general acceptance a kind of euphuism which answered excellently for the uses of the essay—a form of literature in which style and diction is really of paramount importance. History, it appears, has declared a divorce from literature, and has become a department of science. Mr. Lecky, who belongs to Froude's generation, still writes excellently, though he cannot rank among the great artists in style; and Mr. Balfour is at least a stylist among politicians. But the prose literature of to-day which has claims to be taken seriously consists largely in compositions where words have almost the importance that we assert for them in poetry. What Mr. Le Gallienne, Mr. Max Beerbohm, and sundry others have to say is perhaps no very great matter, but it cannot be denied that they say it prettily. And about the same time as Stevenson began to write Mr. Pater was publishing his 'Studies in the History of the Renaissance,' which were for a time acclaimed as a genuine masterpiece. His was a style which scarcely concealed the writer's effort in weaving long-drawn-out sentences modulated with a very delicate and subtle balance; the periods moved gingerly, parading the graces of a minuet. No utterance could have been less natural, and Mr. Pater set the example, which Professor Raleigh applauds, of Quixotic endeavours to restore old words to their pristine splendour and freshness. The vocabulary which he affected became the mark of a sect, and had the misfortune to be made ridiculous. The truth is that while Stevenson's style was the expression of an extremely vigorous personality Mr. Pater's was not; a sickly air pervades his pages. Yet no one with a feeling for literature would refuse admiration to such a passage as this comment or rhapsody upon Leonardo's picture 'La Gioconda' in the Louvre:—

'The presence that thus rose so strangely beside the waters is expressive of what in the ways of a thousand years man had come to desire. Here is the head upon which all "the ends of the world are come," and the eyelids are a little weary. It is a beauty wrought out from within upon the flesh, the deposit, little cell by cell, of strange thoughts and fantastic reveries and exquisite passions. Set it for a moment beside one of those white Greek goddesses or beautiful women of antiquity, and how would they be troubled by this beauty, into which the soul with all its maladies has passed? All the thoughts and experience of the world have etched and moulded there, in that which they have of power to refine and make expressive the outward form, the animalism of Greece, the lust of Rome, the reverie of the Middle Ages with its spiritual ambition and imaginative loves, the return of the Pagan world, the sins of the Borgias. She is older than the rocks

among which she sits; like the vampire she has been dead many times and learned the secrets of the grave; and has been a diver in deep seas, and keeps their fallen day about her; and trafficked for strange webs with Eastern merchants; and, as Leda, was the mother of Helen of Troy, and, as St. Anne, the mother of Mary; and all this has been to her but as the sound of lyres and flutes, and lives only in the delicacy with which it has moulded the changing lineaments and tinged the eyelids and the hands. The fancy of a perpetual life, sweeping together ten thousand experiences, is an old one; and modern thought has conceived the idea of humanity as wrought upon by and summing up in itself all modes of thought and life. Certainly Lady Lisa might stand as the embodiment of the old fancy, the symbol of the modern idea.'

Mr. W. B. Yeats, who is as fine an artist in prose as he is in verse, owes much to Mr. Pater, though he writes, to our thinking, a deal better, because in a more natural and spontaneous manner than the author of 'Marius.' But Mr. Yeats is essentially esoteric, and no one would go out to cope with the bustle of life armed with so elaborate and delicate an instrument as this particular manner. The novel, which occupies nearly the whole field of prose literature at the present day, demands stronger tools, and it is in the work of the most promising novelists that Stevenson's influence is most perceptible. If it were only Stevenson's there would be no reason to object, for Stevenson's manner, though it is at times unduly elaborate, never runs into extravagance. Unfortunately there is also the example of Mr. George Meredith, whose enthusiastic disciple Stevenson avowed himself to be; but in the discipleship there was observed a reasonable moderation. He never in all his career of imitation attempted to copy Mr. Meredith's style. However within the last ten years the world at large has become aware of the fact that Mr. Meredith is the greatest living writer in English, that he has a power of creating characters and endowing them with the very atmosphere of life which can scarcely be matched since Shakespeare, and that he can in the same book—for instance, in 'Richard 'Feverel'—pass from witty comedy to haunting romance or the most passionate drama. The world recognises and the world reads, but the saner part of it reads with grimaces. Surely since literature began so good a writer never had so bad a way of writing before. It is not merely esoteric, it is cryptic; even the simplest thing in the world is said with contortions. Here is a fair average example taken from 'One of Our Conquerors':—

'A tucket of herald newspapers told the world of Victor's returning to his London. Pretty Mrs. Blathenoy was Nataly's first afternoon visitor, and was graciously received, no sign of inquiry for the cause of the lady's alacrity to greet her being shown. Colney Durance came in, bringing the rumour of an Australian *cantatrice* to kindle Europe; Mr. Peridon, a seeker of tidings from the city of Bourges; Miss Priscilla Graves, reporting of Skepsey, in a holiday Sunday tone, that his alcoholic partner might at any moment release him; Mr. Septimus Barmby, with a hanged, heavy look, suggestive of a wharf-side crane swinging the ponderous thing he had to say. "I have seen Miss Radnor." "She was well?" the mother asked, and the grand basso pitched forth an affirmative. "Dear, sweet girl she is!" Mrs. Blathenoy exclaimed to Colney. He bowed. "Very sweet. And can let fly on you, like a haggis, for a scratch."

Of course the reason why Mr. Meredith does not write simply is that his nature forbids him to see anything simply. Life is full of infinite complexity of tone and gesture, and he strains language in trying to reproduce what defies rendering. A fantastic imagination, too, prompts him at every turn with the wildest suggestions, revelling in the grotesque; and Mr. Meredith has never, as it should seem, troubled to convey his meaning to any mind but his own. He has obeyed every caprice of suggestion—and in a mind of endless fertility suggestions have swarmed—until every one of his books is a difficult jungle of ideas, while the heart of his poems is as inaccessible as the sleeping princess behind her fence of roses. We struggle on as best we may, knowing that the inability to say plainly what he means is part of Mr. Meredith's weird. But unhappily young men of talent observe the external characteristic of this manner and laboriously set to work to imitate—partly in honest endeavour, for Mr. Meredith has shown how the printed version of a dialogue may render not only the spoken words but something also of the significance of tone and gesture; but in great measure also out of sheer foppery and foolishness. It may not be entirely due to imitation; literary epidemics spread in the air, and men take them unconsciously. But whether of set purpose or not, a great many able writers at present write as if they were imitating Mr. Meredith. For instance, this is how Mr. Bernard Capes begins a story which is printed in 'Blackwood's Magazine' for September:—

'The triangle of grass, sunny and peaceful, in front of the "Dog and Crook" presented itself, one windless May evening of the year 1789, a very ideal stage for the pastoral play of changing horses. Change of any sort, however, seemed *that thing most remote from pro-*

bability, when suddenly the tap door of the tavern was kicked open from within, and there stepped hurriedly upon the scene—as if with some melodramatic consciousness of a cue just uttered—a man before whose onset tranquillity fled incontinent. This person's red face and injected eyes burnt like a brazier against the white-freckled wall of the house, as he stood for a moment struggling (not altogether successfully) to vindicate his independence of action, under the obvious apprehension of an assault in the rear. Nothing—during a period meanly bolstering to his pride—pursuing, he walked forth upon the green, certain muscles of the neck and shoulders that had suffered a sensory contraction relaxing as he moved. Arrived at a standpoint reasonable to apostrophe, he faced about and, smacking one great fist into the open palm of the other, had already indulged his fury with a single explosive monosyllable, when at the double sound—as if (to speak most ironically) an Eastern potentate had summoned a slave—the bar door flounced on its hinges a second time and a young woman came running across the grass and stopped in front of him, her comely elbows the indicators of a very seismic disturbance.

“You are plain, George Battle,” screamed this new-comer, in virulent reiteration, apparently, of grievances lately discussed.

“What if I be?” said the man fiercely, but with a significant swerve in his voice.

‘He was a presentable enough fellow, in fact, stubbornly knit, on nodding terms with his youth, a decent, temperate landlord and husband in his temperate moments.

‘The virago sniggered scornfully, all on the upper register. Then she put her hands behind her back and catalogued his offences.’

We have made bold to indicate by italics the passages to which we take exception. But let us see if we cannot put the thing into other words. What happened outside the ‘Dog and Crook’? Why, this: Suddenly the tap door was kicked open from within, and a big man came out, very red in the face; he stopped for a moment outside the door, as if he expected some one to follow him. But, since nobody came, he walked on a few yards, then turned round, and, facing the house, smacked his fist into the palm of the other hand and swore. At the same instant, as if the sound had been a summons, the bar door was again flung open, and a young woman came out and stood in front of him, showing by the set of her elbows that she was in a violent temper. That is all. Does Mr. Capes gain much by his additions? Something, no doubt, but scarcely enough to compensate for the annoyance which is occasioned by his unnecessary violences of phrase. The mannerism is carried to such excess that it defeats its own purpose. For instance, ‘the bar door flounced on its ‘hinges’ is a graphic expression, but its effect is lost among

so many novelties. It appears to us that the use of 'the unexpected word' is being pushed so far that it becomes a positive terror. We expect it in every second sentence; we live in momentary terror of it. 'The virago sniggered scornfully, all on the upper register.' A sentence like that falls on the ears about as unexpectedly and as gratefully as the squeak of a slate pencil when a child is doing sums. Sooner or later it is bound to come, and it never fails of its effect. Is there really any taste which is gratified by such an intrusion of deliberate vulgarity and deliberate pedantry mixed together? It is worth remarking that the gentlemen who belong to the school of Mr. Meredith in style make short work of any considerations which might dictate euphony. The sentence which opens, 'Nothing—during a period meanly bolstering to his pride—pursuing,' is a perfect model of how not to write. It is clumsy in structure, it is made intolerable by four repetitions of the same ugly terminal sound, and it expresses a very simple fact in a roundabout and pedantic way. And all this comes of the fact that Mr. Capes is determined to tell his story in a way in which no other man would have told it. The same tendency manifests itself in a greater or lesser degree throughout the whole of contemporary literature. Mr. Raleigh, for instance, whose brilliant essay commands our warmest admiration, never sins against good sense, and is only too studious of harmony; but he also is a seeker after the strange word, a student of the bizarre. And, indeed, the more one reads of the best prose written nowadays—since Mr. Froude's death—the more one is inclined to regret the eighteenth-century manner, luminous, not coruscant, aiming above all things at suavity and sanity, which by its manly directness charmed the reader into a belief that he too might have written the same things in just the same way, instead of filling him with wonder (as Mr. Meredith does) how on earth any human being could have cemented words and ideas together into such a jewelled but bewildering mosaic.

- ART. V.—1. *Bismarck: the Man and the Statesman*. Being the reflections and reminiscences of Otto Prince von Bismarck, written and dictated by himself after his retirement from office. Translated from the German under the supervision of A. J. BUTLER, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In two volumes. London: 1898.
2. *Bismarck: Some Secret Pages of his History*. Being a diary kept by Dr. Moritz Busch during twenty-four years' official and private intercourse with the great Chancellor. In three volumes. London: 1898.
3. *The Life of Prince Bismarck*. By WILLIAM JACKS, author of 'Robert Burns in Other Tongues,' a translation of 'Nathan the Wise,' &c. Glasgow: 1899.

Two men, during the last half of the nineteenth century, have won the highest reputations as statesmen from their abilities and from their achievements. Both of them were sprung from families of position, both served for a short time in the armies of their respective countries, both in their younger years occupied themselves with the management of their paternal estates, and obtained their first successes in agricultural pursuits; both were animated from the outset by a desire to effect the union and the independence of the race to which they belonged, both were ready to sacrifice everything to this object, both, in pursuit of it, displayed abilities of the highest order, courage which never failed, and an iron will which overcame all opposition. Finally, both achieved a success which far exceeded their own anticipations, for one of them—Count Cavour—changed the face of southern Europe by the creation of a united Italy; the other—Prince Bismarck—effected a greater alteration in northern Europe by the constitution of the German Empire.

If, however, there is much in these two men which naturally suggests comparison, there is much also which permits of contrast. In the first place, in carrying out his policy, Cavour always showed that he was an Italian first and a Piedmontese afterwards. He never hesitated to sacrifice the interests of his own country to those of his race. Bismarck, on the contrary, never forgot that he was a Prussian. From first to last he thought and maintained that the union and independence of Germany were to be worked out through the aggrandisement of Prussia. In the

next place, while Cavour was essentially the parliamentary statesman who admired and imitated Peel's conduct and policy, who tried to work by constitutional methods, and who never felt so strong as when the Legislature was at his back, Bismarck was the autocratic representative of an autocratic sovereign. The cause which he set out to win had, in his judgment, to be won by force. If the Legislature happened to agree with him, so much the better—for himself; if it differed from him, so much the worse—for the Legislature. He did not hesitate, over and over again, to force the hands of his sovereign, in whose rights he believed; he had much less scruple in ignoring the wishes of a Legislature which could claim no right divine to govern wrong.

In one other respect these two great men afford a sharp contrast. Cavour was struck down by death in the maturity of his powers, before the work which he accomplished was crowned by the cession of Venetia and the transfer of the Italian capital to Rome. Bismarck, on the contrary, survived his great victory by nearly twenty-eight years. During much of this time he remained the chief minister of Germany and the foremost statesman of the world. The services which he then rendered to his country were, in one sense, quite as great as those which he gave her in the hour of her trial and of her victory. The conclusion of the Triple Alliance was, in its way, almost as remarkable an achievement as the formation of the German Empire.

Of Cavour we already know nearly all that we are ever likely to learn. Of Bismarck we are gradually acquiring equally full knowledge. The publication of the books whose titles we have placed at the head of this article have undoubtedly increased our acquaintance with the great Chancellor. In reading, indeed, his own reflections and reminiscences, which have been translated with excellent skill by Mr. Butler, we are conscious of the feeling that the author, perhaps naturally enough, is not telling the whole story, but only that portion or version of it which he wishes us to know. Dr. Moritz Busch's book creates a very different impression. With the indiscretion, but without the humour, of a Boswell, he has revealed a great deal which his hero certainly would not have wished published. But his discursive and disconnected narrative fails to supply us with a complete picture either of the man or his policy. The defects of Dr. Busch are, to some extent, supplied by Mr. Jacks's conscientious labours. We can commend his

volume to English readers who desire to have a brief and intelligible account of the career and achievements of the great German Minister. But those who wish to go deeper into the subject must, we fear, concurrently address themselves to other works which have appeared, and are appearing, both in Germany and in other countries. In France, especially, capable historians and well-informed writers have been investigating, and are still commenting on, the events which led to the fall of the Second Empire. Their researches, of which we have freely availed ourselves in preparing this article, have largely added to our knowledge both of the man and of the time.

Otto von Bismarck was born at Schönhausen, in Brandenburg, on April 1, 1815. He was sprung from an old family. He said once of the Hohenzollerns, 'They are a Suabian family, no better than my own, and, if there is no divine commandment, no concern of mine.' He was educated at the Plahmann Institute at Berlin, where 'the régime was artificially Spartan,' and afterwards at Göttingen, where it is strange to find he was 'as thin as a knitting-needle,' and where, he tells us himself, he fought twenty-eight students' duels in three terms. After leaving the university he filled one or two minor appointments in the Prussian Civil Service and passed a short time in the army. Civil and military duties, however, proved equally tedious to him; and, readily complying in 1839 with his father's desire that he should take up the management of the family estates in Pomerania, he made up his mind 'to live and die in the country.' The life that he led there must have made most people think that he was more likely to die than live. It gained for him the nickname of 'Mad Bismarck.' 'The young frauleins and their mothers and cousins at the neighbouring country seats shuddered, while their fathers and uncles shook their heads, as they heard of extravagant drinking bouts, of floods of champagne and porter mixed in "war bowls," of furious rides, as if the Wild Huntsman were tearing past, of the routing up of guests by pistol-shots in the middle of the night, and of all kinds of mischief and wantonness perpetrated in audacious mockery of traditional usage.' But Bismarck bore a charmed life. He said in 1870 that he believed that he was within the mark in saying that he had fallen from horseback fifty times. Happily, perhaps, for him he found that country pursuits, diversified with mad frolics, were insufficient to absorb his entire energy. In 1847 he became an active member of the first Prussian Parliament, in which

he distinguished himself by an uncompromising defence of the rights of the Crown. In the same year he took a more important step in marrying Johanna von Putkamer. Her influence had a marked effect on his character. 'You can not imagine,' he wrote, 'what that woman has made of me.'

The story goes that, on his wedding tour, at Venice, Bismarck made the acquaintance of his sovereign, Frederick William IV. The king gave a warm reception to 'the young country nobleman, who had strenuously defended the rights of the Throne in Parliament,' and Bismarck thenceforward stood high in royal favour, and was rapidly promoted to positions of importance. In 1851 he was sent to Frankfort as envoy to the Diet; in 1852 he was promoted, during Count Arnim's illness, to the 'Diplomatic High School' at Vienna; on Count Arnim's recovery he returned to Frankfort, where he remained till 1859; early in that year he was transferred, against his own wish, to St. Petersburg, and in 1862 he was sent to Paris. The king's high opinion of his abilities, which was marked by these successive appointments, was recorded, in 1852, in a letter to the Emperor of Austria:—

'Your Majesty,' he wrote, 'will thus make the acquaintance of a man who with us is honoured by many, and hated by some, because of his frank and chivalrous obedience, and his irreconcilable attitude towards the Revolution down to its roots. He is my friend and my loyal servant, and comes to Vienna with a fresh, lively, and sympathetic impress of my principles, my mode of action, my will, and, I may add, of my love towards Austria and your Majesty.'

During these years of preparation Bismarck constantly displayed the qualities and opinions for which he was afterwards distinguished. He bitterly resented, in 1848, Frederick William IV.'s 'softness' in recalling his troops from Berlin, instead of definitely crushing the Berlin rising. He approved, in 1849, the king's resolution to refuse the crown of Germany, which was offered to him at Frankfort; he disliked 'the revolutionary or, at any rate, parliamentary source of the offer.' He deplored, in 1850, the diplomatic defeat which Prussia sustained at Olmütz. But, at the strong request of the Government, whose representative assured him privately that the Prussian army was unprepared for war, he assisted to reconcile his party to the policy which he deplored. The task which he thus undertook, however, confirmed his opinion that it was the first duty of a Prussian statesman to provide the force which might

enable his country to play a worthier part in the future. The military power of Prussia, he thought, must be strengthened both for internal and for external reasons. For internal reasons: for the king should be free to act, and to assert his rights. For external reasons: for the voice of Prussia should be audible abroad; her authority should be felt in every part of Germany.

Two great wars in this period enabled Bismarck to explain the policy which he desired to pursue. In 1854, on the eve of the Crimean War, a treaty was concluded between Austria and Prussia by which Prussia pledged herself to concentrate 100,000 men, or, if necessary, 200,000 men—one-third of them in East Prussia and two-thirds of them at Posen and Breslau. It was the obvious object of this treaty to provide for the possible contingency of the German Powers joining the allies in the war. But Bismarck desired to use it as an expedient for raising Prussia out of a secondary position. He suggested to the king that, 'when Austria should call upon us to bring up our troops,' Prussia should at once move 100,000 men, or more, not to Posen or Breslau, but into Silesia—into a position whence they could 'with equal facility step over the frontier of either Russia or Austria.' France, he argued, absorbed in the Crimean War, was not in a position to threaten the western frontier; Austria had her available force 'nailed fast' in Galicia by the presence of a Russian army in Poland; and Prussia could survive the effects of a British blockade of her Baltic ports. Thus, from her central position in Silesia, equally threatening to Russia and Austria, Prussia might exercise a commanding influence, and earn for herself a position worthy of her past. Bismarck himself tells us that the king rejected this suggestion as beyond his power: 'My dear boy, that is all very fine, but it is too expensive for me. A man of Napoleon's kind can afford to make such master-strokes, but not I.'

After the war, M. de Moustier—the French Ambassador at Berlin—complained to Bismarck of the selfish policy of Prussia in holding aloof from the allies. 'Cette politique,' he said, with very little tact or taste, 'va vous conduire à Jéna.' Bismarck at once replied, 'Pourquoi pas à Leipzig ou à Waterloo?' M. de Moustier did not live to see Sedan; but, as Foreign Minister of France in 1867, he must have had frequent occasion to recollect Bismarck's retort.

The same cynical indifference to the rights of the case

itself, and the same desire to win something for Prussia out of the difficulties of other nations, characterised the policy which Bismarck desired to pursue during the Franco-Austrian war of 1859. The German people, furious at the defeat of a German Power, were longing to march to the defence of Austria; and, as a matter of fact, the hasty conclusion of peace at Villafranca alone prevented the extension of the war to the Rhine. But Bismarck, who at the time was ambassador at St. Petersburg, took a wholly different view of the situation. 'My idea'—so he wrote in his 'Memoirs'—'was that we ought to prepare for war, but at the same time send an ultimatum to Austria either to accept our conditions in the German question, or to look out for our attack.' Thus, Bismarck clearly saw that Austria's difficulty was Prussia's opportunity; he plainly thought it folly to help a rival in her extremity without, at any rate, obtaining solid recompense for the assistance.

In fact, if throughout this period Bismarck's domestic policy was inspired by a desire to increase the power of the Crown and to raise the strength of the army, his foreign policy was animated by a wish to regain the ground which had been lost at Olmütz, and to give Prussia the hegemony in Germany. This policy naturally brought him into collision, and at one time very nearly led to a duel, with Count Rechberg, the Austrian representative at Frankfort. How clearly, indeed, Bismarck already saw the coming struggle between Austria and Prussia may be inferred from another anecdote. During the Crimean War Bismarck happened to be present in uniform, and wearing decorations which had been conferred upon him for his services at the Diet, at a review of Bavarian troops. An Austrian officer, covered with medals, rode up to him and, pointing to the orders which Bismarck was wearing, said, 'Well, Excellency, all these gained in the face of the enemy?' 'Certainly,' retorted Bismarck, 'in the face of the enemy here in Frankfort-on-Main.'

During these years, in which Bismarck was gaining experience of men and affairs, and in which Frederick William IV., who regarded him as his 'foster-son,' was training him for positions of still greater responsibility, he had been frequently spoken of for high political office at Berlin. Frederick William IV., however, hesitated to select as his minister a man whose outspoken language had made him unpopular with all parties, and who avowedly desired to break with the Revolution, and to govern by force. Bis-

marck—so the king wrote on a list of ministers submitted to him—was ‘only to be employed when the bayonet ‘governs unrestricted;’ or, as another version of the same story runs, Bismarck was a ‘Red Reactionary, with a scent ‘for blood, to be used later.’ Bismarck himself, indeed, gave another reason for his exclusion from office. ‘The ‘king looked upon me as an egg which he had laid and ‘hatched out himself, and in cases of difference of opinion ‘would have always had the feeling that the egg wanted to ‘be cleverer than the hen.’ He added that his own views of foreign policy did not altogether coincide with those of his sovereign, and that the difficulty of being at the same time an obedient and responsible minister would have been greater under Frederick William IV. than it proved afterwards under the Emperor William.

Thus, during the reign of Frederick William IV., and during the regency of his brother—the future emperor—Bismarck, whose experience and authority were constantly increasing, continued to occupy his successive embassies at Frankfort, Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Paris. But, in 1862, internal difficulties in Prussia obviously necessitated the appointment of the strongest possible minister. The new king was impressed with the expediency of largely increasing the Prussian army, and the Chamber of Deputies year after year refused him the supplies which were necessary for the purpose. The king was so discouraged by these refusals that he told Bismarck, in September 1862, that he would not reign if he could not govern in a manner which satisfied his conscience. ‘I cannot do that if I am to rule ‘according to the will of the present majority in Parliament, ‘and I can no longer find any ministers prepared to conduct ‘my Government without subjecting themselves and me to ‘the parliamentary majority. I have, therefore, resolved to ‘lay down my crown, and have already sketched out the ‘proclamation of my abdication.’ Bismarck replied that his Majesty was aware that he was ready to enter the ministry; that he was certain that General von Roon would remain at his side; and that he did not anticipate any difficulty in securing suitable colleagues. He assured the king that he was prepared in office to carry out the reorganisation of the army; and that he would persist in this policy in opposition to the majority in Parliament and its resolutions. He added, it is ‘not a question of Liberal or Conservative of this or ‘that shade, but rather of monarchical rule or parliamentary ‘government. In this situation I shall, even if your Majesty

‘command me to do things which I do not consider right, tell you my opinion quite openly; but, if you finally persist in yours, I will rather perish with the king than forsake your Majesty in the contest with parliamentary government.’

These bold opinions—which induced the king to refrain from his contemplated abdication and to continue the struggle—were not uttered without premeditation. A few days before his interview with his king in Berlin, Bismarck had discussed the situation with M. de Persigny in Paris. He had agreed with M. de Persigny that the proper course for a Prussian minister was to resist the Chamber and disregard its decisions, holding the army ready for action. As the struggle turned on a point on which the army was interested, the minister could rely on its support; and as, under the Prussian constitution, the rejection of a financial proposal by the Chamber did not mean a stoppage of supplies, but merely a reversion to the financial arrangements of the previous year, the Prussian Government would not be without means for continuing the contest.* It is remarkable that the emperor and empress, to whom this conversation was reported, blamed M. de Persigny for recommending a course which they thought dangerous to the Prussian Crown and calculated to provoke a convulsion in Germany.

Bismarck had not been many days in office before he had an opportunity of proving the zeal and boldness with which he was prepared to carry out his promise to support the king in his contest with the Chambers. His first speech aroused the attention of his own country and of Europe. ‘Prussia,’ so he argued, ‘could no longer wear unaided on its long narrow figure the panoply which Germany required for its security; that must be equally distributed over all German peoples. We should get no nearer the goal by speeches, associations, decisions of majorities: we should be unable to avoid a serious contest, a contest which could only be settled by blood and iron. In order to secure our success in this, the deputies must place the greatest possible weight of blood and iron in the hands of the King of Prussia, in order that, according to

* M. de Persigny, *more suo*, declares that he gave this advice to Bismarck, and that Bismarck warmly approved it. Five years afterwards Bismarck said to him with a laugh, ‘Eh bien! n’ai-je pas bien suivi vos leçons?’ and Persigny answered, ‘Oui, mais je dois reconnaître que l’élève a singulièrement surpassé le maître.’ (*Mémoires de Persigny*, p. 288.)

'his judgement, he might throw it into one scale or the 'other.' A few days afterwards he announced the decision of the Government 'to carry on the finance of the State 'without the conditions provided for in the constitution.' 'Conscious of its responsibility, it is equally conscious of 'the duties imposed on it by the country, and in this the 'Government finds its authority until it receives the legal 'confirmation to satisfy the expenses of the State, which are 'necessary for the developement of the welfare of the 'country.' The policy of blood and iron, in other words, was to be persisted in; and, whatever resolutions the Chambers might pass, the blood and iron, without which Prussia could not work out the future of Germany, were at any cost to be provided.

Bismarck himself admits that his policy was received with great disfavour. 'Some progressive journals hoped to 'see [him] picking oakum for the benefit of the State;' the House of Deputies, in February 1863, declared by a large majority that ministers were responsible with their persons and their fortunes for unconstitutional expenditure; and it was seriously suggested that, in order to avoid the confiscation of his estate, Bismarck should formally transfer it to his brother. The comic journals of Germany gave expression to the popular feeling. In one caricature, Bismarck is a ballet dancer pirouetting over half-a-dozen eggs on which are written, Right, Law, Reform, Constitution, Franchise. In another he has cut his finger—his own finger, be it observed—with a knife. And the legend underneath the picture is 'Blood and Iron.'*

The king himself was thoroughly alarmed at the unpromising manner in which his minister was carrying out the promise which he had given. 'I can perfectly well see 'where all this will end. Over there, in front of the 'Opera House, under my windows, they will cut off your 'head, and mine a little while afterwards.' Bismarck quietly replied, 'Et après, Sire?' 'Après, indeed, we shall be 'dead,' answered the king. 'Yes,' said the minister, 'then 'we shall be dead; but we must all die sooner or later, and 'can we perish more honourably? I, fighting for my king's 'cause, and your Majesty sealing with your own blood your 'rights as king by the grace of God. . . . Your Majesty is

* Some similar caricatures are also mentioned by M. Benoist in his excellent appreciation of Bismarck, published in some recent numbers of the '*Revue des Deux Mondes*.'

'bound to fight, you cannot capitulate ; you must, even at the risk of bodily danger, go forth to meet any attempt at coercion.' The king, as Bismarck spoke, 'grew more and more animated, and began to assume the part of an officer fighting for kingdom and fatherland.' Thenceforward the minister knew that he had only to appeal to his sovereign's strong sense of duty to convert hesitation and doubt into resolution and decision.

The contest with the Chamber over the Budget was complicated, in 1863, by a treaty made with Russia on the occasion of the Polish Rebellion. Bismarck, who cared very little about the Poles, but who cared a great deal to strengthen the hands of Prussia by a Russian alliance, concluded a military arrangement under which Russia was allowed to follow the insurgents into Prussian territory. The convention naturally aroused what Bismarck was pleased to call the 'unintelligent' indignation of the Liberals in the Diet; and further increased the minister's unpopularity. At that moment, however, attention was suddenly diverted from the Budget and from Poland to a question of more direct interest to Germany. For Frederick VII. of Denmark died on November 15, 1863, and his death brought at once the Schleswig-Holstein question to an issue.

This question, which had occupied diplomacy for years, can only be stated very briefly here. The present King of Denmark, Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein Glucksburg, was undoubtedly heir through a female line to the Danish throne. But, if no other arrangement had been made, the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein would have passed to a younger branch, which descended in the direct male line to the House of Augustenburg. In order, however, to provide against the division of Danish territory, it was agreed at a conference in London, in 1850, that both duchies and kingdom should descend to Prince Christian of Glucksburg, and the arrangement was embodied in a treaty in 1852, by which the integrity of the Danish monarchy was maintained, but the rights of the German Confederation with respect to the duchies were reserved. The Danes, however, more intent on consolidating the monarchy than on observing the conditions of this reservation, had placed the kingdom and the duchy of Schleswig under a common constitution. When, therefore, on the death of the King of Denmark in 1863, Prince Christian of Augustenburg, alleging that he had been no party to the arrangements of 1850 and 1852, claimed the duchies, the

Germans were disposed to support his claim, and thus vindicate the right of Germany to German territory.

In the debates which took place on the subject in the Prussian Legislature, Bismarck resisted the almost unanimous desire of the Legislature to recognise Prince Christian's claim. 'The Government, he argued, should reserve to itself 'the decision as to the question if and 'when the Danish Government, through a nonfulfilment of 'their obligations, will put us into a position of renouncing 'the London Treaty.' The matter, he added, must be decided at Frankfort; and Prussia, in accordance with her position as a European Power and as a member of the Bund, would stand with special firmness for German rights in the duchies, and for her own self-respect in the council of the Great Powers. But in the more private atmosphere of the Cabinet he was already indicating a belief that the true solution of the question lay, not in the formation of a new German State under the prince, but in the acquisition of the duchies by Prussia. 'In a council held immediately 'after the death of Frederick VII. [he] reminded the king 'that every one of his immediate ancestors had won an 'increment of territory for the State. Frederick William IV. 'had acquired Hohenzollern and the Jahde District; Frederick 'William III., the Rhine Province; Frederick William II., 'Poland; Frederick II., Silesia; Frederick William I., Old 'Hither Pomerania; the Great Elector, Further Pomerania, ' &c.; and he encouraged the king to do likewise!' The speech was received with consternation. The king seemed to imagine that Bismarck 'had spoken under the Bacchic 'influences of a déjeuner;' the Crown Prince raised his hands to heaven, as if he doubted of the minister's sanity. But Bismarck was neither mad nor drunk. He was merely preparing his master for the ambitious policy which was the object of his life, the aggrandisement of Prussia in Germany.

Of these ambitious views, however, there was no trace in Bismarck's more public declarations. Intervention in the duchies, he saw clearly—if it occurred at all—must be made by Germany, and in preparing this intervention it was, above all things, necessary to carry Austria with him. It was only after war had been declared and concluded that his true intention became publicly visible. Austria insisted on the rights of the Prince of Augustenburg, and Prussia replied that the duchies were now German by right of conquest, and that she could only consent to acknowledge

the Prince of Augustenburg's claim on condition that some territorial concessions, including the harbour of Kiel, were made to Prussia, and that the absolute disposal of the land and sea forces of the duchies was assigned to the Prussian King.

It was thus already evident that, if one German question had been solved by the defeat of Denmark, another, and a much more serious, question had been raised by the differences between the two conquerors as to the disposal of the spoil. These differences were temporarily arranged at Gastein in the summer of 1865. It was then agreed that the government of Holstein should be handed over to Austria, and that of Schleswig to Prussia; that Lauenburg should be annexed to Prussia; that Kiel should be a German port under the control of Prussia; and that Prussia should have a right to connect the Baltic and the North Sea by a canal, and to construct railways through Holstein. These arrangements, reluctantly conceded by Austria, were obviously to the advantage of Prussia, and the king, recognising the obligations which his minister had conferred on him, raised him to the rank of a count.* It was perhaps, from Bismarck's point of view, of still more importance that the acquisition of new territory inspired the king with a desire for more. 'His frame of mind,' so Bismarck said, 'underwent a psychological change; he 'developed a taste for conquest.'

The king's pleasure was not shared by the Prussian Legislature. The Liberal majority of the Chamber naturally resented the autocratic policy of the minister. They supported the claims of the Prince of Augustenburg; they denied the right of the Crown to incorporate Lauenburg in Prussia without the approval of Parliament; they carried a resolution to that effect by a great majority; and the opposition was so pronounced that Bismarck did not even venture to ask for the supplies which he required.

* The manner in which Bismarck carried the treaty is worth recording. 'When I was negotiating the treaty of Gastein with Blome, I played quinze for the last time in my life. Although I had not played then for a long time, I gambled recklessly, so that the others were astounded. But I knew what I was at. Blome had heard that quinze gave the best opportunity of testing a man's character, and he was anxious to try the experiment on me. I thought to myself, I'll teach him. I lost a few hundred thalers. . . . But I got round Blome in that way, and made him do what I wanted. He took me to be reckless, and yielded.' (Busch, vol. i. p. 451.)

The hostility which Bismarck's policy provoked in Prussia was felt even more acutely in other countries. Austria, though agreeing to the arrangements of Gastein, could not help perceiving that all the substantial advantages of the war had fallen to Prussia, and that she had herself added new strength to her northern rival. Italy, which had seen a fresh opportunity for herself in the increasing estrangement of Austria from Prussia, was dissatisfied at a treaty which apparently had again brought the two German Powers into alliance; while France, not unnaturally dismayed at the aggrandisement of Prussia, and at an alliance between Austria and Prussia, complained openly that the Treaty of London had been torn up, and that the interests of Germany had been sacrificed to the sole profit of the two Powers who had been parties to the war.

These criticisms were all founded on the hypothesis that the agreement concluded at Gastein was likely to endure. The one man, however, who had no faith in its continuance was Bismarck himself. The ink was hardly dry on the document which he had inspired before he was actively preparing for the struggle with Austria which he had from the first regarded as inevitable. The future of Prussia—the future of Germany itself—was to be determined, so he had always predicted, by blood and iron; and the time was coming very near for the application of the remedy. In the previous October, when the differences between Austria and Prussia were becoming acute, General La Marmora, the Prime Minister of Italy, had declared in the Italian Chamber that, if war broke out, Italy would know how to take advantage of the struggle, and that Austria, were she well advised, would relieve herself of a serious danger by the cession of Venice. This speech convinced Bismarck that, in the event of war, he might hope to place Austria between two fires; and immediately before the Treaty of Gastein was signed he directed his ambassador at Florence to inquire what part Italy would take if war occurred.* General La Marmora with difficulty concealed the satisfaction which the inquiry gave him. He, however, coldly replied that if Prussia had a serious proposal to make, it should be carefully considered; but that she was entirely mistaken if she supposed that she could draw from him an unconsidered

* Nearly three years before, Bismarck had caused the same question to be put to Count Pasolini, who then held the Italian Foreign Office. (Pasolini Memoirs, p. 238.)

declaration, which could be used to Italy's disadvantage, and to Prussia's profit, at Vienna. In any case, Italy could do nothing without the assent of the Emperor of the French.

The annoyance which the French Government was displaying at the arrangements of Gastein, and the reluctance of the Italian Minister to move without the knowledge of France, proved to Prince Bismarck that the key which might unlock the future was in the Emperor Napoleon's hands, and he decided on undertaking what he called 'the pilgrimage' to Biarritz, where the emperor was staying, for the purpose of endeavouring to arrive at an understanding with him. He had two things obviously to secure. First, the neutrality of France in the event of war; and, second, the assent of France to a Prussian-Italian alliance. No man knows exactly what passed at Biarritz. Bismarck did not imitate the example of Cavour, and reduce to writing the arrangements which were arrived at. But the course of events makes it tolerably easy to collect the substance of the decisions, and even to conjecture the arguments which prevailed with Napoleon.

In the first place, the very fact that France was disturbed at the prospect of an alliance between Austria and Prussia made it certain that the emperor would not be indisposed to a rupture between them. Allies, they might prove a formidable menace to the safety of France, or at any rate a formidable curb to French ambition; divided, France might fairly hope that her own position would be strengthened, and that she would be able by forcible intervention to impose terms on either of them. The emperor, therefore, had no hesitation in promising his neutrality in the event of war, reserving, at the same time, liberty to intervene if the events of the war necessitated intervention. Nor had Bismarck much difficulty in persuading him that Italy should be allowed to be a party to the war. The emperor's dream of 1859 had been the liberation of the Peninsula from the Alps to the Adriatic; his promise had been frustrated at Villafranca by the attitude of Prussia; and it probably seemed to him a sound stroke of policy to make Prussia herself rake the chestnuts out of the fire, which Prussia in 1859 had prevented him from securing. It is certain, moreover, that the emperor thought that even Prussia and Italy combined would have a difficult task before them. His own experience in 1859 had taught him to attach a high value to the Austrian army. All his

advisers assured him—and it is fair to recollect that Lord Palmerston had received similar assurances from British officers—that the Prussian army was of little use, and one of the best informed of them had just told him that it could not stand against Austrian troops. Even with Italian help, therefore, the Prussians, so the emperor thought, had a hard task before them; and in the months through which a long and difficult war would be protracted, he would have ample leisure to organise his own forces and to prepare for any eventuality.

But, in the next place, Bismarck had other arguments, which were sure to have weight with the emperor. The absorption of the duchies in Prussia was, he could contend, only a new application of the emperor's own principle of Nationalities. Just as the doctrine of Nationalities required that Venetia should be Italian and Savoy French, so it demanded that duchies in which there was a large German element should be German. True, their absorption in Prussia would increase the weight of Prussia. But France could obtain compensation by the application of the same principle. Belgium, Luxemburg, French Switzerland—even the Rhine Provinces of Germany—these were all places to which Napoleon might conceivably look for compensation. At any rate it was easy for Bismarck to dangle temptations of this character before the eyes of the emperor.* And as the emperor only listened, and did not pin him to his words, Bismarck had the rare good fortune of obtaining what he required without giving a distinct pledge of anything in return.

For Bismarck practically secured, either at Biarritz or in the negotiations which followed his interview with the emperor, all that he required. He obtained from the emperor a promise of the neutrality which was essential to him, and the emperor himself undertook to recommend to Italy the Prussian alliance. It is no wonder that Bismarck returned in exceptionally good spirits from what he afterwards called his beloved Biarritz. French abstention, Italian

* It is certain that, if he did not use this language to the emperor himself, he used it in quarters from which it would be necessarily carried to the emperor's ears. See Rothan, '*La Politique Française en 1866*,' p. 53, and note. May we take this opportunity of expressing our regret at the death of M. Rothan, an historian who has done much—perhaps more than any other writer—to illustrate the causes which led to the fall of the Second Empire?

assistance,* both were practically secured to him. He had only now one thing more to accomplish: to provoke Austria into the war on which he was determined.

It would be impossible within our present limits to trace the events in the beginning of 1866 which produced fresh differences between the two German Powers, and which enabled Bismarck to throw on Austria the responsibility of disregarding the provisions agreed to at Gastein. In the course of these months, however, the question gradually became enlarged, and the quarrel, which was originally confined to the future of Schleswig-Holstein, more and more evidently turned on the future of Germany. In the middle of this anxious time, when Bismarck's policy was being hotly denounced by Prussian Liberals, and when his dismissal from the king's councils was being demanded by the Prussian press, Cohen Blind made his determined attempt on the minister's life. The crime marked a crisis in Bismarck's fortunes. Superstitious Germans were inclined to agree with the opinion of the medical man who attended him: 'There is but one explanation [of his escape from death]: 'God has His hand in the matter.' Germans who were not superstitious had their sympathies aroused for a minister whose life had been cruelly attempted while he was in his country's service. The sympathy which was consequently excited was increased by Bismarck's own speech to the people who thronged the street in which his house stood to congratulate him on his safety: 'Death for king and 'fatherland is sweet, even if he should meet us on the 'street pavement and by an assassin's hand.' Thenceforward the unpopularity which Bismarck had incurred decreased, till a few weeks later it gave way before the universal enthusiasm which the success of his measures aroused.

For success was very near. In April an offensive and defensive alliance, to last for three months, was concluded between Italy and Prussia. Soon afterwards Bismarck happened to meet at dinner a lady of great influence in Saxony, who ventured to say to him, 'Is it really true 'that you are going to declare war to expel Austria from 'Germany, and occupy Saxony yourselves?' 'My dear 'Countess,' replied Bismarck, 'I have from the first had 'this intention, and I have never ceased to prepare for it

* It was at this time that Bismarck said, 'Si l'Italie n'existait pas, il faudrait l'inventer.'

'since I became minister. The time is now ripe; our guns are all cast, and you will soon have an opportunity of realising that our new artillery is infinitely better than that of Austria.' 'You make me positively shudder,' replied the lady; 'but, since you are in a communicative vein, tell me what I should myself do if your sinister anticipations should be realised. I have two properties—one in Bohemia, the other near Leipzig—to which shall I go?' 'If you take my advice,' answered Bismarck, 'you will not go into Bohemia, for, unless I am mistaken, it is in the neighbourhood of your own property that we shall fight the Austrians. I advise you, therefore, to go quietly into Saxony. Nothing is likely to happen near Leipzig, and you will, therefore, be safe there from the inconveniences of war.' The lady naturally reported this remarkable conversation, and Bismarck was asked by the representatives of foreign courts to explain his meaning. He put off the inquiry by declining to be held responsible for a joke at dinner.* But the joke had done its work. Austria at once moved some additional troops into Bohemia, and Bismarck, complaining of these reinforcements, declared that they were a menace to Berlin, and threw the responsibility of a probable rupture on Austria.

War immediately resulted from the protest which Austria lodged against the occupation of Holstein by Prussian troops. On June 14 she ordered the mobilisation of the armies of all the German States not belonging to Prussia. The Prussian Minister declared this proceeding to be a violation of the constitution, and called on the Middle States—Hanover, Saxony, and Hesse—to disarm and pledge themselves to neutrality in the coming contest. On their refusal, troops were moved into each of these countries. The Hanoverian army was defeated, Hesse Cassel was overrun, and Leipzig was occupied. The immediate success of these operations enabled Prussia to converge the mass of her forces on Bohemia itself; and on July 3, a war, which had only commenced in the last fortnight of June, was practically concluded by the complete overthrow of the Austrians at Sadowa.

The total defeat of his troops convinced the Emperor of Austria that peace was absolutely essential, and he turned at once to France to help him in his difficulty. He offered

* 'Il se tira d'affaire en donnant à l'incident un tour plaisant.' (Rethan, *'La Politique Française en 1866,'* p. 113.)

to cede Venetia to Napoleon on condition that the emperor would insist on an armistice in Italy and undertake the negotiation of a peace. If France would only temporarily occupy Venice, so Austria thought, a barrier would practically be imposed between Italy and Vienna, and the emperor could move the forces which had been watching the Italian army to reinforce his discomfited battalions in Bohemia. Napoleon at once communicated the request which had been conveyed to him both to the Italian and the Prussian Governments, and he gained some little prestige in France by announcing that his intervention had been asked to terminate the war. The inhabitants of Paris even illuminated their windows from their satisfaction on learning that France was to play a part worthy of her history in the settlement of the dispute.

The satisfaction which was temporarily felt at Paris was not shared by the emperor or his advisers. The emperor especially had been rudely undeceived by the rapid success of the Prussian army. He had reckoned on a long war and on an indecisive struggle, and he was suddenly face to face with the fact that the Prussian army, which he had hitherto despised, was the finest in the world. However gladly, moreover, the sovereign who was defeated might court his intervention, it did not at all follow that it would be equally welcome to the sovereign who was victorious. The only chance, in fact, of being able to insist on peace seemed to lie in being ready for war; and M. Drouyn de Lhuys, who held the French Foreign Office, at once urged that the emperor should support his proposals by moving 80,000 men towards the Prussian frontier, by summoning the French Chambers, and by asking for a loan of 40,000,000*l.* But this energetic counsel was rejected, after warm discussion, by the emperor, and its rejection was necessary. For, incredible as it seems, the emperor had not 80,000 men at his disposal. It is more than doubtful if in 1866 he could have put more than 40,000 men in line against the Prussian army.

Armed intervention, therefore, was impossible. All that the emperor could do was to rely on any influence which he might still possess to moderate the pretensions of the victors. And it was at first very doubtful whether either Italy or Prussia would stay their hands at his bidding. Italy, indeed, whose part in the war had been, to say the least, inglorious, was bent on continuing the struggle, and on winning Venetia by the efforts of her own soldiery. The Prussian Court, on

the other hand, elated by the successes of their troops, desired to dictate peace under the walls of Vienna. Bismarck was almost alone in urging a contrary course. His moderation in the hour of his triumph in 1866 is, perhaps, the one thing in which he showed himself the superior of his great Italian predecessor, Cavour. In all the events which had preceded the war, in his interview with Napoleon, in his efforts to put Austria in the wrong, he had pursued the policy of Cavour so closely that the mantle of the Italian minister seemed to have fallen on the shoulders of the Prussian statesman. But—while after Villafranca Cavour urged a policy of action which would probably have deprived Italy of all she had won—after Sadowa, Bismarck warmly supported a policy of moderation, which unquestionably enabled him to secure the fruits of his victory before entering on the new and greater struggle, which from that moment he never ceased to contemplate.

If in this crisis he displayed a statesmanlike moderation, he concurrently showed that his diplomacy was full of resource. We have no desire to become the apologists of the third Napoleon; we think that his rule was in many respects a misfortune for France and for Europe. But we cannot help being moved at the pathetic spectacle of the emperor in the last four years of his reign, stricken with a painful disease, distracted by the contrary counsels of his advisers, his old habits of irresolution increased by age and illness, engaged in a hopeless struggle with the strongest and most pitiless statesman of the century. The emperor, satisfied that he had no troops to enforce his views, threw himself from the first on the generosity of a statesman who probably regarded generosity as a crime in a diplomatist. Before the war, Bismarck had dangled all sorts of promises before the emperor's eyes, and the emperor imagined that after the war he had only to ask for their redemption. Thus he was ready to give Prussia almost everything that she required, in the expectation that in return Bismarck would enable him to secure the increase of territory which he thought essential for France. French historians tell us that when M. de Goltz, the Prussian Minister at Paris, called on M. Drouyn de Lhuys to explain the proposals of his court, he was careful to minimise the orders which he had received. The Prussian territories, he said, unrolling a map, were severed by intervening States; it was necessary to make some small annexations here and there to render them contiguous. But these annexations

were, after all, only small. They merely concerned some 300,000 people, and they would chiefly be at the expense of Hesse, whose sovereign was unpopular. M. Dronyn de Lhuys admitted that the annexations were not of much importance. But at the same time he argued that the transfer of a population of 300,000 souls from one State to another was a subject which must be carefully considered and approved by Europe. Unable to procure the assent of the minister, M. de Goltz drove at once to the sovereign and prevailed on him to assent to the annexation of Hanover, Electoral Hesse, Frankfort, and Nassau to Prussia, annexations which involved the addition of some 4,500,000 souls to the Prussian kingdom.

In assenting to this great extension of Prussian territory, the emperor undoubtedly thought that he would obtain Bismarck's support of the rectifications which he desired to make in his own frontier, and he at once instructed the French Ambassador at Berlin to apply for the territory which he conceived that he could claim as the price of his good will. In the conversations which then took place, and which occurred before the preliminaries of the peace had been finally ratified, Bismarck showed some disposition to admit that territorial compensation was due to France. But when the French Ambassador proceeded to suggest that the compensation might be found in the annexation to France of Prussian territory between the Moselle and the Rhine,* Bismarck at once pleaded the reluctance of his sovereign to cede any portion of his hereditary dominions, and suggested that France might obtain a satisfactory equivalent in Belgium. The French Government did not, however, immediately abandon its original proposal—on the contrary, it prepared a draft treaty, which it directed its ambassador to present to Bismarck, claiming the line of the Rhine, including the fortress of Mayence, for France. There are two accounts of the manner in which this demand was made. Bismarck said: 'The ambassador of France came into my room, holding an ultimatum in his hand requiring the cession of Mayence, and threatening

* Immediately before the war Bismarck had himself suggested some such arrangement. He said to the French ambassador at Berlin: 'Il ne serait peut-être pas tout-à-fait impossible d'amener le Roi à céder à la France les bords de la haute Moselle. Cette acquisition, jointe à celle du Luxembourg, redresserait votre frontière de manière à vous donner toute satisfaction.' (De la Gorce, '*Hist. du Second Empire*,' vol. iv., p. 626.)

‘ war if it was refused. I did not hesitate to reply, “ Very
‘ “ well, we choose war. But tell your emperor that the
‘ “ war which he is provoking must become a war of revo-
‘ “ lution, and that in such a struggle the dynasties of
‘ “ Germany may prove themselves more solidly established
‘ “ than the dynasty of the emperor.”’ M. Benedetti, the
French Ambassador at Berlin, on the contrary, declares that
so far from walking into Bismarck’s room with an ultimatum
in his hand, he prepared him for the discussion by sending
him beforehand a copy of the proposed treaty, and that, so
far from choosing war, Bismarck seemed anxious to conciliate
France; and, in declaring it impossible to consent to the
cession of Mayence, offered other arrangements satisfactory to
the interests of both countries. It is probable that the truth
may be found by fusing the two accounts. But it is certain
that the result of the interview was a rude blow to the
emperor’s policy, and that it led directly to the resignation
of his Foreign Minister, M. Drouyn de Lhuys.

Unprepared for war, but profoundly dejected at the check
which he had received, the emperor, with a lack of generosity
which, it is fair to say, was unusual in him, threw the blame
of failure on his retiring minister. M. Drouyn de Lhuys—he
wrote to his successor, M. de la Valette—had conceived the
idea of sending a draft treaty to Berlin. This treaty, which
ought to have been kept secret, had made a great stir abroad;
and it was obvious that, if it had been insisted on, France
would have had to fight all Germany for the sake of
securing a very slight rectification of her frontier. The true
policy of France was quite different. She should help Germany
to work out her future in the manner that was most favourable
to the interests of France and to those of Europe. In accordance
with this new decision, the emperor concerted a fresh scheme
with the German Ambassador at Paris. He suggested that Prussia
should consent to the surrender of Saarbruck, Saarlouis, and
Landau, and the transfer of Luxemburg to France; and that by
a separate and secret treaty Prussia and France should agree to
an offensive and defensive alliance, under which France should
ultimately be at liberty to acquire Belgium. When this proposal
reached Berlin, Bismarck refused to sanction any surrender
of German territory; he moreover affected to prefer that the
two treaties should be rolled into one; and, according to the
French account,* at his dictation, M. Benedetti drew

* It is fair to add that Bismarck declared that the treaty reached him from Paris in the form in which it was ultimately published.

up a new treaty, omitting all reference to German territory, but stipulating that (1) Prussia should help France to acquire Luxemburg; (2) France should offer no opposition to a Federal Union between the new Confederation of Northern Germany and the States of Southern Germany; (3) if France should decide on the occupation or conquest of Belgium, Prussia should lend her armed assistance; and (4), to give effect to these arrangements, an offensive and defensive alliance should be concluded between the two Powers.

In consenting to discuss these proposals Bismarck was to some extent sincere. We know from Busch that, in his judgement, Napoleon in the summer of 1866 lacked the courage to do what he ought to have done. 'He could have done a good stroke of business, although not on German soil. When we attacked Austria he should have occupied —— [it is difficult to avoid filling up the blank with Luxemburg], and held it as a pledge. We could not have prevented him at that time, and most probably England would not have stirred. If the *coup* had succeeded he might have placed himself back to back with us, encouraging us to further aggression. But,' he added, 'he is, and remains, a muddle-headed fellow.' And, if Bismarck would not have objected to the transfer of Luxemburg to France, he would probably have seen with pleasure a French invasion of Belgium. For he knew that such a proceeding would necessarily destroy the good understanding between France and England, and would leave France absolutely isolated. It was a characteristic of Bismarck's policy—which he applied in turn to France, Austria, and Russia—to distract the attention of troublesome neighbours from Germany by embroiling them elsewhere.

The proposals of France, moreover, had placed in his hands a new weapon, of which he did not scruple to avail himself. On the very day on which he received the emperor's first proposal from Benedetti, he sent a special envoy to St. Petersburg to communicate it confidentially to the Russian Government. It was not difficult to persuade the Russian Government with such evidence that France was contemplating fresh schemes of aggrandisement, which it was the interest both of Europe and of Russia to resist. In the same way the draft treaty relating to Belgium was carefully preserved; and, when war broke out between France and Prussia in 1870, was reproduced in *fac-simile* and published by Bismarck.

Strengthened by the assurance of Russian support, aware of the weakness of France, and relying, perhaps, on the evidence which the draft of the secret treaty afforded him, Bismarck declared to Benedetti that the proposals of France were made with the object of embroiling Prussia with England, and refused to entertain them. But at the same time he was careful to point out that he did not abandon the hope of an alliance with France, and that, if France could make the necessary arrangement with Holland for the cession of Luxemburg, Prussia would not oppose it. 'Commit yourselves,' so he argued, 'to the arrangement, and you will find us ready to second your efforts. Let the cession be a *fait accompli* before the Reichstag meets, and I will undertake to induce Germany to swallow the pill.' For the moment, however, worn out with the fatigue of the campaign and of the labours which had followed it, he was going to seek health and rest at Varzin, and the conclusion of any more formal arrangement must be deferred till after his return.

Thus the negotiation, which had commenced in July and August 1866, was practically suspended until the end of the year. Before it was resumed, new facts had been disclosed which enormously increased the power of Prussia and the embarrassment of the French Emperor. In the Peace of Prague, by which the war had been concluded, the new Confederation of the North had been practically confined to the line of the Main, and the South German States had been left free to form themselves into a new confederation. Napoleon undoubtedly thought that the recollections of the war would create a barrier between the North and the South, and that he himself would be able to exercise a preponderating influence in Southern Germany. He was startled to find in November that Bismarck had succeeded in concluding treaties with the South German States which had placed their whole military force at the disposal of Prussia. The French complained that the Treaty of Prague had practically been torn up when the new arrangements were made, and with a heavy heart they resumed the negotiations which had been interrupted in the summer. Our space makes it impossible for us to follow the history of these negotiations. Bismarck had frankly told the French in August that they must secure the cession of Luxemburg by Holland before the Reichstag met, and, as a matter of fact, the meeting of the Reichstag made success hopeless. Public opinion in Germany was obviously

opposed to the transaction; the Prussian army was anxious for war with France, and war for a short time seemed inevitable.

We have the authority of a French historian for saying that, if war had broken out in 1867, France would have been even less prepared for the struggle than she proved in 1870. The three years of grace which were secured to her did enable her to make some preparations. Bismarck, however, arrived at a different conclusion. He thought that delay was on the side of his own country. She required time to assimilate what she had already won, and to organise the armies of Northern as well as of Southern Germany on the Prussian model. 'Each year's postponement of the war,' he wrote, 'would add 100,000 trained soldiers to our army.' He said the same thing before Paris in 1871. 'I have often thought over what would have happened if we had gone to war about Luxemburg. Should I now be in Paris, or would the French be in Berlin? I think I did well to prevent war at that time. We should not have been nearly so strong as we are to-day.'

Thus, in opposition to the court, the army, and public opinion, Bismarck made up his mind to bide his time. He had, perhaps, already in his own judgement determined the precise time at which war should break out. The arrangements with the South German States gave Prussia control of their forces till the spring of 1871. It was obviously, therefore, to the advantage of Prussia that if war were to come it should come in 1870. Its immediate cause, as everyone knows, was the election of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern to the throne of Spain. Bismarck, indeed, maintained that he had very little to do with the Prince's selection. When France first complained of the choice which had been made, he replied that the ministry knew nothing about the matter, and he added in his Memoirs that 'this was correct so far, that the question of Prince Leopold's acceptance of his election had been treated by his Majesty simply as a family matter, which in no way concerned either Prussia or the North German Confederation.' But we know from Busch that Bismarck's account is simply untrue; that the candidature had been discussed by the entire Prussian ministry; that it had been arranged by a member of Bismarck's own staff, specially sent to Madrid for the purpose; and that it was regarded by Busch himself as a trap set for Napoleon.

Bismarck, however, had comparatively little to do with the negotiations which preceded the rupture. The King of Prussia was at Ems, and, without the advice or knowledge of his minister, entered into the now famous conversation with the French Ambassador Benedetti. Bismarck thought that the concessions which the king made, and which, in his own strong language, 'had exposed his royal person to 'insolent treatment from the foreign agent,' had made his own position untenable, and he decided to retire. The day on which he arrived at this decision, July 18, 1870, he asked Von Roon, the Secretary of War, and Moltke to dine with him. While they were at dinner the famous telegram arrived from Ems announcing that Benedetti had asked the king to bind himself for all future time never again to give his consent if the Hohenzollerns should renew their candidature. The telegram went on, quoting the king's exact words: 'I refused at last somewhat sternly, as it is neither 'right nor possible to undertake engagements of this 'kind *à tout jamais*. Naturally I told him that I had 'as yet received no news [i.e. from Madrid], and as he was 'earlier informed about Paris and Madrid than myself he 'could clearly see that my Government once more had no 'hand in the matter.' It was obvious from the king's account of the meeting that nothing discourteous to France had been said or intended. In telegraphing the report to Bismarck by the king's orders, Count Abeken, who was in attendance on the king, added: 'His Majesty has since 'received a letter from the prince. His Majesty having 'told Count Benedetti that he was awaiting news from the 'prince, has decided, with reference to the above demand, 'upon the representation of Count Eulenburg and myself, 'not to receive Count Benedetti again, but only to let him 'be informed through an aide-de-camp: that his Majesty 'had now received from the prince confirmation of the news 'which Benedetti had already received from Paris, and had 'nothing further to say to the ambassador.' The telegram added that the king left it to Bismarck to determine whether the new demand and its rejection should not at once be communicated to the press.

We know from Bismarck himself that, when he read this telegram to his guests, their dejection was so great that 'they turned away from food and drink.' Bismarck thought differently. He took the precaution of ascertaining from Moltke that no advantage could be gained by deferring war—that, on the contrary, its rapid outbreak would be

more favourable to Germany than delay, and he thereupon undertook to edit the telegram for publication. The telegram had consisted of two parts: the king's own account of what had occurred, and Abeken's subsequent addition to it. Bismarck ran the two together. The revised telegram recited accurately Benedetti's demand. But, instead of giving the king's firm but courteous answer, it substituted for it a portion of the message which Abeken said the king had sent to Benedetti later on. And this substitution was not given fairly. The message had said that the king had decided not to receive Benedetti again, but only to inform him through an aide-de-camp that *his Majesty had now received from the prince confirmation of the news which Benedetti had received from Paris*, and had nothing further to say. It is obvious, therefore, that the king's meaning was: 'the news which you gave me' (of the prince's declining the throne) 'is now confirmed. I have nothing to add to what I said to you this morning.' But Bismarck, by omitting the words which we have placed in italics, and connecting the message to Benedetti directly with Benedetti's demand, gave the telegram a wholly different meaning. His version ran: 'After the news of the renunciation of the Hereditary Prince of Hohenzollern had been officially communicated to the Imperial Government of France by the Royal Government of Spain, the French Ambassador at Ems further demanded of his Majesty the king that he would authorise him to telegraph to Paris that his Majesty the king bound himself for all future time never again to give his consent if the Hohenzollerns should renew their candidature. His Majesty the king thereupon decided not to receive the French Ambassador again, and sent to tell him through the aide-de-camp on duty that his Majesty had nothing further to communicate to the ambassador.'

Mr. Jacks is of opinion that 'there are no grounds whatever for the accusation so often made that Bismarck falsified his monarch's telegram.' We can only say that we are unable to understand how any man of Mr. Jacks's intelligence can arrive at such a conclusion. Moltke, at any rate, formed a very different opinion. 'Now,' he said, 'it has a different ring; it sounded before like a parley; now it is like a flourish in answer to a challenge.' And Bismarck declared himself that the telegram would have the effect of a red rag upon the Gallic bull. The Duc de Gramont regarded the matter in the same light. The telegram had 'insulted France by declaring to the public

‘ that the king had insulted the French Ambassador. The king had, indeed, really not treated Count Benedetti with the rude impoliteness of which the Prussian Government bragged; but it was precisely this boasting that constituted the offence.’ In other words, it was the language of the telegram, and not the conduct of the king, which led to the almost immediate declaration of war by France.

In deciding on war in 1870—for the decision was virtually his—Bismarck showed that he was a much better judge of the relative strength of the opposing forces than any French statesman. He knew that in physique,* in numbers, in organisation, in arms, the German army was superior to the French; and he had every reason for thinking that the French had no general who could be compared with Moltke. The only uneasiness he felt arose from the possible interference of other Powers. The rapid success of the German arms made, indeed, the intervention of Austria impossible. But Russia was a more formidable neighbour, and Bismarck bid high for her neutrality. We have Busch’s authority for saying that ‘as early as September 1—that is, before the battle of Sedan—Prussia had intimated in St. Petersburg that she would put no difficulties in the way of such action in the matter of the Black Sea’ as Russia eventually took in the following November. As a matter of fact, indeed, when the Russian claim was made, Bismarck privately said that ‘the Russians should not have been so modest in their demands. They ought to have asked for more.’

In the conduct of the war Bismarck had, of course, no share. But he had, nevertheless, frequent opportunities of showing that, in his judgement, war was war, and that in war the sternest measures were, on the whole, the most humane. He over and over again declared that Paris should have been immediately stormed. He ridiculed the notion that its bombardment should be avoided because it contained works of art. ‘If the French wanted to preserve their monuments and collections of books and pictures from the dangers of war, they should not have surrounded them with fortifications.’ The life of one German soldier was ‘worth more than all the trashy pictures’ in Versailles. His voice, too, was always in favour of the extreme measures which war perhaps justifies. ‘Our people,’ he complained,

* Bismarck mentioned at Versailles that the front of a company of the Pomeranian Landwehr was at least five feet broader than that of a French company. (Busch, i. p. 275.)

'are very good marksmen, but bad executioners. Every village in which an act of treachery has been committed should be burned to the ground, and all the male inhabitants hanged.' When he was told that 1,600 prisoners had been taken on the Loire, he remarked, 'I should have been better pleased if they had all been corpses. It is simply a disadvantage to us now to make prisoners.' In a similar strain, when Jules Favre, during the negotiations at Versailles, told him that his position was very critical, Bismarck coolly replied, '*Provoquez donc une émeute pendant que vous avez encore une armée pour l'étouffer.*' 'Favre,' he added, 'looked at me quite terror-stricken, as if he wished to say, "How bloodthirsty you are!" I explained to him, however, that this was the only way to manage a mob.' Omelettes, to quote a famous simile, cannot be made without breaking eggs. And, when he wanted to make an omelette, Bismarck broke his eggs with a very light heart.

His pitiless character was equally visible throughout the negotiations for peace. It is interesting to see that before the war had lasted a fortnight he had made up his mind to annex Alsace. After the battle of Gravelotte Busch was able to record his chief's reasons for retaining Alsace, Metz, and its environs. All that Thiers's eloquence could do in 1871 was to save Belfort for France. And it is a little doubtful whether Belfort had not been put forward as the Jonah to be eventually sacrificed in the name of moderation. Bismarck himself, indeed, had some hesitation even about Metz. He said at the time, 'If they were to give us another milliard we might perhaps leave them Metz. . . . I do not want so many Frenchmen in our house. It is the same with Belfort, which is entirely French. But the soldiers will not hear of giving up Metz, and perhaps they are right.'

The war, of course, did much more than humiliate France. It consolidated Germany. The King of Prussia became Emperor of Germany. The policy which Bismarck had from the first contemplated had been worked out by blood and iron as he had predicted. But the empire which had been created had still to be preserved; and Bismarck's efforts to preserve it during the twenty years of peace which followed were as strenuous and unceasing as those which had led to the triumph of his country.

From the moment at which peace was made Bismarck foresaw that France would seize any favourable opportunity

for regaining her lost provinces. The unexpected ease with which she discharged the great indemnity imposed on her convinced him that her resources were larger, and that the danger was consequently greater, than he had first imagined. But, wealthy and powerful as she was proving herself to be, France could not hope for success in a new struggle if she entered it alone. The only possible allies which she could secure were Austria, still sore at her defeat in 1866, and Russia. It was, therefore, to the obvious advantage of Germany that she should arrive at a clear understanding with both these Powers, and with this object, even before the termination of the war of 1870, Bismarck made overtures to Austria. Prussia, he argued, had gained all that she required. Neither Austria nor any other Power had anything to fear from her ambition; and the time had accordingly come for burying the past, and for closer friendship between the two Great Powers of Central Europe. Both Von Beust and Andrassy, who successively controlled the foreign policy of Austria, readily responded to these overtures. The Emperors of Austria and Germany personally met, and a complete reconciliation was established between them.

By this arrangement the French were deprived of the assistance of one nation which conceivably might also have grasped at an opportunity for a *revanche*. But Bismarck did not stop at this point. Russia and Austria had been estranged from one another since the days of the Crimean War, and Bismarck addressed himself to the task of overcoming this estrangement. His tact and ability were again rewarded. The three emperors met at Berlin in 1872, and the *Drei-Kaiser-Bund* was the result of the meeting. In the following year a military convention was concluded between Russia and Germany, which was subsequently confirmed by the two emperors, but which Bismarck did not sign, pledging each country to assist the other in case either should be attacked.

The close understanding between the three empires obviously made peace in Europe certain. When Austria, Germany, and Russia were agreed no other Power could contemplate an attack on any of them. The French, however, did not relax their efforts to repair the defects in their military organisation which had been so cruelly revealed to them; and these efforts were so constant and so effectual that in 1875 Bismarck was almost universally credited with a desire to renew the war and crush France

before they were completed. He has himself, indeed, told us that this idea was a mere 'myth of Prince Gortchakoff, 'who spread the lie that we intended to fall on France 'before she had recovered from her wounds.' Perhaps, however, without unduly straining his conscience, he might have equally urged in the summer of 1870 that he had no desire for war. Myth or not, the idea that he desired war in 1875 was generally entertained in other countries, and many people still think that war was only prevented by the strong remonstrances both of this country and of Russia. It is certain, at any rate, that Bismarck was profoundly irritated at Gortchakoff, who openly played the part of peace-maker, and that a certain coolness was imported into the relations between the Emperors of Russia and Germany. This coolness perceptibly increased during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-8. Before war broke out Russia inquired whether, if she should go to war with Austria, she might rely on German neutrality, and Bismarck, after parrying the question for months, at length replied that 'we could 'endure that our friends should lose or win battles against 'each other, but not that one of the two should be so 'severely wounded and injured that its position as an 'independent Great Power taking its part in the councils of 'Europe would be endangered.' After the war Russia thought the conduct of Bismarck, in playing the part of 'the 'honest broker' at the Congress of Berlin, unfriendly. The Empress Marie openly complained, 'Votre amitié est 'trop platonique;' and the Czar curtly told the emperor, 'Your Majesty's Chancellor has forgotten the promises of '1870.'

Thus, at the end of 1879, the good understanding which had been established between the three emperors was virtually destroyed, and Russia was practically estranged from Germany. Her estrangement induced Bismarck to draw more closely the bonds which united him with Austria. The *Drei-Kaiser-Bund* was an understanding—a *liaison*; it was time to replace the irregular *liaison* with a regular alliance. In August 1879 Bismarck met Andrassy at Gastein and talked over the subject. The two statesmen agreed to, and the Emperor of Austria readily approved of, a new treaty between the two countries, pledging both of them, in the event of either of them being attacked by a third Power, jointly to repel such attack with their entire united strength. The provisions of the treaty were not carried without grave difficulty. The Emperor

William, personally on friendly terms with the Emperor of Russia, strongly objected to an arrangement which was aimed distinctly against Russia, and which—he argued with some force—was inconsistent with the convention which had been concluded in 1873. Bismarck, however, determined to have his way, brought the matter before the Cabinet, and left the emperor to choose between consenting to the treaty and a change of ministers; and the emperor, though unconvinced by his minister's arguments, at last 'gave the promise to ratify the treaty only because he was 'averse to ministerial changes.'* In 1883, Italy, estranged from France by French policy in Tunis, joined the alliance which was thus formed.†

Bismarck had now succeeded in consolidating an alliance between the three central Powers of Europe. He had undoubtedly been prompted to do so by the prospect of Russian aggression, and by the fear that Russia might combine with France. But, though he thus took what he would himself have considered a measure of precaution against Russia, he never lost sight of the possibility of arriving at a new understanding with his Eastern neighbour. The accession of a new Czar, and the appointment of M. de Giers to the chief place in the Russian ministry, facilitated his policy. In 1884 the three emperors met at Skiernevice and agreed on a new treaty. The first article of this treaty stipulated that if one of the three contracting Powers should be at war with a fourth Power, the two others should observe a benevolent

* The arrangement seems to have been embodied in two distinct treaties—one contemplating an attack on either of the contracting parties by Russia; the other, war between one of them and France. Bismarck says in his 'Memoirs,' vol. ii. p. 272, 'The treaty which we concluded with Austria for common defence against a Russian attack is *publici juris*. An analogous treaty between the two Powers for defence against France has not been published.' M. de Cyon, in his interesting 'Histoire de l'Entente Franco-Russe,' argues from the provisions of the subsequent Treaty of Skiernevice that it must have contained provisions for the active support of Germany by Austria in the event of a new Franco-German war. (P. 59.)

† The conditions on which Italy joined the Alliance do not seem to be accurately known. It was reported, however, that in the event of a war between Austria and Russia, Italy was to receive Roveredo and the Trentino as the price of her assistance. In the event of a war between Germany and France she was to obtain, according to one account, Tunis; according to another, Nice, Savoy and a part of Provence. See M. de Cyon, 'Histoire de l'Entente Franco-Russe,' p. 261.

neutrality towards their ally. It is stated that, as the article was originally drawn, it contained a provision that, if two of the contracting parties were engaged in a war with a fourth, the third should preserve the same benevolent neutrality. The Emperor of Russia, however, declined to agree to a stipulation which would have forced him to neutrality in the event of France being attacked by the combined force of Austria and Germany, and this provision was struck out.

Thus, in 1884, Bismarck had succeeded in strengthening the position of Germany to an extraordinary extent. By his treaties with Austria he had arranged that if either Austria or Germany were attacked by another Power, both countries should combine to repel the attack. By the tripartite treaty of 1884 he had arranged that, if Germany were engaged in offensive war with France, Russia and Austria should, at any rate, observe a benevolent neutrality. If, in other words, France declared war against Germany, she would find herself opposed to Germany and Austria. If, on the other hand, Germany should declare war against France, France was deprived of all hope of either moral or material support from any first-rate continental Power.

So far the object and the purport of these various arrangements can be followed with comparative ease; they dominated European politics for at least two years. In 1886, however, a large party in Russia displayed an increasing hostility to the German alliance. The agreement with Austria and Germany, they thought, was imposing new difficulties on Russia in the East, and the time had come for replacing it by a close alliance with France. The French about the same time showed in their enthusiasm for Boulanger a disposition to rid themselves of republican government, and to seek at last the long-deferred *revanche* for which they had been so sedulously preparing. They were naturally, in these circumstances, prepared to grasp at any prospect of closer alliance with Russia. With these symptoms before him Bismarck wisely renewed the arrangements which he had made in 1879 with Austria. And, in defending his policy in the Legislature, he used language which was understood to imply that the alliance between St. Petersburg and Berlin was at an end. But at this very time—as his own revelations in a German newspaper ten years afterwards showed—he had a secret treaty in his pocket ‘which seems to have effectually guaranteed the neutrality of Russia and Germany respectively in the event of a war other than one of absolutely

‘unprovoked aggression against any third Power.’* Thus, so far as Germany was concerned, he was still adhering to his old system. Germany, Austria (and Italy) were to defend one another with all their power if either of them were attacked. And, if events should lead to war, other than of unprovoked aggression, between Germany and France, or between Russia and Austria, Germany and Russia, as the case might be, were to preserve a strict neutrality. It followed that (1) if France attacked Germany, she would find herself opposed to Germany, Austria, and Italy; (2) if Germany had a dispute with France which led to war, France could not rely on Russian assistance; (3) if Russia attacked Austria, Austria would receive Italian and German support; but (4) if, which was more probable, differences arose between Russia and Austria on the Eastern Question, Austria would be left to settle with Russia alone. Verily, if the Triple Alliance was of equal advantage both to Austria and Germany, the new arrangement with Russia left Austria very much in the cold.

In this rapid review of the career and of the achievements of a great statesman, we have been forced mainly to confine our attention to his foreign policy. Our space does not allow us to enter into his domestic measures, and we are compelled reluctantly to omit all reference to the struggles with the Church and with the Socialists, to the legislation which followed these struggles, and to the reasons which induced Bismarck in his later years to embark on a policy of colonial expansion abroad, and of protection at home. In these matters, indeed, the Chancellor displayed the same inflexibility of will and tenacity of purpose which characterised his foreign policy. He dominated over his sovereign, over his colleagues, and over the Legislature. No autocratic monarch ever claimed or exacted more absolute power. ‘*L’état c’est moi*,’ said Louis XIV., but during the twenty-four years of Bismarck’s supremacy he might have said with equal truth, ‘Prussia, it is I.’

In considering his policy as a whole it is impossible to avoid a feeling of admiration at the achievements which he accomplished, and at the use which he made of them. He

* See the ‘Times,’ August 1, 1898. The reader may be interested in comparing this conclusion with M. de Cyon’s account in ‘*L’Histoire de l’Entente Franco-Russe*.’ M. de Cyon, writing in 1895, was obviously unaware of the secret treaty between Russia and Germany, which was only disclosed in 1896.

unquestionably raised his own country in eight years from the position of a second-rate Power to the first place on the Continent, and he maintained the position which he had won for her in war by a series of alliances which made her practically secure from attack. Nor should it be forgotten that the results of his policy were, on the whole, good both for Europe and the world. The Treaty of Frankfort has given Western Europe, at any rate, thirty years of peace, and this result was ensured both by Bismarck's moderation in 1866 and by his severity in 1870. In the former year his wise decision to exact as little as possible from Austria, enforced as it was in opposition to his sovereign and the public opinion of his country, undoubtedly paved the way for that good understanding with Austria which has done so much in late years to secure the position which Bismarck won for Germany and Prussia. The penalty which he exacted from France in 1870, on the other hand, and which has produced the cry for that *revanche* which has been a disturbing element in European politics for more than a quarter of a century, has made war less likely, because it has made a French invasion of Germany more difficult. The strong places through which the tide of aggression had so frequently poured are now in German keeping, and Germany can hardly be invaded with safety till both Metz and Strasburg are taken.

Whether, then, we consider the objects which Bismarck set himself to attain at the beginning of his career, or the surprising results which ensued from his policy, or the political combinations by which he secured for Prussia and Germany the position which he had won for them by blood and iron, we are convinced that the judgement of history will be in Bismarck's favour. But if history will almost certainly approve the ends, it is by no means so certain that it will approve the means by which the ends were won. Even Bismarck himself had some misgivings on this point. On one Sunday in October 1877 he said to Busch that he had had little pleasure or satisfaction from his political life.

'He had made no one happy thereby, neither himself, nor his family, nor others. There is no doubt, however, that I have caused great unhappiness to great numbers. But for me, three great wars would not have taken place, eighty thousand men would not have been killed, and would not now be mourned by parents, brothers, sisters, and widows.'

No doubt there was something morbid in this reflection.

Much as we dislike war, there are occasions when war itself may be justifiable, and when death may be sweetened by the consolation that the life which we loved was given for the fatherland which we love too. But we like Bismarck the better for his indulgence in such reflections. They show us that he had somewhere hidden within him a softer side to his character, and they redeem the ferocious utterances which he made on the battlefields of 1870, and which he himself thought should not have been published.

There were, however, other expedients which Bismarck adopted, and which history will not approve. The Conservative will condemn his treatment of his sovereign, the Constitutionalist his defiance of the Legislature, the Moralist the whole course of the negotiations which preceded the war of 1870, concluding with its crowning episode, the editing of the Ems telegram, an episode which we should be ashamed to attempt to justify. But perhaps it is fair to add that in measuring the character of a great statesman it is not always possible to apply to him the same rules by which we judge the conduct of other men. In the game of international politics, which is played on the card-table of Europe, things are done, and knowingly done, which would not be tolerated in private circles. In this game Bismarck proved himself the boldest and most unscrupulous player of his time, and perhaps of all time. By fair or unfair means he was always provided with the card which could out-trump his adversary. In fact, whatever other verdict history may pronounce on Bismarck it must at least credit him with

‘the unconquerable will
And courage never to submit or yield.’

As M. Benoist has lately pointed out, he did not know what it was to doubt, or to ask himself the paralyzing questions, ‘Am I sure?’ ‘Am I right?’ The word which was most frequently in his mouth, and which represented the idea ever present in his mind, was the word ‘must.’ The union of Germany *must* come, and from this one ‘must’ all the other ‘musts’ were deduced. The union of Germany *must* come, and Germany cannot work out her unity alone. Some Power *must*, then, help her. This Power *must* be either Austria or Prussia; it shall not be Austria; it *must*, then, be Prussia. But if unity be not given to Germany by Austria, it will not be given with Austria’s help; it *must*, then, be accomplished against Austria. The victory of

Prussia over Austria, however, will disturb the balance of power; it will specially affect France and Russia. These Powers *must*, then, be either won or defeated. Through family connexions, and in other ways, Russia may be won. But France, with a Napoleon on her throne, and German territory in her possession, cannot be won. France, then, *must* be fought.*

In carrying out this policy of *must*, Bismarck allied himself with no party. He said to Busch, in 1881: 'While I have been minister, I have never belonged to any party, either Liberal or Conservative. My party consisted solely of the king and myself, and my only aims were the restoration and aggrandisement of the German Empire and the defence of monarchical authority.' In his contempt for party government and for parliamentary tongue talk, he realised the ideas of statesmanship which were present to Carlyle; in the strength of his character he approached the aspiration which was expressed by Tennyson in 'Mand':—

' Ah God, for a man with heart, head, hand,
Like some of the simple great ones gone
For ever and ever by,
One still strong man in a blatant land,
Whatever they call him, what care I,
Aristocrat, democrat, autocrat—one
Who can rule.'

We wish we could finish the quotation—'and dare not lie.'

A sense of his own strength and judgement left Bismarck little consideration for the views of others. He believed in the divine right of his king, and he had a genuine affection for his old emperor; but he never hesitated to insist on the adoption of his own views. His sovereign had to choose between the adoption of his minister's advice and the loss of his adviser; and as the monarch thought that he could not govern without Bismarck, he had practically no alternative but to give way. Bismarck, indeed, never made the mistake—into which Cavour in his fury after Villafranca is said to have fallen—of claiming that he was the real master: 'I am the man whom all Italians recognise; I am the real king.' But, if Bismarck never made the claim in words, 'the most gracious,' as he used to call his sovereign, must have felt every year, and almost every

* This paragraph is a summary of M. Benoist's brilliant argument in the 'Revue des Deux Mondes,' July 1, 1899, p. 68.

hour, of his reign that Bismarck, and not he, was the real King of Prussia, the true Emperor of Germany.

If the king, in whose divine right he believed, had to yield on all questions of importance to his imperious minister, lesser men and lesser institutions were brushed away with contempt. There was something almost brutal in the manner in which Bismarck habitually treated and spoke of the highest ladies in the land. From his subordinates he required and exacted an unfailing obedience. 'My ambassadors,' he said to one of them, 'must wheel round like non-commissioned officers at the word of command without knowing why.' He hardly treated the Legislature with more consideration than he showed for these exalted personages. There are, indeed, few things more remarkable in modern history than his determined disregard, from 1863 to 1866, of the decisions of Parliament, and his readiness to stake his own life and that of his sovereign on the issue of the contest.

If Bismarck more than any other man of the century realised the idea of the strong ruler to which Carlyle and Tennyson equally gave expression, his career illustrated the objection to concentrating power and responsibility on one man. The unhesitating obedience which he exacted had the effect of depriving him of the service of men of mark; he consequently left no one trained in the art of statesmanship capable of filling his place. Even his unparalleled success, moreover, did not prevent the catastrophe of his fall. Whatever causes may have immediately led to his dismissal, there is no doubt that the true reason for his removal lay in the determination of the present emperor to rule, and not to serve. He resented his great Chancellor's dictation, and freed himself from the restraint which it involved. He probably never paused to consider that autocracy in a monarch rests on no more permanent foundation than autocracy in a minister; and that, while the failure of a minister may involve only the change of a system, the failure of a monarch may involve the ruin of a dynasty.

These considerations, however, are not wholly relevant to our present purpose. We gladly recognise here that Bismarck was the greatest statesman of our time; that, with the exception of Cavour, no other man has wrought similar work in modern Europe; and that the work which he set himself to do, and which he did with his whole might, was on the whole advantageous to his own people

and the world. Judged by the results alone, his career both claims and deserves our admiration. But, if his achievements gain our admiration, his character cannot win either our respect or our love. It was perhaps well, both for his country and for Europe, that Germany, in the hour of her necessity, should have found a man of blood and iron to work out her future. But we may hope that his successors, while imitating him in his zeal, his industry, his unfailing loyalty towards race and country, may know how to combine consideration for others with the assertion of their own principles; may learn to play the great game of politics as vigorously, but more scrupulously; and may know how to display mercy in the hour of battle and moderation in the hour of victory.

- ART. VI.—1. *Tara*. By MEADOWS TAYLOR. London: 1898.
2. *Oakfield*. By WILLIAM ARNOLD. London: 1853.
3. *The Wetherbys, Father and Son*. By JOHN LANG. London: ? 1850.
4. *Mr. Isaacs*. By F. MARION CRAWFORD. London: 1898.
5. *Helen Treveryan*. By JOHN ROY. London: 1892.
6. *On the Face of the Waters*. By MRS. STEEL. London: 1896.
7. *Bijli the Dancer*. By JAMES BLYTHE PATTON. London: 1898.
8. *The Chronicles of Dustypore*. By H. S. CUNNINGHAM. London: 1875. And other Novels.

FOR the last 150 years India has been to Englishmen an ever-widening field of incessant activity, military, commercial, and administrative. They have been occupied, during a temporary sojourn in that country, in acquiring and developing a great dominion. No situation more unfavourable to the development of imaginative literature could be found than that of a few thousand Europeans isolated, far from home, among millions of Asiatics entirely different from them in race, manners, and language. Their hands have been always full of business, they have been absorbed in the affairs of war and government, they have been cut off from the culture which is essential to the growth of art and letters, they have had little time for studying the antique and alien civilisation of the country. It seldom happens that the men who play a part in historical events, or who witness the sombre realities of war and serious politics, where kingdoms and lives are at stake, have either leisure or inclination for that picturesque side of things which lies at the source of most poetry and romance. And thus it has naturally come to pass that while Englishmen in India have produced histories full of matter, though often deficient in composition, and have also written much upon Oriental antiquities, laws, social institutions, and economy, they have done little in the department of novels.

That a good novel should have been produced in India was, therefore, until very recent times improbable; that it should have been successful in England was still less to be expected. For the modern reader will have nothing to do with a story full of outlandish scenes and characters; he

must be told what he thinks he knows; he must be able to realise the points and the probabilities of a plot and of its personages; he wants a tale that falls more or less within his ordinary experience, or that tallies with his preconceived notions. Accordingly, any close description of native Indian manners or people is apt to lose interest in proportion as it is exact; its value as a painting of life is usually discernible only by those who know the country. The popular traditional East was long, and indeed still is, that which has been for generations fixed in the imagination of Western folk by the 'Arabian Nights,' by the legends of Crusaders, and by pictorial editions of the Old Testament. It is seen in the Oriental landscape and figures presented by Walter Scott in the 'Talisman,' which everyone, at least in youth, has read; whereas the 'Surgeon's Daughter,' where the scene is laid in India, is hardly read at all. Of course there are other reasons why the former book is much more liked than the latter; yet it was certainly not bad local colouring or unreality of detail that damaged the 'Surgeon's Daughter,' for Scott knew quite as much about Mysore and Haidar Ali as he did about Syria in the thirteenth century and Saladin. But in the 'Talisman' he was on the well-trodden ground of mediæval English history and legend; whereas the readers of his Indian tale found themselves wandering in the fresh but then almost unknown field of India in the eighteenth century.

These are the serious obstacles which have discouraged Anglo-Indians from attempting the pure historical romance. They knew the country too well for concocting stories after the fashion of Thomas Moore's 'Lalla Rookh,' with gallant chieftains and beauteous maidens who have nothing Oriental about them except a few set Eastern phrases, turbans, daggers, and jewellery. They could not use the true local colour, the real temper and talk of the Indian East, without great risk of becoming neither intelligible nor interesting to the English public at large. It may be said that before our own day there has been only one author who has successfully overcome these difficulties—Meadows Taylor, who wrote a romantic novel, now almost forgotten, founded upon the history of western India in the seventeenth century. The period was skilfully chosen, for it is the time of the Moghul emperor Aurungzeb's long war against the Mahomedan kingdoms in the Dekhan, and of the Maratha insurrection under Sivaji, which eventually ruined the Moghul empire. The daring murder of a Mahomedan

governor by Sivaji, the Maratha hero who freed his countrymen from an alien yoke, is still kept in patriotic remembrance throughout western India. Nor is there anything in such a natural sentiment that need give umbrage to Englishmen; although the liberality of a recent English governor of Bombay who headed a list of subscriptions for public commemoration of the deed, betrayed a somewhat simple-minded unreadiness to appreciate the significance of historical analogies.

Meadows Taylor has treated this subject with very creditable success. He had lived long in that part of the country; he knew the localities; he was unusually conversant with the manners and feelings of the people, and he had the luck to be among them before the old and rough state of society, with its lawless and turbulent elements, had disappeared. He had himself been in the service of a native prince whose governing methods were no better, in some respects worse, than those of the seventeenth century; and his possession of good natural literary faculty made up in him a rare combination of qualifications for venturing upon an Indian romance. The result has been that 'Tara' has not fallen into complete oblivion, though one may doubt whether it would now be thought generally readable. Although written so late as 1863, the influence of Walter Scott's mediæval romanticism shows itself in the chivalrous language of the nobles, and in a somewhat formal drawing of the leading figures, as if they were taken from a model. But all the details are truly executed. There are sketches of scenery, of interiors, of dress, arms, and manners, which are clearly the outcome of direct observation; and the incidents have a genuine flavour. The misfortune is that these are just the sterling qualities which require special knowledge and insight for their appreciation, and are therefore missed by the great majority of readers. The following picture of a party of Maratha horsemen returning from a raid may be taken as an example:—

'There might have been twenty-five to thirty men, from the youth unbearded to the grizzled trooper, whose swarthy, sunburnt face, large whiskers and moustaches touched with grey, wiry frame, and easy lounging seat in saddle, as he balanced his heavy Maratha spear across his shoulder, showed the years of service he had done. There was no richness of costume among the party; the dresses were worn and weather stained, and of motley character. Some wore thickly quilted white doublets, strong enough to turn a sword-cut, or light shirts of chain-mail, with a piece of the mail or of twisted wire folded

into their turbans; and a few wore steel morions with turbans tied round them, and steel gauntlets inlaid with gold and silver in delicate arabesque patterns. All were now soiled by the wet and mud of the day. It was clear that this party had ridden far; and the horses, from their drooping crests and sluggish action, were evidently weary. Four of the men had been wounded in some skirmish, for they sat their horses with difficulty, and the bandages about them were covered with blood.'

No Indian novel, indeed, has been written which displays greater power of picturesque description, or better acquaintance with the distinctive varieties of castes, race, and habits, that make up the composite population of India. It was for a long time the only Indian novel in which the *dramatis personæ* are entirely native.

Although 'Tara' is unique as an Indian romance, there is another story which renders Indian life and manners with equal fidelity. 'Pandurang Hari' was written by a member of the Indian Civil Service, and first published in 1826, though it reappeared in 1874, with a preface by Sir Bartle Frere. Here again the scene is in western India, among the Marathas; but the period belongs to the first quarter of this century. It purports to be a free translation from a manuscript given to the author by a Hindu who had in his youth served with the Maratha armies, and latterly fell in with the Pindaree hordes, from whom he heard tales of their plundering raids. He eventually joins a band of robbers, and leads a wandering, adventurous life in the hills and jungles of the Dehkan, until the general pacification of the country by the British permits or obliges him to settle down quietly. The merit of the book consists entirely in its precise and valuable delineation of the condition of the country when it was harried by the freebooting Maratha companies, and in certain glimpses which are given of Anglo-Indian life in those rough days; for the writer, unlike Meadows Taylor, has no literary power, and can only relate accurately what he has seen or has carefully gathered from authentic sources.

We have thus only two novels worth mention which have preserved true pictures of the times before all the wild irregularity of Indian circumstance and rulership had been flattened down under the irresistible pressure of English law and order. The historical romance has shared the general decline and fall of that school in Europe; while as for the exact reproduction of stories dealing entirely with native life, very few Anglo-Indians would now attempt it,

for such a book would find very scanty favour in England. Nearly all recent Indian novels have for their subject, not native, but Anglo-Indian society; the heroes and heroines, in war or love, in peril or pastime, are English; the natives take the minor or accessory part in the drama, and give the prevailing colour, tragical or comical, to the background. One of the best and earliest novels of this class is 'Oakfield,' written about 1853 by William Arnold, a son of Dr. Arnold of Rugby, who, after spending some years in one of the East India Company's sepoy regiments, obtained a civil appointment in India, and died at Gibraltar on his way homeward. Some pathetic lines in the short poem by Matthew Arnold called 'A Southern Night' commemorate his untimely death. The book is remarkable for the autobiographic description, too austere and censorious, of life in Indian cantonments, or during an Indian campaign, before the great Mutiny swept away the old sepoy army of Bengal. It represents the impression made upon a young Oxonian of high culture and serious religious feeling by the unmannerly and sometimes vicious dissipation of the officers' mess in an ill-managed regiment stationed up the country.

Oakfield, a clergyman's son, carefully bred up in Arnold's school of indifference to dogma and strictness in morals, finds himself oppressed by the hollow conventionality of religious and social ideas at home, and sees no prospect of a higher level in the ordinary English professions. He leaves Oxford abruptly for an Indian cadetship, and sets out with the hope of finding wider scope for work and the earnest pursuit of loftier ideals in India. He is intensely disappointed and disgusted at finding himself, on joining his regiment, among men who have very slight education and wild manners, whose talk is coarse, who gamble, fight duels, dislike the country, and care nothing for the people. The aims and methods of the Government itself appear to him eminently unsatisfactory, being chiefly directed towards such grovelling business as revenue collection, superficial order, and public works, with little or no concern for the moral elevation of the people. When his friends urge him to study for the purpose of rising in the service, civil or military, he asks: 'What then? What if the extra allowances have really no attraction? I want to know what the life is in which you think it good to get on. It seems to me that my object in life must be not so much to get an appointment, or to get on in the world, as to work,

‘and the only work worth doing in the country is helping to ‘civilise it.’

We have here the interesting, though not uncommon, case of a youthful enthusiast transported as if by one leap—for the sea voyage is a blank interval—from England to the Far East, from a sober and disciplined home to a loose society, from the centre of ancient peace and calm study to a semi-barbarous miscellany of races under an elementary kind of government. Ovid’s banishment from Rome to the shores of the Euxine, to live among rude Roman centurions and subject Scythians, could have been no greater change, though Ovid and Oakfield are not comparable otherwise. The sight of a great Hindu fair on the river bank at Allahabad, as surveyed from the deck of a steamer, strikes him with that ever-recurrent feeling of a great gulf fixed between Europeans and natives: ‘What an inconceivable separation there ‘apparently and actually is between us few English, silently ‘making a servant of the Ganges with our steam engines and ‘paddles, and these Asiatics, with shouts and screams wor-‘shipping the same river!’

He meets a cool and capable civilian, who expounds to him the practical side of all these questions and administrative problems; and he makes a few military friends of the higher stamp, who stand by him in his refusal to fight a duel and in the court-martial which follows. Then comes the second Sikh war, with a vivid description, evidently by an eyewitness, of an officer’s share in the hard-fought action at Chillianwalla, and of the other sharp contests in that eventful campaign. It is an excellent example of the skilful interweaving of real incident with the texture of fiction, showing the clear-cut lines and colour of actual experience gained in the fiercest battle ever won by the English in India:—

‘The cavalry and horse-artillery dashed forward, and soon the rolling of wheels and clanking of sabres were lost in one continual roar from above a hundred pieces of artillery. On every side the shot crashed through the jungle; branches of trees were shattered and torn from their stems; rolling horses and falling men gave an early character to this fearful evening. . . . The 3rd Division advanced, with what fatal results to the gallant 24th Regiment is well known. . . . Either by an injudicious order, or, as stated in the official despatch, by mistaking a chance movement of their commandant for a signal, the 24th broke into a double at a distance from the guns far too great for a charge; they arrived breathless and exhausted at the guns, where a terrific and hitherto concealed fire of musketry awaited them. The native corps came up and well sustained their European

comrades; but both were repulsed—not until twenty-one English officers, twelve sergeants, and 450 rank and file of the 24th had been killed or wounded. . . . Oakfield counted the bodies of nine officers lying dead in as many square yards; there lay the dead bodies of the two Pennycuicks side by side; those of the men almost touched each other.'

The transfer of Oakfield to a civil appointment in no way diminishes his dissatisfaction at the spectacle of a Government that has no apparent ethical programme and misconceives its true mission:—

'The Indian Government is perhaps the best, the most perfect, nay, perhaps the only specimen of pure professing secularism that the civilised world has ever seen since the Christian era, and sometimes, when our eyes are open to see things as they are, such a secularism does appear a most monstrous phenomenon to be stalking through God's world. . . . When the spirit of philosophy, poetry, and godliness shall move across the world, when the philosophical reformer shall come here as Governor-General, then the spirit of Mammon may tremble for its empire, but not till then.'

Yet, notwithstanding the author's solicitude for India's welfare, the natives make no figure at all in his story; they are barely mentioned, except where Oakfield denounces the unblushing perjury committed daily in our courts; and one can see that he does them the very common injustice of measuring their conduct by an ideal standard of morality. Anglo-Indian officials leave their country at an early age, in almost total ignorance of the darker side of English life, as seen in a police court or wherever the passions and interests of men come into sharp conflict. But this is just the side of Indian life that is brought prominently before them, at first, as junior magistrates and revenue officers, who sometimes do not care to look into any other aspects of it; and in consequence they stand aghast at the exhibition of vice and false-swearing. A London magistrate transferred to Lucknow or Lahore would find much less reason for astonishment.

The same criticism applies, for similar reasons, to Oakfield's unmeasured censure of the tone and habits prevalent among officers of the old Indian army; he probably knew nothing of regimental life in the English army sixty years ago, and therefore supposed the delinquencies of his own mess to be monstrous. It must be admitted, however, that morals and manners were loose and low in a bad sepoy regiment before the Mutiny. No two men could have differed more widely in antecedents or character than William Arnold and John

Lang, whose novel, 'The Wetherbys; or, A Few Chapters of 'Indian Experience,' was written a few years earlier than 'Oakfield.' It deals with precisely the same scenes and society, at the same period, in the form of an Indian officer's autobiography. The book is clever, amusing with a touch of vulgarity, yet undoubtedly composed with a complete knowledge of its subject; for Lang was the editor of a Meerut newspaper, who took his full share of Anglo-Indian meekness, and who knew the Indian army thoroughly. Whereas in 'Oakfield' the tone rises often to righteous indignation, in 'The Wetherbys' it falls to a strain of caustic humour, and in the modern reader's mouth it might leave an unpleasant taste; yet the verisimilitude of the narrative would be questioned by no competent judge. As Oakfield fought at Chillianwalla, so Wetherby fights in the almost equally desperate battle of Ferozeshah, where the English narrowly escaped a great disaster; and here, again, we have a momentary ray of vivid light thrown upon the battlefield by a writer who had associated with eyewitnesses, though he was not one of them. It is difficult to give an extract from this part of the tale, because Lang's power lies not in description, but in characteristic conversation; so we may be content, for the purpose of bringing out the contrast between two very diverse styles, with a specimen of his comic talent, as exhibited in the injunctions laid upon her husband by the vulgar half-caste wife of a poor henpecked officer just starting for the campaign:—

'Well, then,' she continued, 'keep out of danger. If your troop wishes to charge into a safe place, let 'em. You don't want brevet rank, or any of that nonsense, I hope. Make as much bluster and row as you like, but for Heaven's sake keep out of harm's way. . . . You need not write to me every day, but every third or fourth day, for the postage is serious. If you should happen to kill any Sikhs, search them, and pull down their back hair; that's where they carry their money and jewels and valuables. A sergeant of the 3rd Dragoons, like a good husband, has sent his wife down a lot of gold mohurs and some precious stones that he found tied up in the hair of a Sikh officer. And, by the bye, you may as well leave me your watch. You can always learn the time of day from somebody; and if anything happened to you, it would be sold by the Committee of Adjustment, and would fetch a mere nothing.'

This is unquestionably a grotesque caricature; yet the ladies of mixed parentage were quaint and singular persons in the India of sixty years ago. As Arnold could hardly have failed to read 'The Wetherbys' before he wrote

'Oakfield,' the book may have suggested to him the plan of going over the same ground upon a higher plane of thought and treatment. The two books stand as records of a state of society that has now entirely passed away, and from their perusal we may conclude that, among the many radical changes wrought upon India by the sweeping cyclone of the great Mutiny, not the least of them has been a thorough reformation of the native army.

When we turn to the Indian novels written after the Mutiny we are in the clearer and lighter atmosphere of the contemporary social novel. We have left behind the theoretic enthusiast, perplexed by the contrast between the semi-barbarism of the country and the old-fashioned apathy of its rulers, we have no more descriptions, serious or sarcastic, of rakish subalterns and disorderly regiments under ancient, incapable colonels; we are introduced to a reformed Anglo-India, full of hard-working, efficient officers, civil and military, and sufficiently decorous, except where hill-stations foster flirting and the ordinary dissipation of any garrison town. It is, however, still a characteristic of the post-Mutiny stories that they find very little room for natives; the secret of successfully interpreting Indian life and ideas to the English public in this form still awaits discovery. One of the best and most popular of the new school was the late Sir George Chesney, whose 'Battle of Dorking' was a stroke of genius, and who utilised his Indian experiences with very considerable literary skill, weaving his projects of army reform into a lively tale of everyday society abroad and at home. The scene of 'A True Reformer' opens at Simla, under Lord Mayo's viceroyalty, names and places being very thinly disguised; the hero marries a pretty girl, and starts homeward on furlough, thereby giving the writer his opportunity for bringing in a description of a railway journey across India to Bombay in the scorching heat of May:—

'And now the day goes wearily on, marked only by the change of the sun's shadow, the rising of the day-wind and its accompaniment of dust, and the ever-increasing heat. The country is everywhere the same—a perfectly flat, desert-looking plain of reddish brown hue, with here and there a village, its walls of the same colour. It looks a desert, because there are no signs of crops, which were reaped two months ago, and no hedgerows, but here and there an acacia tree. Not a traveller is stirring on the road, not a soul to be seen in the fields, but an occasional stunted bullock is standing in such shade as their trees afford. At about every ten miles a station is reached,

each exactly like the previous one and the next following. . . . Gradually the sun went down, the wind and dust subsided, and another stifling night succeeded, with uneasy slumbers, broken by the ever-recurring hubbub of the stoppages.'

On reaching home Captain West learns, like the elder Wetherby in Lang's story, that an uncle has died leaving him a good income; so he enters Parliament, and the remainder of his autobiography is entirely occupied by an account of his efforts in the cause of army reform, which eventually succeed when he has overcome the scruples and hesitation of the prime minister—Mr. Merriman, a transparent pseudonym. The author's plan of endeavouring to interest his readers in professional and technical questions is very creditably carried out, for the book is throughout readable; and it also shows that on the subject of military organisation Chesney was often in advance of his time; but the scene changes from India to England so very early in the narrative that this novel takes a place on our list more by reason of its Anglo-Indian authorship than of its connexion with India.

In 'The Dilemma,' on the other hand, Chesney gives us a story with characters and catastrophes drawn entirely from the sepoy mutiny. The main interest centres round the defence of a house in some up-country station that is besieged by the mutineers, and for such a purpose the writer could supply himself, at discretion, from the abundant repertory of adventures and the variety of personal conduct—heroic, humorous, or otherwise astonishing—which had been provided by actual and recent events. We have here, indeed, a dramatic version of real history; and, since the original of an intensely tragic situation must always transcend a literary adaptation of it, the fiction necessarily suffers by comparison with the fact. Yet the novel contends not unsuccessfully with this disadvantage, and in the lapse of years, as the real scenes and piercing emotions stirred up by a bloody struggle fade into distance, the value of Chesney's work may increase. For it preserves a true picture, drawn at first hand, of the time, the circumstances, and the behaviour of an isolated group of English folk who, while living in a state of profound peace and apparent security, found themselves suddenly obliged to fight desperately for their lives against an enemy from whom no quarter, even for women and children, could be expected in case of defeat.

We may now take up a book of a very different kind, the

production, not of an Anglo-Indian amateur, but of an eminent English novelist who has lived, though not long, in India—Mr. Marion Crawford. Here we are back again in the region of romance, for, although the story opens at Simla in Lord Lytton's reign and during the second Affghan war, Mr. Isaacs, the hero (whose name gives the book its title) is outwardly a Persian dealer in precious gems, but esoterically an adept in the mysteries of what has been called occult Buddhism. This queer science, as professed by a certain Madame Blavatsky, had much vogue in Northern India about 1879, particularly at Simla. To sceptics it appeared to be an adroit mixture of charlatanry and mere juggling tricks, with some elementary knowledge of the beliefs and practices of the true Indian Yogi, who seeks to attain supernatural powers by rigid asceticism, and who has really some insight into secret mental phenomena; being in this line of discovery the forerunner of the English Psychical Society.

The part played in this story by Mr. Isaacs, who is not in all respects an imaginary personage, might remind one of Disraeli's Sidonia. He is an enigmatic character, versed in the philosophy of the East and the West, who excels on horseback and in tiger shooting, yet can discourse mystically and can bring the mysterious influences at his command to bear upon critical situations. The novel has thus two sides: we have the usual sketch of Anglo-Indian society—the soldiers, the civilians, the charming young English girl whom Mr. Isaacs fascinates. But a writer of Mr. Crawford's high repute is bound to put some depth and originality into his Indian tale, and so we have the Pandit Ram Lal, who is somehow also a Buddhist, and who is Mr. Isaacs's colleague whenever occult Buddhism is to give warning or timely succour. The chief exploit occurs in a wondrous expedition to rescue and carry away into Tibet the Affghan Amir, Sher Ali, who had just then actually fled from Kabul before the advance of an English army; and it must be confessed that so fantastic an adventure sounds rather startling in connexion with a bit of authentic contemporary history.

On the whole, whether we assume that the object of a novel is to illustrate history, or to present a faithful reflection of life and manners, or to render strenuous action dramatically yet not improbably—by whatever standard we measure Mr. Crawford's book, it cannot be awarded a high place on the list of Indian fiction. But we have run over this list so rapidly, touching only upon typical examples, that we are now among the latest writers of the present day;

and we may take 'Helen Treveryan' (1892) as a very favourable specimen of their productions. Comparing it with earlier novels, we may remark, in the first place, that there is no great variety of plot or treatment, Anglo-Indian society being everywhere, and at most times, very much the same, except so far as closer intercourse with Europe softens down its roughness, materially and morally, increases the feminine element, and assimilates its outer form to the English model. 'Helen Treveryan,' whose author is a very distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, is, like all other novels of the kind, the narrative of the adventures, in love and war, of a young English military officer in India. The characters are evidently drawn from life; the main incidents belong to very recent Indian history; the description of society in an up-country station, with which the movement of the drama begins, is an exact and humorous photograph. A tiger hunt is done better, with more knowledge of the business, than a similar episode in Mr. Crawford's novel; and the passionate love between Guy Langley and Helen Treveryan is well painted in bright colours to intensify the gloom and pathos of Langley's death in battle.

As Chesney went to the sepoy mutiny for his scenes of tragedy and heroism, so Sir Mortimer Durand (we believe that the original pseudonym has been dropped) takes them from the second Affghan war, having been at Kabul with General Roberts in the midst of hard fighting, where he first placed his foot on the ladder which has led him upward to high places and unusual distinction. In the chapters describing the march upon Kabul, its occupation, the rising of the tribes, and their attack upon the British army beleaguered in the Sherpur entrenchments, we have simply a memoir of actual events, written with truth, spirit, and with the pictorial skill of an artist who understands the value and proportion of romantic details. The English commanders, the Affghan sirdars, and several other well-known folk are mentioned by name; the skirmishes and perilous situations are described just as they really occurred. No book could better serve the purpose of a home-keeping Englishman who might desire to see as in a moving photograph what was going on in the British camp before Kabul during the perilous winter of 1879-80, to hear the camp-talk, and to realise the nature and methods of Affghan fighting.

'He turned to the westward, and as he did so there was a flicker in the darkness, where the rugged top of the Asmai Hill could just

be made out. For an instant there was perfect silence; then, as the flame caught and flared, there rose from the men around him a low, involuntary "A—h," such as one may sometimes hear at Lord's when a dangerous wicket goes down. Then in the distance two musket shots rang out, and after them a few more; but along the cantonment wall all was silent; men stood with beating hearts awaiting the onslaught. For some minutes the suspense lasted, and then suddenly burst from the darkness a wild storm of yells, "Allah, Allah, Allah," and fifty thousand Affghans came with a rush at the wall, shouting and firing. The cantonment was surrounded by a broad continuous ring of rifle-flashes, and over the parapet and over the trenches the bullets began to stream.'

But the subjoined extract, which gives Langley's death, is a better example of the book's general style—cool, circumstantial, abhorrent of glitter or exaggeration, leaving a clear impression of things actually witnessed and done, a brief glimpse of one of the incidents that remain stamped on the brain of those who saw it, but are otherwise forgotten in war-time, after a day or two's regret for the lost comrade.*

'They were all weary, and marched carelessly forward in silence. The night was closing fast, and a little fine snow was falling. . . . There was a sudden flash in the darkness to the right, a shot, and then a scattered volley. Guy Langley threw up his arms with a cry, and as the startled horse swerved across the road he fell with a dull thud on the snow. There was a moment of confusion, but the Sikhs, though careless, were good soldiers, and two or three of them dashed towards the low wall from which the shots had come. They were just in time to see four men running across a bit of broken ground towards a deep water-cut, fringed with poplars. The horsemen were very quick after them, being light men on hardy horses; and one of the four Affghans, a big man in a dirty sheepskin coat, lost his head, and ran down under a bit of wall; the other three crossed the water-cut. The horsemen saw the position at once, and rode after the man on their side of the trench. They were up to him in a minute, and Atar Singh made a lunge at him with his lance; but the Affghan avoided it, and swinging up his heavy knife cut the boy across the hand. Before he could turn to run again a second horseman was on him, and with a grim "Hyun—Would you?" drove the lance through his chest.'

The dialogue is occasionally used to bring out contending views in regard to Indian politics, as might be expected from a writer who has thoroughly studied them. At a Simla dinner party the conversation turns upon the question

* 'ἀλλὰ χοῦν τὸν μὲν καταβάπτειν, ὅς κε θάνησι,
νηλέα θυμὸν ἔχοντας, ἐπ' ἡματι δακρύσαντας.'
(*Iliad* xix. 228, 229.)

whether, in the event of a collision between the armed forces of Russia and England on the Indian frontier, the Anglo-Indian army could hold its own successfully against such a serious enemy. We have on one side the man of dismal forebodings, so well known in India, and against him the hopeful, resolute officer, who lays just stress on England's superior position, with all the strength and resources of India and the British empire at her back. One supremely important point in the discussion is, by consent of both speakers, the probable behaviour in such a crisis of the native Indian army; and we may here express our agreement with the view that our best native regiments would prove themselves faithful soldiers and formidable antagonists to the Russians. As is well said in the course of the argument, the Sikhs and Goorkhas faced us well when they fought us, 'and with English officers to lead them, why should they not face the Russians? . . . I believe the natives will be true to us if we are true to ourselves; some few are actively disloyal, but not the mass of them. If we begin to falter they will go, of course; but if we show them we mean fighting they will fight too.' This is the true political creed for Englishmen in India, outside of which there is no salvation, but the reverse.

It is perhaps to be regretted that so capable a writer upon Indian subjects has given us nothing of native life and character beyond a few *silhouettes*; and after Guy Langley's death, when the scene is transferred entirely to England, the story's interest decidedly flags. Yet we may fairly assign a high place in the series of Indian novels to 'Helen Treveryan,' not only for its literary merits, but also for the historical value of the chapters which preserve the day-by-day experience of one who took his share in the culminating dangers and difficulties of an arduous campaign.

Mrs. Steele's book, 'On the Face of the Waters,' has been so widely read and reviewed since it appeared, so lately as 1897, that another criticism of it may appear stale and superfluous; yet to omit mentioning in this article the most popular of recent Indian novels would be impossible. Here, at any rate, is a book which is not open to the remark that the Anglo-Indian novelist usually leaves the natives in the background, or admits them only as supernumeraries. For Mrs. Steele's canvas is crowded with Indian figures; their talk, their distinctive peculiarities of character and costume, their parts in the great tragedy which is taken as the ground-plan of her story, are so abundantly described as occasionally

to bewilder the inexperienced reader. The scene of action is the Sepoy mutiny at Meerut and the siege of Delhi, and while the Indian *dramatis personæ* are mainly types of different classes and castes—except where, like the King of Delhi, they are historical—the English army leaders act and speak under their own names, as in Durand's book, being of course modelled upon the ample personal knowledge of them still obtainable from their surviving contemporaries in India.

The book, in fact, attempts, as is frankly stated in its preface, 'to be at once a story and a history.' And we observe that Mrs. Steele tells us, as if it were a credit and a recommendation to her work, that she 'has not allowed 'fiction to interfere with fact in the slightest degree.'

'The reader may rest assured that every incident bearing in the remotest degree on the Indian Mutiny, or on the part which real men took in it, is scrupulously exact, even to the date, the hour, the scene, the weather. Nor have I allowed the actual actors in the great tragedy to say a word regarding it which is not to be found in the accounts of eyewitnesses, or in their own writings.'

Is such minute matter-of-fact copying a virtue in the novelist? or is it not rather a defect arising out of a misunderstanding of the principles of his art? In our opinion the business of the novelist, even when he chooses an historical subject, is not to reproduce as many exact details as he can pick out of memoirs, official reports, and histories, but, on the contrary, to avoid making up his story out of a string of extracts and personal reminiscences, or at any rate to use his skill rather for disguising than for disclosing the precise verbal accuracy of his borrowed material. What would be thought of a naval romance that adopted, word for word, the authentic account of Nelson's death, or of a military novel that seasoned a full and particular account of Waterloo with a few imaginary characters and incidents? Anyone who has observed how two fine writers, Thackeray and Stendhal, have brought that famous battle into the plot of their masterpieces ('Vanity Fair' and 'La Chartreuse de Parme'), will have noticed that they carefully avoid the crude and undisguised employment of detail, either in words or incidents; they allow fiction to interfere very constantly with fact in all petty matters of this sort; their art consists, not in historical accuracy, but in verisimilitude; they discard authentic phrases and incidents; they do not aim at precision, but at dramatic probabilities. But Mrs. Steele does not only draw too copiously, for a novelist, upon history; she also undertakes to pass authoritative judgements upon

disputable questions of fact and situation, with which fiction, we submit, has no concern. She very plainly intimates that nothing but culpable inaction and want of energy prevented instant pursuit by a force from Meerut of the mutineers who made a forced march upon Delhi on the night of May 10, and whose arrival produced the insurrection in that city.

'Delhi lay,' she says, 'but thirty miles distant on a broad white road, and there were horses galore and men ready to ride them—men like Captain Rosser, of the Carabineers, who pleaded for a squadron, a field battery, a troop, or a gun—anything with which to dash down the road and cut off that retreat to Delhi.'

To argue the point in this review would be to fall into the very error on which we desire to lay stress, of attempting to deal with serious history in a light, literary way. We shall therefore be content with reminding our readers that Lord Roberts, who is perhaps the very best living authority on the subject, has come to the conclusion, after a careful survey of the circumstances, that the refusal of the Meerut commanders to pursue the mutineers was justifiable.

Yet Mrs. Steele's performance is better than her principles. The unquestionable success of '*On the Face of the Waters*' is in no way due to her scrupulous exactitude in particulars, for if this had been the book's chief feature it would have failed. She has a clear and spirited style; she knows enough of India to be able to give a fine natural colour to the stirring scenes of the Sepoy mutiny, and to execute good character-drawing of the natives, as they are to be studied among the various classes in a great city. And whenever her good genius takes her off the beaten road of recorded fact her narrative shows considerable imaginative vigour. The massacres at Meerut and Delhi, the wild tumult, terror, and agony, are energetically described; and her picture of the confusion inside Delhi during the siege is admirably worked up, remembering that she wrote forty years after the event, at a time when the people and even the places had very greatly changed. The storming of the breach at the Kashmir gate by the forlorn hope that led the English columns is dexterously brought into an animated narrative; and although that story has been much better told in Lord Roberts's autobiography, we need not look too austere on the crowd of readers who find history more attractive under a thin and embroidered veil of fiction.

A still more recent novel, entitled '*Bijli the Dancer*' (1898), should be mentioned here, not only for its intrinsic merits, but also because the author has boldly faced the

problem of constructing a story out of the materials available from purely native society, the stock themes and characters of Anglo-India being entirely discarded. Bijli is a professional dancing girl, whose grace and accomplishments so fascinate a great Mahomedan landholder of north India, that he persuades her to abandon her profession and to abide with him as his mistress. This arrangement is correctly treated in the book as quite consistent with the maintenance of due respect and consideration for the Nawab's lawful wife, who occupies separate apartments, and, according to Mahomedan ideas in that rank of society, has no reasonable ground for complaint. Yet Bijli, though she has every comfort, and is deeply attached to her lord, grows restless in her luxurious solitude; she pines for the excitement and triumphs of singing and dancing before an assembly. So, in the Nawab's absence, she takes professional disguise, and sings with a lute in the harem before his wife. To those who would like to see a Mahomedan lady of high rank in full dress, the following description of costume may be commended :—

‘She was dressed and adorned with scrupulous care; her eyebrows trimmed of every stray hair that might deform the beauty-arch; the lids pencilled with lampblack; the palms of her hands and the soles of her feet stained with henna; not one stray lock encroached on the straight parting of her glossy hair.

‘She wore gold-embroidered trousers of purple satin, loose below the knee and full over the ankles, and fastened round her waist by a gold cord with jewelled tassels. A black crape bodice adorned with spangles and gold edging confined her full bosom, and an open vest of grey gauze with long, tight sleeves hung loosely over her waistband. Upon the back of her head was thrown a veiling-sheet of the fine muslin known as the dew of Dacca. Her feet and hands, arms and wrists and neck, were adorned with numerous rings, jewels, and chains, and from her nose was hung a ring of gold wire, on which was strung a ruby between two grey pearls.’

But Bijli's intrusion into the harem is a grave breach of etiquette; she is detected, and told to be gone, though the lady bears her no malice. The incident brings home to her a sense of degradation; she asks the Nawab to marry her, and her discontent is increased by his refusal, until at last she escapes secretly from his house. The Nawab follows, and finds her in a hut on the bank of a flooded river which has stopped her flight; but after a really pathetic interview she returns to her free life—and ‘thus ended the romance of Bijli the Dancer.’

In this short story, written with much truth and feeling,

the style and handling rises above the commonplace device of dressing up European sentimentality in the garb and phraseology of Asia; and we have, so far as can be judged, a fairly real picture of the inner and the emotional side of native life in India, sufficiently tinged with romantic colouring. The fascination which professional dancers often exercise over natives of the highest rank is a well-known feature of Indian society; and although the dancer is always a courtesan, yet to invest her with a capacity for tender and honourable affection is by no means to overstep the limits of probability. We have noticed this book because it proves that the study of native manners, and sympathetic insight into their feelings and character, still survive among Anglo-Indians, albeit officials; and because it stands out in quiet relief among tales of fierce wars and savage mutiny; it neither chronicles the heroic deeds of Englishmen, nor does it devote even a single page to the loves, sorrows, or comic misadventures that break the monotony of a British cantonment.

'The Chronicles of Dustypore,' by H. S. Cunningham, takes us back again from the sombre, half-veiled interior of an Indian household, into the fierce light which beats upon English society at some station in the sun-dried plains of the Punjab. We have here a sketch, half satirical, half in earnest, of official work and ways, with one or two personages that can be easily identified from among the provincial notabilities of twenty years ago. The book, which had considerable success in its time, will still provide interest and amusement for those who enjoy an exceedingly clever delineation of familiar scenes and characters; and it is in the main as true and lively a picture of Anglo-Indian life as when it was first written. Here is the summer landscape of the Sandy Tracts, a region just annexed to British administration after the usual skirmish with, and discomfiture of, the native ruler:—

'Vast plains, a dead level but for an occasional clump of palms or the dome of some despoiled and crumbling tomb, stretched away on every side and ended in a hazy, quivering horizon that spoke of infinite heat. Over these ranged herds of cattle and goats, browsing on no one could see what; or bewildered buffaloes would lie, panting and contented, in some muddy pool, with little but horns, eyes, and nostrils exposed above the surface. Little ill-begotten stunted plants worked hard to live and grow and to weather the roaring fierce winds. The crows sat gasping, open-beaked, as if protesting against having been born into so sulphurous an existence. Here and there a well, with its huge lumbering wheel and patient bullocks went creaking

and groaning night and day, as if earth grudged the tiny rivulet coming so toilfully from her dry breast, and gave it up with sighs of pain. The sky was cloudless, pitiless, brazen. The sun rose into it without a single fleck of vapour to mitigate its fierceness . . . all day it shone and glistened and blazed, until the very earth seemed to crack with heat and the mere thought of it was pain.'

Such is the environment in which many English officers live and labour for years; and this is the side of Anglo-Indian existence that is unknown to, and consequently unappreciated by, the rapid tourist, who runs by railway from one town to another during the bright cold winter months, is delighted with the climate and the country, takes note of the deficiencies or peculiarities of Anglo-Indians, and has a very short memory for their hospitality. The narrative carries us, as a matter of course, to a Himalayan Elysium, with its balls, picnics, and its flirtations, among which the leading lady of the piece is drawn to the brink of indiscretion, but steps happily back again into the secure haven of domestic felicity. A good deal of excellent light comedy and sparkling dialogue will always maintain for this novel a creditable place upon the Indian list; and as an indirect illustration of the social wall that separates ordinary English folk from the population which surrounds them, it is complete, since we have here a story plotted out upon the stage of a great Indian province which contains absolutely no mention of the natives beyond occasional necessary reference to the servants.

For a strong contrast to 'Dustypore,' both in subject and style of treatment, we may take a story which merits notice, even though it be hardly long enough to be ranked among Indian novels. 'The Bond of Blood,' by R. E. Forrest (1896), draws, like 'Bijli the Dancer,' its incidents and their environment exclusively from Indian life; and the book may be placed high in this class of difficult work, which few have ventured to attempt, and where success has been very rare. It is a study of peculiarly local manners, that may be also called contemporary; for though the period belongs to the early years of this century, yet the sure drawing from life of a skilful hand may still be verified by those readers who actually know the customs and feelings at the present day of the Rajpût clans, among whom primitive ideas and institutions have been less obliterated in the independent States than in any other region of India. The descriptive and personal sketches attest the writer's gift of close observation; there is good workmanship in all the details; his sentences hit the mark and are never overcharged or super-

fluous. The tale is of a dissipated Rajpût chief, to whom a moneylender has lent a large sum upon a bond which has been endorsed by the sign-manual of the family Bhât, or hereditary bard, herald, and genealogist—an office of great repute and importance in every noble Rajpût house. Debauchees and cunning gamblers empty the chief's purse; the moneylender, an honest man enough in his way, is obliged to press him for the sum due; until at last the bewildered chief is persuaded by one of the gamblers to declare flatly that he will not pay at all, whereupon the creditor falls back upon the surety. Now the Bhât has pledged upon the bond not his property but his life, according to an ancient and authentic custom among Rajpût folk, as formerly throughout India, whereby a man who has no other means of enforcing a just claim against a powerful debtor has always the resource of bringing down upon him a fearful curse by committing suicide before his door. The Rajpût chief pretends that the bond is illegal and void, being founded upon an obsolete custom disallowed by the English rulers; but in truth he has brought himself to believe that the blood penalty will not really be paid, and he is struck with horror when the Bhât, after formal and public warning, stabs his own mother in the chief's presence, whereupon the curse falls and clings to the family. We may add that the substitution of the Bhât's mother for himself as an expiatory victim is in accordance with accepted precedents on such occasions, while it makes room for a pathetic situation, and greatly enhances the dramatic interest of the closing scene. Here we have the antique Oriental version of the story in Shakespeare's 'Merchant of Venice,' where Shylock takes the same kind of security from Antonio, upon whose person he subsequently demands execution of his bond of blood; nor does the law refuse it to him. But the Hindu custom is so far milder than the Venetian code that the Rajpût Shylock could not have rejected a tender of full payment in cash. Mr. Forrest's tale might be turned into an effective stage-tragedy if the main incident were not too shockingly improbable for Europeans, although to an Indian audience it would be credible enough. The final scene of the mother's death is stamped on the reader's imagination by the writer's power of giving intense significance not only to the speech but to slight movements of the actors, so that the mental picture becomes almost objective, while the strained expectation of the crowd makes itself felt by the force of the words.

"Will you redeem the bond?" asks the herald once more.

"Say 'No,'" exclaims Takht Singh.

"No," shouts Hurdeo Singh (the chief).

"Then blood must be shed at your door, and the life forfeit paid at your threshold, so that the curse may alight upon you and your house."

He draws the dagger from its sheath. He had not laid his hand upon its handle in the same manner that he would have laid it on the hilt of his sword, but the reverse way to that; he puts the palm of his hand under it and not over it, so he could best use it in the way he intended to use it—so could he best strike the blow he meant to strike.

"Begone! Begone!" shouts Hurdeo Singh, waving him away with his hand.

The people around stand fixed as statues, eyes straining, necks craning. The herald stretches his left arm behind his mother, and she, throwing open her *chudder*, leans back against it. . . .

The money-lender had given a sudden cry, stretched out his hand, uttered some words.

When Hurdeo Singh had beheld the herald raise his right arm, his own had gone up with it, and from his mouth had come the cry, "Don't! Don't."

But it was too late. The herald had raised his arm, turned round his head, and plunged the sharp stiletto into his mother's breast.

It would be scarcely possible in an article that ranges over the light literature of Anglo-India to omit mentioning the name of Mr. Rudyard Kipling, who is the most prominent and by far the most popular of Anglo-Indian authors. Yet our reference to his writings must be very brief, since most of them lie beyond the scope of our present subject; for although Mr. Kipling's short stories are famous, and he is a consummate artist in black and white, yet in the complete edition of his volumes up to date there is, in fact, but one full-sized Indian novel, and for this he is only responsible in part. Nor, assuming that the Indian chapters of the '*Naulakha*'* may be ascribed to him, would it be fair criticism to treat them as good samples of his work, or as illustrating his distinctive genius. The attempt in this story to bring together West and East, and to strike bold contrasts by setting down a Yankee fresh from Colorado before the palace gate of a Maharaja in the sands of western Rajputana, is too daring a venture; and the plot's development, though here and there are some touches of true vision and some vigorous passages, labours under

* '*Naulakha*,' by Rudyard Kipling and W. Balestier. London, 1892.

the weight of its extravagant improbability. The American's restless energy, brought face to face with Oriental immobility, expresses itself in the following way :—

‘It made him tired to see the fixedness, the apathy, and lifelessness of this rich and populous world, which should be up and stirring by rights—trading, organising, inventing, building new towns, making the old ones keep up with the procession, laying new railroads, going in for fresh enterprises, and keeping things humming.

“‘They’ve got resources enough,” he said. “It isn’t as if they had the excuse that the country’s poor. It’s a good country. Move the population of a lively Colorado town to Rhatore, set up a good local paper, organise a board of trade, and let the world know what is here, and we’d have a boom in six months that would shake the empire. But what’s the use? They’re dead. They’re mummies. They’re wooden images. There isn’t enough real, old-fashioned, downright rustle and razzle-dazzle and ‘git up and git’ in Gokral Seetaram to run a milk-cart.”’

Such indeed might be the sentiments of an eager speculator who found himself among primitive folk. But the discord of ideas puts the whole piece so completely out of tune as to produce only a harsh and jarring sensation; the rough Western man is thoroughly out of his element, and flounders heavily, like a cockney among mediæval crusaders. This must be taken in fairness to be the result of collaboration, for in his own short stories Mr. Kipling never commits solecisms of the kind; on the contrary, he excels in the shading of strong local colours, and in the rapid, unerring delineation of characters that stand out in clear relief, yet blend with and act upon each other when they encounter. But Mr. Kipling’s volumes would require a separate article to themselves, so that we will merely take this occasion of recording our wish that he may some day turn his unique faculty of painting real Indian pictures toward the composition of a novel which shall *not* be about Anglo-Indian society (for the thin soil of that field has already been over-harrowed), but shall give a true and lively rendering of the thoughts which strike an imaginative Englishman when he surveys the whole moving landscape of our Indian empire, watches the course of actual events, and tries to forecast its probable destiny.

It has been manifestly impossible in this brief article to do more than touch upon a few books that may illustrate the prominent characteristics, and the general place in light literature, of Indian novels. This must explain why we

have omitted several other works, of which 'Transgression'* is the latest. In this tale we have a sketch of life on the North-West Frontier at the present day, with some well-known incidents of the Afridi war of 1897-98 introduced, and so coloured from the writer's own point of view as to convey, under a thin varnish of fiction, some sharp and sarcastic criticism on the management of affairs, the politics of the Government, and the personal behaviour of certain officials, who can be at once identified. Although the book is not without interest as a true account of hazardous and stirring frontier duties, we are bound to repeat our warning that this abuse of the novel for controversial purposes is not only unfair, but profoundly inartistic. No literary success, but failure and the confusion of styles, lies that way.

What, then, are the conclusions which we may draw from this brief survey of the more prominent and typical Indian novels? To the repertory of English fiction, which is perhaps the largest and most varied that any national literature contains, they have undoubtedly made a not unworthy contribution; for we may agree that fiction has some, if not the highest, value when it produces an animated representation of life and manners, even upon a limited and distant field. In the present instance the narrow range of plot and character that may be observed in the pure Anglo-Indian novel reflects the uniformity of a society which consists almost entirely, outside the Presidency capitals on the sea-coast, of civil and military officials—a society that is also upon one level of class and of age, for among the English in India there are neither old men nor boys and girls; the men and women are in the prime of life, with a number of small children. This age-limit lops off from both ends of human existence a certain proportion of the characters that are available for filling up the canvas of the social novelist at home. And it is in truth a peculiar feature, not only of Anglo-Indian society, but of the Anglo-Indian administration, because the enforced retirement of almost every officer after the age of fifty-five years greatly diminishes the influence of weighty and mature experience exercised by the senior men in the services and government of most countries. In regard to the equality of class it may be observed that here also the

* 'Transgression,' by S. S. Thorburn. London, 1899.

lack of variety produces a similar dearth of materials ; we miss the picturesque contrasts of rich and poor, of towns-folk and country folk, of the diverse groups which make up a European population. The 'short and simple annals of 'the poor' cannot be woven into the Indian tapestry which records higher and broader scenes ; the peasantry, for example, whose quaint figures and idioms are so useful in English novels, do not come into the Anglo-Indian tale. They cannot be blended in fiction with the foreign element because they are wholly apart in reality. In short, the whole company that play upon the exclusively Anglo-Indian stage belong to one grade of society, and the hero is invariably a military officer.

The most popular of Anglo-Indian novels are probably those which deal in exact reproduction of ordinary incidents and conversation, related in a sprightly and humorous style. This accords with the taste of present-day readers, many of whom take up a book only for the momentary amusement that it gives them, and are well content with interminable dialogues that do little more than echo, with a certain spice of epigram and smart repartee, the commonplaces interchanged among clever people at a country house or in a London drawing-room. Nevertheless we believe that Anglo-Indian fiction is seen at its best in the novel of action, since war and love-making must still, as formerly, rule the whole kingdom of romance ; since as emotional forces they are the same in every climate and country. Each successive campaign in India, from the first Afghan war to the latest expedition across the Afridi frontier, has furnished the Anglo-Indian writer with a new series of striking incidents that can be used for his heroic deeds and dire catastrophes, for new landscapes and figures, all of them bearing the very form and stamp of impressive reality. If he is artist enough to avoid abusing these advantages, if he is neither an extravagant colourist nor a mere copyist or compiler, he has this fresh field to himself, he can give us a stirring narrative of frontier adventures, he can sketch in the aspect of a country or the distinctive qualities of a people that have preserved many of the features which in Europe have now vanished into the dim realms of early romance. His danger lies, as we have seen from some examples already quoted, in the temptation to make too much use of the attractive materials that are readily found to hand in military records or in such a real tragedy as the Sepoy mutiny, so that the novel is liable to

become little more than authentic history related in a glowing, exuberant style of writing and portraiture.

In short, the Indian novel belongs to the objective outdoor class; it is full of open air and activity, and the introspective psychological vein is almost entirely wanting. There are, indeed, passages which indicate that peculiar sense of the correlation, so to speak, of the environment with the moods and feelings of men, the influence upon the human mind of nature—a sense which has inspired some of our finest poetry, and which is so well rendered by the best Russian novelists, by Tourguéneff and by Tolstoi. One work of Tolstoi's, 'Les Cosaques,' might be especially recommended for study to the Anglo-Indian novelist of the future, as an example of the true impress that can be made upon a reader's mind by the literary art, when it succeeds in giving vivid interest to the picture of a solitary officer's life upon a dull and distant frontier.

ART. VII.—1. *A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records.*

Edited by F. A. INDERWICK, Q.C. Vol. I., 1505–1603.
London: 1896. Vol. II., 1603–1660. London: 1898.

2. *The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn.*

Vol. I., 1422–1586. Vol. II., 1586–1660. London: 1897,
1898.

THERE is sometimes to be seen in an English landscape the remains of a great tree, firmly rooted in the ground; a huge immovable trunk, the branches gone, only a few feeble green shoots indicate that life still exists in it. An Inn of Court at the present time may be likened to such a tree: it is there, fast rooted among the English institutions, having a certain ancient picturesqueness, but maimed, and with little of its former vigour and luxuriance left. Yet it is so firmly fixed that it is less likely to be removed than many younger growths.

From a purely utilitarian point of view the Inns of Court are anachronisms. When we compare their elaborate but unwritten constitutions, their buildings and their revenues, with the present practical result, the difference between their functions now and in the past is remarkable. They have ceased to be great educational bodies; their sole business is to admit to the Bar those who desire to practise as advocates in England. Certain tests of fitness are required from those so admitted; and to enable students to pass the examinations instruction is given. But the passing of the examination is the main point upon which the student sets his mind. Thus the Inns of Court are rather examining than educational bodies. They are also the owners of premises which are the business resort of one branch of the legal profession, but this fact cannot be regarded as in any sense a fulfilment of a public duty; it is now the result of a long-continued custom, but it is a thing which could be as well, if not better, managed by a limited company of ten years' existence as by a society which counts its lifetime by centuries.

Moreover, the recent creation of a General Council of the Bar has not only deprived the Inns of Court of their old disciplinary functions, but has made the unfitness of these societies to control a part of the legal education of the country more obvious. Yet still they are here, and here they will certainly remain, the object of constant criticism, more historically interesting than practically useful.

To-day, as we have said, the Inns of Court fill a compara-

tively small place in the legal system of England, and are of no account at all in the social life of the time. Thus their legal and their social importance in the past is apt to be overlooked and forgotten. But England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries cannot be understood without a proper recognition of the place filled by the Inns of Court, just as to know the society and the politics of Great Britain at the end of the eighteenth century we must appreciate the clubs and coteries of St. James's Street.

For the true realisation of an institution in the past we require to have before us what may be termed the details of the day, and it is impossible to obtain exact information in any other manner than from original documents. Some years ago we gave a sketch of the town life of the Middle Ages, based on the researches which Mrs. J. R. Green made into the civic records and the minutiae of borough life in the past. The opportunity has now been given to study in detail the history of the Inns of Court in mediæval times. We have not to trust only to the statements of Fortescue or Dugdale; the records of the Inner Temple and of Lincoln's Inn can be perused in the fullest detail. Some cynics may remark that the Inns of Court would have done well not to exhibit the vigour of their earlier days so markedly in contrast with the decrepitude of the present. But the historical student will rightly thank these societies not only for their public spirit in publishing these records, but for the admirable manner in which they have been produced. The Inns of Court, unlike the Historical Manuscripts Commission, have recognised that, if a thing is worth doing at all, it is worth doing well, and the discreditable appearance of the reports of the Commission is made more obvious by contrast with these handsome volumes. To each is prefixed an excellent introduction—to the Records of the Inner Temple by Mr. Inderwick, Q.C.; to the Black Books of Lincoln's Inn by Mr. Douglas Walker, Q.C., the text and index being prepared in the one case by Mr. W. Pace, F.S.A., in the other by Mr. W. P. Baildon, F.S.A. The records and introductions thus constitute a permanent history of the Inns of Court, and in a form which will adorn a library.

The records of Lincoln's Inn carry us farthest back. They are called the Black Books of Lincoln's Inn, and begin from 1422, in the first year of the reign of Henry VI. They do not, however, cover the whole history of the Inn as a legal society or college. Older documents there no doubt were, which contained the entries relative to this earlier period.

But the existing Black Books contain an immense mass of detailed information, in which, among much that is trivial, interesting and important facts are embedded :—

‘ Besides the admissions, the Black Book contains entries of the most varied character : the names of those yearly filling the different offices of the society ; the names, after 1518, of those called by the society to its Bench and Bar ; the minutes of the governing body ; the yearly accounts of the two great officers of the society, the Pensioner and the Treasurer ; the accounts of members to whom the special superintendence of some building or other work had been entrusted ; narrations of public events.’ (Vol. i. p. i.)

The Temple has been less fortunate. The Bench Table orders and the accounts down to the reign of James I. have disappeared, as well as a number of old records, rolls, and writings which are referred to in the documents which are, happily, still in existence, and which begin in 1505. The loss of the Inner Temple records would have been more to be lamented if it were not for the preservation of those which belong to Lincoln’s Inn. The actual life, whether educational or social, of the two societies did not greatly differ, so that by the aid of the records of Lincoln’s Inn we are able to survey the system of legal education in England for nearly five centuries, as well as an important element in the social history of the country in mediæval times. But neither the records of Lincoln’s Inn nor of the Inner Temple give us direct information upon the actual origin of two societies which have filled so important and curious a part in the social history of this country. For remarkable these societies beyond question are. They have been, from their very beginning, a kind of university without statutes and without a definite set of rules, and existing under a species of customary organisation. For the orders of the Privy Council—as, for example, those of 1574, which, it is stated, were ‘ established ’ with the advice of that body and the justices of the Queen’s Bench and Common Pleas—appear to be rules drawn up by the Benchers and approved by the Privy Council. The sanction of the Council gave these regulations a force which they would not have otherwise possessed. In other words, they issue from the society which they regulate ; they are not statutes or ordinances introduced by a hostile or a supreme legislature. Thus these Inns were at once academic and professional bodies, singularly unfettered, exercising functions of the first importance in the national economy, yet wholly free from any species of State control. The education of English barristers, the supervision of the

whole body of English advocates, has been the duty of these societies, which in the beginning appear to have been no more than stray aggregations of lawyers and legal students, who have continued from century to century to manage their affairs without any external control.

We are so much accustomed to look at the Inns of Court as well-recognised parts of English society, their peculiar organisation has been so familiar to every generation of Englishmen, that we are apt to overlook both the singularity and the remarkable continuity of their existence, and the noticeable example they afford of the freedom and the individuality of the English people.

Though, as we have said, the records of the Inns of Court do not give any direct statements as to their origin—which, indeed, could not be expected—they make the character of that origin pretty clear. A body of lawyers rented some land and premises on the east side of what is now Chancery Lane from two landlords, the Bishop of Chichester and the Hospital of Burton Lazars of Jerusalem in England. The occupation of the first portion was probably between the years 1245 and 1253, when Richard, Bishop of Chichester, filled this see. For in 1466 a statute of the society begins—

‘In honour of Almighty God, of Jesus Christ our Lord, of S. Mary His mother, and of S. Richard, formerly Bishop of Chichester, late dwelling in this house of Lincoln’s Inn, and the true possessor thereof in right of his church of Chichester.’ (Vol. i. p. 41.)

For this property the society paid

‘a yearly rent of 10 marks, reduced by Bishop Arundel to 8 marks, and raised again to 10 marks on that prelate’s death. . . . On the southern edge of this estate were houses with back doors opening on to gardens which abutted on Ficketsfield; there were other buildings on the property, some houses used as chambers, a hall with a kitchen and butlery, and a chapel. In 1537 Bishop Sampson sold the land held of the see to William and Eustace Sulyard, from whom it descended to Edward Sulyard.’ (P. ii.)

An interesting minute of 1580 shows at once the way in which the estate then became the absolute property of the Inn, as well as the composition of the governing body at that time. A number of lawyers took it into their minds to become tenants of land and buildings for which the ecclesiastical owner had little personal use, and this body of lawyers in later times, without aid or interference from the State, decided to make it their home in perpetuity.

The history of the two Temples is somewhat different. Here we have the Knights Hospitallers, or the Knights of

St. John of Jerusalem, possessed of the Church of St. Mary and of the semi-ecclesiastical buildings which were grouped around it. This half-priestly order of knighthood was, by the middle of the fourteenth century, decaying as a separate body; the lawyers were increasing; and so it came about that in the year 1347 a group of lawyers became the tenants of the Knights Hospitallers, taking possession of most of the secular buildings at a rent of 20 marks a year, and leaving to their landlords the church of the order and its adjoining chapels.

‘They also retained in office, as the keeper or guardian of the church, an ecclesiastic known as “The Master of the New Temple,” who was, under the Prior of S. John, responsible not only for the maintenance of the fabric and for the decoration of the church, but also for the performance of the services and for the lodging and sustenance of the priests.’ *

And so things remained until the dissolution of this famous order in 1540, when the lawyers became the owners of the entire Temple as tenants at will of the Crown. Their title was precarious, and on the accession of James I. there are indications that some of the Scotchmen about the Court would have been glad to turn the lawyers out of their property. The Temples had, however, influence enough to make this danger into an actual benefit, and in 1608 the societies of the two Temples were confirmed by patent in their possessions; ‘whereas,’ ran part of the recital of this document,

‘the Inns of the Inner and Middle Temple, London, being two out of those four colleges the most famous of all Europe, as always abounding with persons devoted to the study of the aforesaid laws and experienced therein, have been, by the free bounty of our progenitors, kings of England, for a long time dedicated to the use of the students and professors of the said laws, to which, as the best seminaries of learning and education, very many young men eminent for rank of family and their endowments of mind and body have daily resorted from all parts of this realm.’

It then proceeds to grant and confirm all the buildings of the Inner and Middle Temple at a yearly rent of 10*l.*, payable by each Inn.

We have stated how, when the Knights Hospitallers granted the semi-ecclesiastical buildings to the lawyers in the fourteenth century, the church was excepted from the grant. This exclusion now came to an end, and all the

* Inner Temple Records, vol. i. p. xx.

buildings 'commonly called the Temple Church' were handed over to the lawyers. The Mastership of the Temple was, however, vested in the Crown, and not in the Benchers of the Temple. The grant was something more than a confirmation of the possession of the temporal buildings, and an addition by gift of the ancient church—it was a recognition of the position of the two Temples as great colleges of the law. In the new order of things which was beginning in England it established them securely, linking their mediæval existence with that modern life which has continued to the present day.

Of the division of the legal society which was located in the Temple into two bodies the books of the Inner Temple tell us nothing. But among the MSS. of that society still preserved there

'is a pamphlet of twenty-six pages folio, closely written, in the nature of a report, giving an account of the origin and growth of the Knights Templars, of their building of the New Temple. . . . According to this statement, the lawyers . . . in the reign of Henry VI. divided themselves into those two societies, the Inner and the Middle Temples.'*

This pamphlet is part of the collection of William Petyt, who was Keeper of the Records of the Tower, and in 1701 Treasurer of the Inner Temple. To some extent this account is merely report transferred to writing, but it is substantiated by passages in the 'Paston Letters,' some extracts from which are given by Mr. Inderwick in his introduction. In these letters the first mention of the Inner Temple as a single society is in 1440. Before that date the reference is to the Temple as an undivided body. There can, therefore, be no doubt that some time in the reign of Henry VI. the lawyers who were associated in the Temple divided themselves into two separate bodies, having, however, a common church. Those who occupied the buildings nearest to the City naturally called their portion of the estate the Inner Temple, while those who lived in the other portion, intermediate between the Inner Temple and Westminster, gave it the name of the Middle Temple.

But at the very time when the Temple was entirely losing all signs of its ecclesiastical character, which in some degree had clung to it for so many years, the lawyers were

* Inner Temple Records, vol. i. p. xvii.

being troubled still by an ancient privilege. This is not the place to dwell on the well-known right of sanctuary, a right which, it need scarcely be said, attached to the Temple Church and its precincts. Adjoining the Temple was that historic refuge of criminals and thieves, Whitefriars, or, as it was commonly called, Alsatia. The result of this proximity was that the Temple was constantly invaded by ruffians of all sorts. Access to the church and its burying-ground 'appears to have been surreptitiously effected through houses built on land forming part of the New Temple, which had their front entrance in Fleet Street, with backways into the churchyard.' Continual attempts were made by the Bench to prevent this and other means of access. Sometimes doors are to be bolted and barred, sometimes 'strongly mured up with bricks;' sometimes it is a petition which is under consideration from the fellows of the Temple, complaining of the disturbances 'caused by a disorderly crew of outlawed persons.' From these and other details in these records we obtain a lifelike picture of a phase of English society which, however discreditable, cannot be overlooked. By the middle of the seventeenth century the most flagrant disorder in the Temple had been checked, but its precincts for years continued to be the haunt of debtors and disreputable persons, who by no means were always excluded from the Temple itself, and gave to it an atmosphere of Bohemianism little characteristic of its professional and academic purpose.

It is necessary, however, to return to the foundations of the Inns of Court before describing shortly the system which prevailed there.

It is obvious that before a body of lawyers was sufficiently homogeneous to begin a corporate existence, not only as a college of law, but also as a club, if the expression may be used, of professional lawyers, they must have had some kind of social or professional bond of union. This connexion seems to have sprung from what were subsequently called the Inns of Chancery—originally, there can be little doubt, hostels or common lodging-houses for lawyers and law students. The legal caste had grown into existence in England with surprising rapidity, though in mediæval times it was almost entirely confined to London. Being a caste, there would be a tendency in those who belonged to it to live together, and to form some kind of indefinite corporation. The lawyers in the thirteenth century were collected round the king's courts at Westminster.

‘In Edward I.’s day we see that the king has a number of pleaders, who are known as his servants or serjeants at law (*servientes ad legem*). Already in 1275 it is necessary to threaten with imprisonment “the serjeant countor,” who is guilty of collusive or deceitful practice. Also, there seem to be about the Court many young men who are learning to plead, and whose title of “apprentices” suggests that they are the pupils of the serjeants. We may infer that already before 1292 these practitioners had acquired an exclusive right to be heard on behalf of others. In that year King Edward directed his justices to provide for every county a sufficient number of attorneys and apprentices from among the best, the most lawful, and the most teachable, so that king and people might be well served.’ *

Once we realise a class, however small, of lawyers, however uneducated in legal principles, but with some kind, at any rate, of special knowledge, at the end of the thirteenth century, it becomes easy to perceive that they would live together in houses convenient of access to the king’s courts. It is these houses which were the Inns of Chancery, and which appear to have historically a twofold character.

It is probable that in the first instance they were simply common lodging-houses, which gradually lost their private character as their owners died. Thus, in 1344, Isabella, widow of Robert Clifford, demised to the apprentices *de banco*, or students who frequented the Common Bench, what subsequently became known as Clifford’s Inn, and ‘the will of John Thavie, an armourer, who died in 1348, shows that he was the owner of a hospice which had been, and probably then was, frequented by students of the law.’ † Thavie’s, or Davy’s, Inn was afterwards, like Clifford’s Inn, one of those ten Inns of Chancery which became affiliated to the Inns of Court. In each of the above instances there cannot be a doubt of its earlier character, so that the evolution of the Inns of Chancery producing, as one may say, the Inns of Court, and then falling into definite positions as subsidiary but important members of the collegiate legal system of mediæval and later times, is clear. How truncated and diminished, then, in our day is the great legal academic system of an earlier age!

In their second form the Inns of Chancery have become subsidiary and auxiliary to the larger and more important societies, the Inns of Court. Broadly speaking, there is some analogy between the relations of the Inns of Chancery

* Pollock and Maitland’s ‘History of English Law,’ vol. i. p. 194.

† Inner Temple Records, vol. i. p. xii.

and the Inns of Court in the sixteenth century and the great public schools and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge in the nineteenth, though there was between the two legal bodies a closer union than between the schools and the universities, a union which grew stronger after the purchase of Thavie's Inn in 1551 and Furnival's Inn in 1548 by the greater society of Lincoln's Inn. In 1565 there is to be found in the Black Books of Lincoln's Inn the following entry in connexion with a meeting of the Benchers of the Society :—

‘None shall be admitted into this house hereafter unless he have been of some house of Chancery before, under five marks fine.

‘None of Chancery shall be admitted under forty shillings, at his admission to be paid, unless he be an utter Barrister in Chancery and have kept two vacations as utter Barrister there.’ (Vol. i. p. 345.)

It was, therefore, the policy of the Inns of Court to oblige all those who desired admission to one of the legal colleges to have first been a member of the smaller society. In other words, we see, imperfectly no doubt, but clearly enough, a system of graduated legal education. Such a relationship depends on various details which in the lapse of time are necessarily lost; they cannot be restored, as can the parts of a great mediæval building, and so we must be content now to view them more or less in outline. But there was a yet more important connexion between the Inns of Court and of Chancery. The readers both of Thavie's and Furnival's Inns were members of Lincoln's Inn. Of this official in the Inns of Court we shall have something to say presently. For the moment we are concerned not with the readers of the Inns of Court, but with those of the Inns of Chancery, more especially as connecting the smaller and the larger societies. The reader was the official channel of communication between the society and the Houses. ‘Every reader of Court is to give order to their Houses of Chancery that the orders for apparels and weapons and study be observed by their companies.’ The reader was the teacher, the lecturer of those who belonged to the Houses of Chancery, and the responsibility for his efficiency and for the performance of his duties lay with the legal university. Thus, if a member of an Inn of Chancery applied for admission to an Inn of Court, the latter body received a person already educated to some extent in legal principles. There was obviously, therefore, a definite system, a lower and a higher form of legal membership. In 1574 there were approved and recognised by the Privy Council ten orders for the

government of the Inns of Court. The ninth order runs thus: 'The reformation and order for the Inns of Chancery 'is referred to the Benchers of the Houses of Court whereto 'they are belonging: wherein they are to use the advice and 'assistance of the Justices of the Courts at Westminster.' Up to this date the relations between these different bodies may be regarded as customary only; from the moment of these orders they are almost statutory. The order recognises existing practices and sanctions them for the future. At this epoch the Inns of Court, with their affiliated and subsidiary Inns of Chancery, are at the most important point in their history, at once legal colleges and societies for the governance and the enjoyment of the advocates of England.

It is now time to turn to a survey of the character of these great institutions.

We have to picture to ourselves what must, in the language of to-day, be called a college. At either of the great English universities we see grouped under various titles a society of students and teachers, with their hall, their chapel, their library, and their living-rooms, with their rules for education, and their social meetings. Exactly the same was to be seen at Lincoln's Inn and the Temple in the Middle Ages, everything grouping round the hall, which was the centre of the society. It was 'the only fire to 'which the majority of students had access.' It is easy to picture the social gatherings in the hall, not always peaceful. 'Kenelm Digas,' we read in an entry of 1465,

'was put out of the society because, on the Sunday before Christmas Day, he violently drew his dagger, in the hall of the said Inn, upon Denys, one of the fellows of the Inn. Afterwards, on the 1st of March, at the instance of several fellows, Digas was readmitted on condition that he should not carry a dagger within the Inn, or the precincts thereof, for one whole year, because he had offended with his dagger in form aforesaid, and, further, that he paid a fine of 40s. for the offence.' *

Later we read of two students who were put out of commons for an affray between them in the hall. Indeed, it seems to have been a favourite place for a brawl, and the use of the dagger was frequent. Chalynor, on March 11, 1526, 'was amerced 10s. for assaulting Stafferton junior 'with his dagger, and wounding him in the arm.' Details

* Black Books, vol. i. p. 40.

such as these in themselves are trivial, but they are both interesting and important when we recollect how they indicate the character of the place and the nature of the gatherings in it. The entries, with numerous others, are important, too, as showing the discipline which existed in the society, a discipline in no sense concerned with legal matters, but characteristic of an academic society. The morality and the conduct—even the dress and the hair—of the members of the Inn was the constant care of the Bench; they were concerned not merely with the ordinary behaviour of those who assembled in the Inn, but with their habits when they were engaged in the ordinary social life of the place. ‘Purification of Blessed Virgin, 1495. Francis Southwell, John Pole, and Henry Smyth were put out of commons for playing at dice at night within the Inn, in the chamber of the said Henry, contrary to the statutes and ordinances of the Inn. Fined 10s. each.’* To-day a room in Lincoln’s Inn is usually a lawyer’s office; in the Middle Ages these rooms were almost identical with the rooms of undergraduates at a university. ‘For the most part they were long rooms, inside of which a cell or cells were constructed by panelling. These cells, called studies, were the subject of frequent orders by the Bench. The floor-space outside the studies was probably shared in common by the inhabitants of each chamber, and partly occupied by bedding. The Bench lay down that in chambers the junior is to give place to the senior, and on one occasion adjust a dispute about the title to some bedding in the chamber. Each house or chambers was distinguished by a name, such as Le Horsemill, Le Dovehouse, or by references to the occupants or sites of other chambers.’ They had, in fact, something of a particular and corporate existence, which made the club-like, social character of the societies more noticeable. They were bodies to which men belonged not merely for legal purposes, but because they were a society at once legal and social. ‘Robert Abbot, of Missenden, in the county of Buckingham, was admitted and pardoned his vacations, and was allowed to be at repasts: for these liberties he granted to the society a hogshead of red wine yearly at Christmas as long as he lived.’ Such is an entry in the records of Lincoln’s Inn in 1470. These honorary fellows, to whom there is constant reference in the records, no doubt strengthened the society and gave it a greater im-

* Black Books, vol. i. p. 103.

portance, but they were not active members of the legal college. The true 'Socii,' or fellows, were lawyers.

'At the head of the fellowship stood the masters of the Bench, with an executive of governors and officers. . . . Next to the Bench came the utter barristers, those who had been called by the Bench to the Bar of the society; and last of all the clerks, whose position corresponds to some extent with that of the law student of the present day.' *

The position of a benchers was an honourable one; but it was by no means always desired, and from time to time entries are found of members being expelled or fined for not taking the Bench. The benchers of Lincoln's Inn seem to have met until 1524 in the chapel of S. Richard, the chapel of the society, where there is mention of a council chamber. From the benchers were elected the gubernatores, or rectores—the governors, usually four in number, who remained in office for a year. They were the executive of the fellowship; but after 1575 their functions appear to have been exercised by the whole body of benchers, and the term ceases to appear in the records. Next to the benchers came the barristers—a term which has now grown beyond its original meaning. The barrister for many years was not as such necessarily entitled to an audience in the king's court. In the orders of 1574 it is enacted that none shall be admitted to plead in the courts at Westminster, or to draw any pleadings, unless he shall be a reader or benchers of an Inn of Court, or five years 'utter barrister,' and have continued for that time in exercise of learning, or a reader in Chancery two years at the least. Thus it is clear that the 'utter barrister' was no more than a person of legal education who had attained to a certain standing in an Inn of Court. It was a legal degree: the barrister had ceased, if one may so say, to be a legal undergraduate, and he had reached a standard of learning which rendered him eligible to be allowed to plead before the king's judges. Doubtless before 1574 there had been caprice and uncertainty in regard to the selection of those who might exercise the profession of advocates. In that year an end is made to this uncertainty, and those members of the legal colleges who have attained to a certain seniority in the society become thereupon qualified advocates.† The distinction between the state of things

* Black Books, vol. i. p. v.

† In the Judges' Orders, 1614, No. 6 runs thus:—'For that the over-early and hasty practice of utter barristers doth make them less

in the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries is important, for the systematised education of the earlier age becomes more apparent when we understand that an 'utter barrister' was one who had attained an academic degree only. Lowest in order of the members of the fellowship came the clerks—those who had not attained the legal degree of utter barrister, in fact those who were pursuing a pre-graduate course of study, as those who were barristers for a time, at any rate, were occupied with post-graduate studies.

It may cause some surprise that those who had taken a degree should continue a study of the law. It must be remembered, however, that in the Middle Ages, the body we are considering did not consist only of professional lawyers. Legal studies occupied a larger place than is now the case in ordinary education. Moreover, there are distinct traces of something in the nature of a general elementary education being given. 'Parker,' so we read in 1506, 'fined 12*d.* for 'throwing wyspis in Hall during the drinking time in an 'insolent way in the Grammar School.' The innumerable mention of boyish offences; the resolutions of the Bench as to dress, as in this very year, when the Bench ordered that every clerk should 'be decorously clad, and not with his 'shirt in public view beyond his doublet at his neck'—all point to students being little more than boys; which indicates again that we must take no narrow view of the functions of the Inns of Court and Chancery up, at any rate, to the end of the sixteenth century. We must regard them as filling a great and important place in the general educational machinery of England. The latter word must be used advisedly. Irishmen were prohibited from becoming fellows of the society. In 1437 it was ordered 'that no person 'born in Ireland should in future be admitted as a Fellow 'of the Society of Lyncollysyn; and if any one born there 'shall hereafter be admitted by any person or persons, he 'shall be expelled.'

In later years, when the rigour of this order was relaxed, and Irishmen, however few in numbers, became members of the society, they were regarded as a class who should not be allowed to mix with Englishmen. They were ordered,

grounded and sufficient, whereby the law may be disgraced and the client prejudiced: therefore it is ordered that for the time to come no utter barrister begin to practice publicly at any Bar at Westminster until he hath been three years at the Bar; except such utter barristers that have been readers in some houses of Chancery.'

in 1556, to live in the chambers called the Dovehouse, the special character of which at a later period is referred to when it was rebuilt: 'to build from the ground the Irish-men's chamber called the Dovecot.' It is in such entries as this that we see more vividly than by any amount of description the feeling of the age, and can realise the conditions of an epoch. It is easier also, when we bear in mind the youth of many of the members of the Inns of Court, to understand the place which minstrelsy and revels held in their life.

But it is with the educational system of the Inns of Court that we are now concerned. It reached its perfection in the middle of the sixteenth century. In the beginning of the following century it was carried out with a difficulty which had not before been experienced, and after the breaking out of the Civil War it began to assume that partial and indeterminate character which it has borne in modern times. The reason is obvious. A system suitable for a mediæval society, one evolved out of the needs and the characteristics of a particular age, has been continued into years for which its peculiar character is not suited. In the fifteenth century the system of legal education could not be improved.

For educational purposes the year was divided into terms, learning vacations, and mesne vacations. A large number of the entries in the records of the Inns of Court are concerned with the keeping of the vacations by the members, either as learners or teachers. Indeed, 'the pardoning of 'vacations' is so frequently mentioned that it would seem to indicate that there was a much larger number of fellows who made but a partial study of the law than the actual entries would suggest. The pardoning of vacations was also a convenient method of supporting the society, whether by money or kind. 'Christopher Hanyngton, one of the Clerks 'of the Chancery, was admitted to the society in 1482, and 'pardoned all vacations and admitted to repasts, for which 'he shall pay a hogshead of wine or 20s. as he pleases.'* It is well known that the instruction given at the Inns of Court was chiefly oral; it could not be otherwise until reading and writing became common and easy, and text-books and reports became numerous. The form which this instruction took was threefold. It was either by readings, by moots, or by bolts. The reading was in the nature of a lecture, probably for the younger students. The moot was

* Black Books, vol. i. p. 73.

the argument of a case, the chief form of technical legal instruction. Two members of the Inner Bar had to write upon a case which was chosen and assigned to them. By them it was taken to some of the Utter Bar:—

‘The case was to be cast into the form of pleadings, and after the argument at the Bar, in which the utter barristers were expected to join, the puisne of the Bench recited the whole pleading, according to the ancient custom. Then the Bench advanced such arguments as pleased them. If any of the Bench advanced more than two points, the reader was to show him that he “breaketh the common order.”’

As years went on the mootings became more elaborate, and were a real preparation for the business of legal advocacy. As has been already pointed out, a barrister was no more than a person who had taken a legal degree and who continued post-graduate studies. It is obvious that with moots an important part of a system of legal education the advocate, whether of mediæval or more recent times, came to his duties in court far better prepared than does the barrister in the nineteenth century, who has to learn experience at the expense of his clients. In former days the advocate who stood up to argue a case in court for the first time was undertaking a task with which he was perfectly familiar, and for which he had been definitely trained. The very judges whom he addressed were not unfamiliar to him.* The practice at the Inns of Court stood him equally in good stead in the House of Commons as in the law courts. The value of it was held in the highest estimation by those responsible for the management of the Inns of Court, for, in addition to moots, there was the similar but simpler exercise—the bolt. In 1656 there is an order of the Bench of Lincoln’s Inn which gives a picture of this exercise:—

‘Ordered that the bolts hereafter to be performed be done by the utter barristers and gentlemen under the Bar in the same place as the vacation moots are usually performed; and that the Put-case standing between the two gentlemen under the Bar that are to argue, put his case, and after they are repeated by the ancient barrister that is then to argue, the Put-case is to sit down between the two gentlemen during the argument, and the Panierman is to place forms both for them that are under the Bar, and for the rest of the gentlemen that attend there.’†

* February 11, 1630: ‘It is declared to be the ancient custom of this house that the reader for the time being ought to argue his own case, after that the judges who shall happen to be there present have argued.’—*Black Books*, vol. ii. p. 292.

† *Black Books*, vol. ii. p. 412.

The bolt appears, in fact, to have been a discussion, less formal and more elementary, among the less important members of the society, but equally intended with the moots to quicken the understanding and to give ease and proficiency in the verbal expression of legal arguments. When the value of these exercises ceased to be appreciated by the members of the Inns their practical usefulness for the purposes of legal education began to fail. A minute of 1659 states that 'the holding up of the commons in vacation, intended by the Bench for reviving exercises in the vacation, which have been nevertheless neglected, is a charge, beside the fruitlessness thereof, too great for the revenue of the House.' Thus, as the seventeenth century nears its end the decadence of the Inns of Court as great legal universities, as educational institutions of the highest value, can no longer be overlooked. They have existed, have fulfilled in modern times some necessary purposes, but their educational decay has been simultaneous with a decrease of systematic legal education in England.

Into the social life of the Inns of Court the entries in these records give considerable insight. Music from the very earliest times formed the main amusement of those who belonged to the societies. Growing out of it came the revels, more elaborate and expensive than simple singing or playing. They, in their turn, led to dramatic performances in a later age. The importance attached to music, the sums, considerable in amount, spent upon it,* show the social importance of the Inns of Court. In an age when it was difficult to obtain amusement of a refined kind, the possibility of such enjoyment at Lincoln's Inn and the Temple indicates not only one reason of their popularity, but the place they at one time held in the social life of the age.

The Inns of Court, however, must not be regarded solely as schools of law, apart from their influence on English society. It is not easy to overestimate their service in the past to English civil and religious liberty. From their very

* 'Accounts of Ralph Scroope, Esquire, Treasurer, 6 & 7 Elizabeth, 1564-5. . . . Allowances 38*l.* 18*s.* Including 53*s.* 4*d.* to William Perryn and Richard Knight, minstrels [musicians], for their salaries at the Purification, 30*s.* to William Leade, paid to Robert Jugler, deceased, late harper [lyrator] of the Inn, 38*s.* 2*d.* for a supper for the boys of Mr. Edwards, of the Queen's Chapel, and for the staff torches and clubs and other necessities for the play at the Purification last.'

beginning they were purely secular societies. An abbot or a prior was from time to time admitted to them, but he joined them not as the superior, but as the equal of the laymen by whom they were formed and carried on; not to alter their character, but in order to be a member of a fellowship which was at once learned and social. They represented the influence of lay thought on English mediæval education, an influence not ephemeral, but lasting from century to century. The earliest colleges at Oxford and Cambridge were founded for the instruction of the clergy; in the famous universities of Italy—Bologna, Reggio, Modena—the civil and canon law formed the basis of the teaching. Nowhere but at the Inns of Court* could the Englishman study the common law, and as a member of a society free from any kind of papal, episcopal, or regal control. Nowhere but at the Temple or Lincoln's Inn could there be obtained an education, secular in its character, in its influence equally hostile to ultramontane and to regal pretensions. The unique position of the Inns of Court in this respect has hitherto been overlooked, because their great position as a university has been insufficiently realised.

Moreover, their self-government, the association of men of various ages and stations in the pursuit of a common study conducive to the enlargement of intelligence, to accuracy of thought, and to the understanding of individual rights, made for freedom. It was at the Temple and Lincoln's Inn that the common law of England, so vital to the growth of the nation, was treasured and studied, and handed down from one generation of lawyers to another, until, like the civil law and the canons, it grew into a distinct body of jurisprudence. Thus the Inns of Court formed a distinct and effective element in the developement of the English people.

But the question naturally may be asked, Can the Inns of Court ever fulfil a larger part in the future than they do in the present? No one can be satisfied with the present state of legal education; its systematic study is in this country neglected at a time when the appreciation of legal principles is more necessary than ever. For in the midst of an overwhelming mass of case and statute law legal principles are the only safe guide. Solicitors are subject to

* Trinity Hall, Cambridge, was founded in 1350 as a school of civil and canon law, 'probably designed to further ultramontane interests.'

examination, but the teaching they receive has to be found by themselves. Quite to the end of the seventeenth century attorneys were members of the Inns of Court. They were suffered as members mainly for the purposes of legal education. In the orders of 1574, which have already been referred to, we read that 'if any hereafter admitted in ' Court practice as attorney or solicitor, they to be dismissed ' and expelled out of their houses thereupon, except the ' persons that be solicitors shall also use the exercising of ' learning and mootng in the House, and so be allowed by ' the Bench.' As the difference in the nature of the work done by barristers and attorneys became more marked the exclusiveness of the Inns of Court became greater. In 1635 there was an order that no attorney or common solicitor be admitted, yet in spite of it attorneys were certainly members of the society at a still later period. This modern exclusiveness should be altered. The Inns of Court might resume their functions as great legal colleges. They should not limit the legal education which they give to students who intend to practise as barristers. There should, too, be a closer relation between the Inns of Court and the universities. The study of law at Oxford or Cambridge in most instances takes the place of studies which should precede it. There is a tendency to use the law schools of the universities for the purposes of professional rather than of general education. The educational system of the Inns of Court should form either a post-graduate course of legal study for those who have already graduated in more general studies at the universities, or be followed simultaneously with an ordinary university career. This is no more impossible than is the practice of preparing for the Civil Service examinations during the university vacations. Some kind of relationship between the Inns of Court and the universities must, however, be established before the former can be brought into their right position as educational factors. At present nothing is more remarkable than the complete separation and want of sympathy, educationally considered, between the universities and the Inns of Court. Some kind of touch between the two bodies might be created were, as would be quite possible, the professors and teachers of law at the universities to be members of the governing bodies of the Inns of Court. At the present moment, when the Inns of Court attempt to deal with legal education, the names, with one exception, of the legal teachers of the universities—men much more

eminent than some of the practitioners who by age or forensic success become members of the Bench—are conspicuously absent. It is impossible that legal education can be satisfactorily dealt with by men who are without experience in legal education. It may be doubted whether a successful professional man can ever be alone a desirable manager of what should be a college or university. The tendency of his mind is alien to academic thought; in the stress of mature work he necessarily loses touch of elementary teaching. On the other hand, the professional and the academic elements, properly united, make a better managing body than either alone. If this be so, it is obvious that the educational authority of the Inns of Court—the Council of Legal Education—should have upon it some of those who at the universities have passed their lives in legal teaching and in the consideration of methods of study. In an age of great intellectual activity, when legal principles are entering every day into social and business relations, it is absurd to suppose that, if the teaching of law by the Inns of Court were placed on a broader and more scientific basis, and made more adequate both in regard to legal principles and professional practice, it would not eagerly be taken advantage of. A great school of law in the capital of the British Empire could hardly fail to attract students from all parts of the world. The increasing facility of intercourse between the colonies and England would seem to be in itself a reason why the Inns of Court should endeavour to fill the large place which they held in past times. The social life of the Inns of Court has died out; yet in this respect it can scarcely be doubted that there are opportunities of usefulness open which the traditions of these great societies still render possible.

At present the Inns of Court, though they have in recent years shown some signs of a recognition of the possibilities of their position, are far from having regained the place which the records recently published so vividly recall to us. To the law school of Bologna students in the Middle Ages came from all parts of Europe, drawn thither by the excellence of the teaching. Is there any reason why in the immediate future societies with so noble an historic past as the Inns of Court should not become the central law school of England and her colonies? The imperial idea is not necessarily one of expanding boundaries; its surest development lies in the strengthening of the connexion of England and her colonies.

ART. VIII.—1. *Memorials*. Part I. Family and Personal, 1766–1865. By ROUNDELL PALMER, Earl of Selborne. 2 vols. London: 1896.

2. *Memorials*. Part II. Personal and Political, 1865–1895. By ROUNDELL PALMER, Earl of Selborne, Lord High Chancellor. 2 vols. London: 1898.

THE biographies of those great men who have widely influenced their time or their countrymen must of necessity attract the whole reading world. The mere fame of the man makes the public desire to know exactly what he was, exactly what he did, and whence and how his influence arose. If he has been a statesman of the first rank his life has been passed in controversy. He has been judged by partisans and by foes, largely from their own standpoint of affection, or interest, or prejudice; and it is not till he has left the stage of politics that a public atmosphere exists in which his character or his work can be fairly weighed. Moreover people read the lives of eminent statesmen and soldiers and sailors on account of the interest they take in the facts of history, as well as in the characters of their public men.

Many readers, again, who care little for lives of incident or action revel in the biographies and letters of distinguished literary men. A Walter Scott or a Tennyson makes himself, in truth, by force of his own genius, the intimate friend of countless thousands, who as a matter of course take the deepest interest in everything that can be told about the man who has been and who is so much to them. To people of a literary turn nothing is more attractive than a book about books. The comments and the discussions upon their favourite authors enable them, in imagination, almost to form part of the society of which they read. Books have been their chief companions through life; what is thought about them, what is said about them by those best able to form an opinion—that is the literature they prefer.

Again, in the present day there are ‘quiet lives’ whose ‘memorials’ greatly interest a very large circle of readers—people who often take but little interest in the facts of history—biographies of men and women where there has been no fame, no public life, no connexion either with great events or distinguished men, no stirring incidents to attract attention, but where the whole interest of the book turns

upon self-reflexion, the inward workings and searchings, the private thoughts and aspirations of a human spirit.

Many and divers evidently are the reasons with which men write the lives of themselves and others, and for which other men turn to read them. We live in an age of biography, and many admirable 'lives' have been written in recent years, but it must be admitted that it is time some discrimination were exercised as to what it is desirable or even worth while to publish. Upon an already flooded market there is annually poured an ever-increasing stream of books recording the uneventful lives of men and women—often of very commonplace men and women—books which have in truth little story to tell and no lesson to teach, where no interesting character is made known to us, and where, moreover, there is frequently, on the part of author or editor, no literary faculty to compensate, in the eyes of readers, for the dearth or dulness of the materials.

A man, respected and popular in his lifetime, dies. He is missed and mourned by a large circle of relatives and friends, who naturally and rightly wish that some record should remain of what he was to them. Yet the reasons which amply justify the privately printed memoir are often quite insufficient to justify the publication of a life.

So with family histories and memorials. Many of the old country houses of England are veritable storehouses of old letters, and old letters packed away in chests and cupboards may almost as well not exist at all, since what is unprinted remains practically unread. Doubtless much more should be done than is done in privately printing family letters and records which, in the case of any large family, will often bear upon matters of public interest. Statesmen, diplomatists, lawyers, soldiers, sailors write, of course, largely on the business of their daily lives, and hence family records, in a greater or less degree, possess partly a private and personal interest, partly an interest of a more general kind linking the family with the course of public and national affairs. We have protested against the too frequent publication of biographies; but assuredly no one could allege, in regard to the work named at the head of our article, that it was not well to publish it. Much of it is of the highest importance in its bearing upon contemporary politics. Its large bulk, which may unfortunately frighten away some readers, is due to the fact that in one work private family memorials are combined with an account of the political and other actions of a very eminent public man.

Lord Selborne's four volumes of 'Memorials' contain much that is deeply interesting, both of a personal and a public kind. They are divided into two parts; the first, described as 'Family and Personal,' stretching over the hundred years from 1766 to 1865, the last, as 'Personal and Political,' dealing with the subsequent period of thirty years. With quaint but characteristic modesty Lord Selborne, in his dedicatory preface to Part II., apologises for the greater amount of space therein given 'to his own opinions on public questions, and to the part which he took in them, whilst less is given to family matters than he could have wished.' He is addressing his children, and not the public, and this evident intention and object of the author all through his four volumes must be borne in mind when we consider the book as a whole and the correspondence which he places before us. Many of the admirable and beautiful letters to be found in these volumes were written in the privacy of extreme confidence existing between the nearest of relations or the most intimate of friends. They testify in a high degree to the truly noble and religious spirit which animated the family of which Lord Selborne was a member. It was his desire to communicate to his children and their descendants a knowledge of the previous generation, especially to make known to them his own father, for whom he felt unbounded reverence and affection. We, however, propose to turn our attention to the public career of Lord Selborne himself—in fact, to that very part of the book for which he apologises, viz. his opinions and the part that he played in public life.

This book is not, and does not profess to be, a complete autobiography. Its value largely consists in the comments on many of the important political and religious controversies of our time, and in the carefully drawn portraits of many of the eminent public men with whom Lord Selborne was brought into contact. No one interested in the politico-religious questions which have from time to time so greatly stirred public feeling during the Queen's reign will fail carefully to study all that Lord Selborne has to say about them. And there surely can be few intelligent men of any political party who do not recognise the truth and power of the masterly sketch he has given us of Mr. Gladstone.

Roundell Palmer left Winchester, where Lowe and Cardwell had been his schoolfellows and his friends, the head of the school, and was a freshman at Oxford when Gladstone was in his third year as President of the Union. It was

natural that the son of a Tory High Churchman should, while at Oxford, in the year 1830 have accepted Conservatism as a matter of course, and his friendship for Lowe and Cardwell, who were Liberals, did not prevent him from supporting Gladstone's famous anti-reform motion at the Union in May 1831. After a distinguished career at Oxford Palmer won a Fellowship at Magdalen, and turned his thoughts seriously to the Bar. Of his early struggles in his profession, of his forensic triumphs, of the steady upward march of his fee book we are told too little. He was called to the Bar in the last fortnight of the reign of William IV., and he owed his first opportunity of winning distinction to a case in which he was briefed by Messrs. Freshfield, solicitors to the Bank of England, with which institution Palmer had some family connexion. Business came to him rapidly, and, needless to say, he was from the beginning amply qualified to do it so as to win the grateful appreciation of his clients and the praises of the judges before whom he practised. In the year 1839 Palmer writes to his father that he had 'passed the Rubicon of 100*l.*,' his fees that year amounting to 165*l.*, and five years later we find him engaging a junior clerk, and generously giving up the whole profits of his Magdalen fellowship to endow the college chapel, which had lately been restored, with suitable windows of coloured glass. In 1840, when his professional business was not sufficient to employ his whole time, Palmer began to write leading articles regularly for the '*Times*,' then under the editorship of Barnes, soon to be succeeded by Delane; but his increasing business, and the fact of there being, in 1843, some divergence of views between himself and the conductors of that journal as to the 'endeavours of 'Bishops Blomfield and Phillpotts to make the usages of the 'Church more conformable to the rubrics,' put an end to the connexion with that paper, to the great relief of his father, who dreaded any dabbling on the part of his son with non-professional pursuits, and who had, moreover, a hearty old-fashioned dislike to anonymous journalism.

In 1846 he was 'refused silk' by Lord Lyndhurst, a refusal which in after life he considered not unreasonable, and by no means really opposed to his own interest. Three years later, being then member for Plymouth, he is made a Queen's Counsel by Lord Cottenham. It was not till fourteen years after he first entered the House of Commons that he became Solicitor-General, and in 1864 Attorney-General, in the last Government of Lord Palmerston. After

the defeat of Lord Russell's Reform Bill, in 1866, Roundell Palmer was not again in office till he joined Mr. Gladstone's first Cabinet as Lord Chancellor. That Ministry had done great things; but it was already nearing its end. Lord Selborne took his seat on the Woolsack in February 1873. It was the last session of that Parliament, for in the January following Mr. Gladstone suddenly dissolved it, and the Conservatives came back from the country with a large majority. Lord Selborne was again Lord Chancellor, and for the last time, in Mr. Gladstone's second Cabinet (1880-85).

Considering, then, that Palmer entered Parliament in 1847, that he was long the acknowledged leader of the Bar on the Chancery side, and that he retained the full possession of all his activities, and his place in the front rank among statesmen, till his death in the spring of 1895, his career in office was of no long duration. He was law officer of the Crown under one Government only, and for the space of not more than three years. The two periods during which he held the seals amounted together to six years. Had he made office his first object, for which line of action he would, in the 'Lives of the Chancellors,' have found ample precedent among the most famous of his predecessors, a very different record would have been achieved.

Roundell Palmer from the beginning took his politics, as, indeed, he took everything else, very seriously. Political life was not to him a 'party game' where honours and emoluments were the stakes, and where responsibility for the welfare of the country rested upon the party leaders only. He knew his own rectitude of purpose, he felt his own personal power, and throughout his long life he acted nobly up to his determination to use his whole energies to uphold what he in his own conscience believed to be the cause of right and justice and the true interest of his countrymen. It is a matter of no little importance that the life of such a statesman should have been published at a time when much shallow cynicism makes itself heard in the discussion of the motives and action of our public men. Mr. Parnell's whole tactics, adopted by four-fifths of the representatives of the Irish people, were founded on the theory that English statesmen were perfectly ready to eat their own words and sacrifice their own convictions to obtain the support in office of some eighty Irish votes. It was a question between 'Ins' and 'Outs'—that was all! And there are Englishmen who, we are

afraid, believe that the whole of political life consists in the mere 'bidding' for the votes of an ignorant electorate. In this work we read of the earnestness and almost painful care with which Lord Selborne conscientiously studied the merits of every political problem that came before him, and we realise how completely he dismissed from his mind every consideration of personal advantage.

Palmer's readiness to enter the House of Commons was partly due to the influence of his lifelong friend Cardwell, who had early made his mark in Parliament, and who in 1847 was a member of the Peelite group, a band of dissentients from the Protectionist majority of the Conservative party, few in number, but distinguished for character and ability, and naturally cordially detested by the more orthodox and more bitter of the rank and file who followed the lead of Lord Derby, Lord George Bentinck, and Mr. Disraeli. Certainly Palmer's upbringing and associations before entering upon political life did not seem to make it probable that he would ever heartily co-operate with a Liberal and Radical party. His address at the General Election of 1847 invited the support of the Conservative electors of Plymouth, a strongly Liberal borough, against the candidature of Lord Ebrington and of a Radical follower of Lord John Russell. He declared himself a Free Trader, a supporter of the Established Church, and at the same time in favour of the extension of perfect equality of civil rights and religious liberty to all his fellow countrymen. Lord Ebrington headed the poll, and Palmer obtained a substantial majority over his other opponent.

Circumstances, however, were not such as to make Palmer's path in political life a very easy one. His case was very unlike that of the ordinary ambitious barrister in large practice, who is brought in for a safe party seat to the prospective mutual advantage both of party and member. He was a Conservative who differed on a great question of principle from the recognised leaders of the Conservative party; and he, a pronounced High Churchman, found himself member for a constituency of which a strong feeling for Protestantism was a marked characteristic. Palmer had been deeply interested in the religious controversies which, since he had taken his degree, had rent Oxford in twain. Among his most intimate friends were several who ultimately accepted the logical conclusion of their own reasoning and followed Newman to Rome. He was himself described as a 'Puseyite,' and in one case

at least it was reported (of course without a vestige of truth) that the conversion of one of his friends to Rome was due to his own evil influence. That those who went had hopes that Palmer would come too was not altogether unnatural, and Frederick Faber did, in fact, his best to induce him to follow their example. 'I never reached,' writes Lord Selborne, 'the threshold that they had crossed,' and certainly his many letters bearing on religious controversy, while showing much sympathy with the 'Oxford Movement,' clear him of any suspicion of readiness at any time to make his submission to Rome. Still, remaining connected with his University through his Magdalen fellowship, Palmer had taken an active part in many of the Oxford controversies of the day, and always on the side of the High Churchmen where matters ecclesiastical were involved, so that it is hardly strange he should have been suspected of being far more extreme than he really was. It was to Gladstone in those early days that Palmer looked as the true leader of Oxford opinion in matters both lay and ecclesiastical—so much so that his greater intimacy and friendship with Cardwell did not prevent him throwing all his weight on to the side of the former as candidate for the University, though the latter had the support of Sir Robert Peel.

Born and bred a High Churchman and a Tory of the old school, Palmer's University career had associated him with the leaders of the new Oxford Movement, which was tending so strongly towards Rome. The opinions of his brother William (who after much wandering and doubt at last found moral and intellectual repose in the bosom of the Roman Church) in early days weighed very strongly with young Roundell Palmer, whose inclination it always was to follow if he could the guidance of those whom he most respected. His reverence for his father's authority and opinions was almost unbounded. Yet after all there was in the very foundation of Palmer's character, though it did not always come to the surface, a strong feeling in the sacred right of private judgement, a kind of 'Protestantism,' as he somewhere calls it, which ultimately made him refer everything to the decision of his own scrupulous conscience and admirable intellect. It was well for such a man, though he did not think so himself, to represent at the opening of his career a place like Plymouth, with all its drawbacks, where his ears were necessarily open to other strains than those sung by the high priests of a narrow mediævalism at Oxford.

In his address, as we have seen, Palmer had declared in favour of the equality of civil rights among citizens of every class and creed. Yet he would not pledge himself during his canvass to vote for the admission of Jews to the House of Commons, which at Plymouth would apparently have been a popular thing to do. His father was opposed to any change in the law, so was his friend and adviser, Dr. Moberly (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury), and Palmer promised the electors to take the matter into his consideration. Before he had been a year in Parliament the question came up for decision, and we rejoice to know that he manfully rejected the bad advice of his parental and other counsellors, and spoke and voted for what he needed only his own conscience and brains to tell him was just and right. 'To go against my father's opinion in such a matter as this (shared, as I knew it to be, by most good Churchmen)—to do so at the very outset of my Parliamentary life, and to the certain disappointment of many kind friends and wellwishers—was a serious trial. But I was not convinced . . .' Here first we catch a glimpse of the coming time in which Palmer was to associate himself frankly with the party of wise and prudent progress, to support the Whig Reform Bill of 1866, the Radical Reform Bill of 1885, and to win the fame of being the greatest and most thorough law reformer of the century.

These, however, were still distant days, and for the most part when matters political touched matters religious Palmer long showed himself very far from Liberal. Thus he followed Gladstone's example in warmly combating the admission of Dissenters to the English Universities, little foreseeing the time, a generation later, when he would successfully vindicate the right of an atheist to take his seat in the House of Commons. Still a good deal of the old Adam clung to Lord Selborne even in his regenerate days, for he assures us in these volumes that he has never regretted his action in 1850, and that though all his apprehensions as to the admission of Dissenters to University degrees have not yet been realised 'some of them certainly have, and no man can say with confidence what may be still to come'!

It was unlucky for Roundell Palmer that on the very questions upon which it was impossible for him to see eye to eye with his constituents so much public trouble should have arisen. With the result of the judgement in the Gorham case, though he did not like the judgement itself, Palmer was not much dissatisfied, tending as it did towards 'comprehension.' The discussions to which the case led

had stirred the embers of religious strife, and while they were still glowing came the so-called 'Papal Aggression' and the famous 'Durham Letter' of Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister, which fanned them into a fierce flame. Plymouth became nervous as to the Protestantism of its representative, and Palmer thought it right to explain his views very fully in public letters to a leading constituent. His tone was manly and explicit. He warmly repudiated the epithet 'Puseyite' or 'Tractarian' if these terms meant 'any inclination, avowed or secret, to Romish doctrines or practices; any disaffection to the principle of the Reformation; any superstitious love of forms and ceremonies; any disposition to exalt Church authority above the Bible; any substitution of human merit, or of the virtue of a sacerdotal system, for reliance on the free grace of God in Jesus Christ as the only means of salvation. . . .' And he repudiated these terms with equal warmth if they imputed any wish to exclude Evangelicalism from the Church. He was, he went on, earnestly devoted to the Church of England, and he stood by the doctrines, liturgies, and rules laid down in her Prayer Book. He held that the mission of the Church of England, like that of every other true Church, was derived from heaven, not from kings and parliaments, and he repudiated the doctrines of absolute prerogative no less in affairs spiritual than in affairs temporal.

In an admirable letter to the Bishop of London, Palmer states his reasons for deprecating any legislation of the kind contemplated against the Roman Catholics. The language of Cardinal Wiseman and the Pope had been 'pompous and arrogant;' but how, he asks, if we are to tolerate the Roman Catholic religion at all, can we avoid tolerating its principal tenet, viz. the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Pope? It was contrary to the spirit of toleration and to 'the principles of civil and religious liberty to enter upon a legislative crusade against the mere phraseology by which a particular voluntary church naturally, according to its own religious ideas, designates its own episcopacy.' In short, in Palmer's eyes the Roman Catholics constituted (as he afterwards expressed it in his election address) 'a numerous and important body of tolerated Dissenters.' Assuredly he had proved conclusively that the policy of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was illiberal, unwise, and inexpedient; but he saw that, as regards the public, one thought alone dominated the minds of men. It was a fight between Protestantism and Popery; and it requires little knowledge of Englishmen

to be aware of what is the inevitable result when once political controversy takes this complexion.

The non-election of Roundell Palmer for Plymouth at the General Election in the summer of 1852 was, however, not entirely due to the exaggerated Protestantism of that constituency. The position of a member of a third party is never a very easy one; and, quite apart from the ecclesiastical difficulties of the time, the Peelites members had enough to trouble them. Sir Robert Peel had died in the summer of 1850, and early in 1852 Lord Derby had formed his first short-lived Administration. What, then, were the Peelites to do? It was clear that Protection was dead and buried. Should they rejoin their old Conservative friends, or should they draw closer to their late Free-Trade allies, going into opposition to Lord Derby's Ministry? Or should they follow a third course, viz. that of maintaining a position of independence and watching events?

Palmer was very loth to break with the Conservatives. He disliked and dreaded the advance of Radicalism and Democracy, and he believed that that advance could only be checked by the co-operation against it of all moderate Conservatives. Lord Derby's Ministry was a stop-gap only. It must fall almost immediately; and then the Peelites would naturally and rightly exercise the predominant influence in a newly constituted party. These views were very fully asserted in a letter to Cardwell, which was shown to Gladstone and the Duke of Newcastle. But, as we know, they did not prevail. The Prime Minister and the Peelites—Gladstone, Sir James Graham, Sidney Herbert, Cardwell, and the rest—might easily have come together, but the latter could not forgive Disraeli for the virulence of his attacks on their late revered leader; and it may well be doubted also whether Disraeli would have felt at all inclined to welcome back the predominating influence of such powerful colleagues. Palmer accordingly determined to maintain his independence, and might, perhaps, have been re-elected had not the whole influence of the Derby Government, great in a dockyard town, been used against him. The Ministerial candidate was returned, but his triumph was of short duration, as he was unseated for bribery, and in May 1853 Roundell Palmer became once more member for Plymouth.

As a matter of course Palmer gave his support to the Coalition Ministry of Lord Aberdeen, that most peace-loving of Prime Ministers, under whose Premiership the country embarked on the only great European war in which she has

engaged since Waterloo; but when, on the fall of Lord Aberdeen, Lord Palmerston succeeded to power the Peelites once more assumed an independent position, and secured the sympathies of Palmer by their efforts to bring about a peace. It was in these years that he made acquaintance in the House of Commons with Lord Aberdeen's son and private secretary, Arthur Gordon (now Lord Stanmore), and perhaps the most valuable portion of the remainder of these volumes consists of the letters addressed by Palmer to this most intimate of all his friends. Their friendship naturally brought about a closer social intercourse between Palmer and Lord Aberdeen, whom Palmer always ranked very high indeed among British statesmen, though he did not easily bring himself to assent to Lord Aberdeen's view of statesmanship, viz. that practical questions must wait to be dealt with till public opinion is ripe, and 'that under our system of government any long foresight, on points which the classes concerned and the people at large do not understand to require new legislation, is not possible.' 'Opportunism' was a qualification for statesmanship that did not stand high in Palmer's eyes; and he breaks out in an observation, in a letter to Arthur Gordon, that under our system 'it almost seems that a great man must become a small one to succeed in governing.' In the same letter, in discussing the memoir of Sir Robert Peel, he refers to these difficulties of our system, and again shows his distaste for opportunism. Palmer revered Peel highly, yet he declares he does not think it possible for his most ardent admirers to call him a really great man without setting up a low standard of greatness, since

'in this very memoir Peel vindicates one of the main acts of his life (an act, I should say, of the plainest justice and the highest policy), not because it was just and politic, but merely on the ground of irresistible public necessity; leaving it to be inferred that he thought that the resistance of that measure would have continued to be right, if it had continued to be possible, and it became wrong only because it was checkmated.'

Roundell Palmer, it need hardly be said, would much have preferred an Aberdeen to a Palmerston Ministry, and at the end of 1856 the Peelites were again anxiously questioning themselves and each other as to how they ought to act. The alliance of the last ten years with the Liberal party, though the Coalition Ministry had broken down, could not but have done much to encourage personal terms of friendship between Liberal and Peelite politicians. With

many of the leading Whigs, such as Sir George Grey, Palmer had grown into great intimacy, while we hear of no social *rapprochement* with Lord Derby or his followers. Palmer writes to Cardwell at this time * that Gladstone seemed to be the only one of the Peelites who showed any disposition to join the Conservative Opposition. Were they, then, if invited, to join as units the Ministry of Lord Palmerston? To Palmer, holding as he did the professional lead in the Chancery Courts, the matter was of great personal importance, as his position would give him a claim to a law officership on the occurrence of a vacancy; but neither at this time nor at any other had the prospect of office much, if any, influence in determining his political action. Cardwell answered that, for his own part, he did not share the Peelite distrust of Palmerston, he had no fear of the excessive Radicalism of the Whig Ministry, and, with Lord Aberdeen's full approval, he was himself prepared to throw in his lot with that party, all the more that in his eyes the Conservatives, under the leadership of Disraeli, were rapidly losing all character and reputation both in the House of Commons and the country. Cardwell, moreover, unlike Palmer, though he admired Gladstone, and would willingly support his leadership of the House of Commons, heartily disliked his ecclesiastical leanings, and would not at all like to see the patronage of the Church in such hands.

What then, writes † Palmer to Arthur Gordon, ought he to do? Once more he reviews the recent history of parties, and discusses the existing position. In many ways he would have liked the leadership of Gladstone; but if Gladstone really meant to join the Conservatives he would carry hardly any one with him, and no strong Ministry would result.

'Gladstone would bring, indeed, his own splendid powers; but their moral weight would be much broken in the opinion both of the House and of the country, which esteems variableness in political attachments to be the cardinal sin of a statesman. And after all Gladstone, with all those qualities which make us admire and love him, baffles all calculation by the great individuality of his mind—at once conscientious and ambitious, subtle and vehement, impulsive and discriminating. He is a comet, the elements of whose orbit are as yet but imperfectly known. It is a great question with me personally whether to commit myself to him for better or worse. I think I could decide to do so if it were merely or mainly a question of my own ambition or self-interest. But, unfortunately, I have a perverse

* November 3, 1856.

† November 9, 1856.

habit of thinking for myself, and a conscience which, when I have formed a decided opinion upon any matter of real consequence, drives me to act upon it. I have found myself differing from him before, and I may do so again. Even upon Church questions, upon which we go a long way together, I doubt whether I am not a good deal more Protestant than he is. It is one thing to follow such a man as the guiding and animating spirit of an organised, intelligible party, and another to go with him as the centre of gravity of a few atoms projected into infinite space.'

But there was another powerful personality in the House of Commons whose conduct and character were hardly less important than were those of Mr. Gladstone in determining the shape into which the still unsettled political combinations of that day were ultimately to be cast. Palmer, as appears later on in the letter just quoted, would have found no difficulty in associating with Lord Robert Cecil (now Lord Salisbury) and other Conservative leaders, but a real Conservative union became most improbable in view of 'the sinister influence of an adventurer like Disraeli upon the character and fortunes of any party with whom he may be associated, and the total impossibility of either getting rid of him altogether or safely throwing him into the back-ground.'

These speculations were put an end to by Lord Palmerston's action with regard to the affair of the *lorcha* 'Arrow' and the Chinese war of 1857. Palmer joined Gladstone and most of the Peelites in uniting with Lord John Russell, Mr. Cobden, and the Conservative Opposition in censuring the high-handed action of the British representative in China, which was heartily supported by the Prime Minister. Palmer's vote and speech on this occasion cost him his seat at Plymouth, and Lord Palmerston and the war party obtained a great majority at the General Election over the heterogeneous forces of their opponents. 'However highly,' says Lord Selborne,* 'the British people may value the blessings of peace, the occasions are rare on which they do not support their Government at the beginning of a war; and the mere suggestion of an insult to the British flag is enough to excite a great deal of feeling, sometimes more patriotic than just.'

When Gladstone joined, in 1859, the Government of Lord Palmerston, the separate action of the Peelites as a party came to an end. Palmer was still absent from the House of Commons, caring, as usual, very little for prospects of office,

* Part i. vol. ii. p. 325.

but fired with a desire to emulate the example of men 'like Sir Samuel Romilly and M. Guizot' and do some real service to his country. In 1861, on the death of Lord Chancellor Campbell, legal changes and promotions became necessary, and a seat was found for Palmer in Lord Zetland's Whig borough of Richmond. On July 1 he became Solicitor-General, stipulating, however, that he should be free to take his own line on two subjects to which he attached extreme importance, viz. Church rates and marriage with a deceased wife's sister.

As a law officer of the Crown questions of momentous importance arising out of our position of neutrality during the American Civil War came before him. The 'Trent affair' of 1861-2, and the cases of the 'Alabama' and other cruisers, are narrated in these 'Memorials.' Palmer's observations on these matters, especially on the cases of the cruisers, which did so much damage to the commerce of the Northern States, merit careful attention, and certainly clear the then Government of any undue leaning towards the Southern States, or of any slackness in the maintenance of our neutrality. Lord Palmerston's Ministry, though suffering some loss of credit in its failure to protect Denmark against German and Austrian aggression, retained its majority in the House of Commons, and on an appeal to the country in 1865 once more received the support of the people. On the death of Lord Palmerston in October of that year Lord Russell became for the second time Prime Minister, and Mr. Gladstone—now member not for Oxford, but for South Lancashire, and 'unmuzzled'—leader of the House of Commons. And so 'a new era began,' and Roundell Palmer, now Attorney-General, found himself for the first time member of a Ministry sincerely bent upon pressing forward without any delay genuine and thorough reform. All the old dreams of a great Conservative union to arrest the march of democracy had passed away. To the great gain of the Liberal party and cause he had thrown in his lot with the reformers, and, till Mr. Gladstone twenty years later perpetrated his great surrender to Mr. Parnell, Palmer's wise, moderating, and patriotic counsels were at the service of those who claimed to be on the side of progress.

Throughout his life Roundell Palmer's Conservatism was due much more to his ecclesiastical bias than to any sympathy with old Tory prejudices in favour of 'privilege;' and his original dislike to the onward march of democracy was doubtless diminished by his constant association with

statesmen genuinely attached to reform, yet no less opposed to revolution than he was himself. There was courage on his part, but there was nothing inconsistent with his former principles, in his declaration in May 1866 that his own personal opinions were in favour of household suffrage in the cities and boroughs, thus going far in advance on that subject of almost every man of mark of the day, with the exception of John Bright. The splendid rhetoric of Robert Lowe, in many respects a strong Radical, called forth Palmer's admiration without shaking his opinions; and Gladstone's famous reminder to the Tory party that after all the newly enfranchised electors would be our 'own flesh and blood' (a declaration which brought upon his head the fiercest denunciations of his opponents) contained nothing with which he did not thoroughly sympathise. The following year—the year of the Conservative Reform Bill—Palmer acted up to his professions; that is, he exerted himself with much success to convert the Government scheme, which was full of checks and counterpoises, into a pure and simple household franchise measure. In those days, writes Lord Selborne in his old age, 'no dangerous sentimentality had become a factor in our politics. . . . In 1866, as in 1832, the political leaders were trained statesmen, in whose honesty of purpose and desire to lead the people in constitutional ways confidence might be placed. So at least I believed, and at that time probably it was true.' Perhaps future history may record that these virtues did not forty years ago entirely cease to characterise political leadership, and may point out that to no men in their time were good and wise and patriotic intentions more fiercely denied by their opponents than to the reforming statesmen of 1832 and 1866. It is too true that since then political leaders have done much which deserves the severest censure, but still there is reason to hope that the final verdict of history will be that even in the worst cases these statesmen were honest of purpose, and at least *meant* well.

It was to be expected that Palmer's old friends should accuse him of having turned Radical, to which the retort was easy that he was as Conservative as the leader of the Tory party, and that old party names had completely lost their meaning. While in civil matters he was thus apparently merging in the orthodox Liberalism of the day, in matters ecclesiastical an extreme party of modern ritualists were leaving old High Churchmen like himself far behind them. 'I think you must agree with me,' he writes

in June 1867 to the Rev. Frank Faber, 'in utterly condemning the new spurious race of High Churchmen, than 'whom "to obey" is not better than *vestments*, nor "to hearken" than the *smell of incense*. In scurrilousness, 'especially against the bishops, some of their publications 'so far exceed anything which the "Record" ever wrote in 'its worst days as to make that paper appear, by comparison, 'quite unsectarian and charitable.'

Palmer was soon to show how little his four years of office and his hearty co-operation with the Liberal party had done to destroy his individuality, and 'his inveterate 'habit' of judging and acting for himself on all questions of real importance. At the General Election consequent on the Reform Act of 1867 Gladstone, who had made the Disestablishment of the Irish Church the main issue with the electorate, was enthusiastically supported throughout the three kingdoms, and in December the Queen asked him to form his first Administration. Next day the new Prime Minister offered Palmer the place of Lord Chancellor. It was declined, in spite of the pressure of Gladstone and his old friend Cardwell, on the ground that he felt bound to avow and act upon his opinions on the subject of Disestablishment; but he was at the same time, so he wrote to Mr. Gladstone, determined to reconcile any differences of opinion 'with the maintenance of cordial relations with 'the Liberal party, and a personal attachment towards 'yourself, which I am sure nothing can ever disturb.' Palmer both spoke and voted against the second reading of the Government Bill, his main objection being to the Disendowment provisions, an essential portion of the measure. In committee and in private negotiations between the supporters and opponents of the Bill he exerted every effort to mitigate what he thought would be the harshness and severity of its operation. And he succeeded in the by no means easy task of frankly opposing the policy of Ministers without any breach of the friendly relations that previously existed between them.

Curiously enough it was in the discussion of the Land Bill of 1871, and not on the Irish Church Bill of 1868, that Mr. Gladstone felt most inclined warmly to resent the criticisms of Sir Roundell Palmer. The latter supported the principle of the Bill, but in committee supported certain amendments of detail against the strong wish of the Government, or at least of its leader. 'Gladstone was 'offended. It was always one of his defects to have no

'just sense of the proportion of things. This made him 'irritable under the most friendly criticism—disposed to 'exalt details into principles, and to magnify much beyond 'its value every concession which he could be induced to 'offer.' Gladstonian organs began to speak of Palmer as a 'candid friend,' and an interchange of letters took place, in which the Minister complained that Palmer was 'bringing 'into a focus the scattered elements of disapproval;' and the independent member replied that his convictions prevented his remaining silent, and that he felt it a duty to maintain according to his lights 'the principles upon 'which property and society are based.' Still the last thing Palmer wished was to injure the Government or endanger their Bill, and accordingly he ultimately forbore from pressing upon them concessions they had absolutely determined to refuse. 'Gladstone's mind,' wrote Palmer to Sir Arthur Gordon (quoting Archbishop Whately's observation after reading his book on 'Church and State'), 'is a sort of *cul de sac*, without a thoroughfare.' And as to what might be Gladstone's future courses Palmer once again was deeply troubled.

We need not follow Palmer's career in the short time that still remained to him as a private member. He showed himself, on the whole, a steady party man, supporting his friends on the question of the Royal Warrant on Army Purchase, which he considered the least objectionable method of escape from an *impasse*, and earning the especial gratitude of the Ministry by lending his powerful and much needed assistance to shield them from the fierce attacks to which the so-called 'Collier Job' had exposed them. The defence he made then he repeats in his book, and it certainly goes far towards vindicating the action of Lord Hatherley in circumstances which *prima facie* bore a very unpleasant aspect. In the summer of 1872 Palmer represented his country at the Geneva arbitration. He returned in October, just as Lord Hatherley, whose eyesight had failed, resigned the seals, and Palmer, with the approval of all men, became Lord Chancellor.

Roundell Palmer had won for himself, by force of his character and abilities, a unique position of influence in the House of Commons. It was recognised on all sides that he had no ends of a personal object in view, and that he was solely bent on serving the true interests of his country. His moderation, the fairness with which he treated those from whom he differed, and the entire absence

from his character of any spirit of personal jealousy or rivalry, gave far more weight than is usual to the counsels of an unofficial and independent member of Parliament, however able. It is said that no offer of the Great Seal had before his time ever been declined on a point of conscience, and in his case a man of less scrupulous honesty would have found it very easy to persuade himself that the policy to which he objected being already virtually an accomplished fact, he would do most good in modifying by his influence in the Cabinet the details of an objectionable Bill. Once again, in more recent days, has the coveted seat on the woolsack been declined on the ground of principle by another statesman. The patriotic sacrifices made by Lord Selborne and Lord James of Hereford have done much to uphold the character of British statesmanship, and to confute the sweeping imputations too often made on the political sincerity of the members of a noble profession.

On the woolsack Lord Selborne showed himself a thorough law reformer, introducing and carrying through Parliament the Judicature Act of 1873, which combined in one Supreme Court all the jurisdictions of then existing Superior Courts. It was a great work, though even reformers may regret that it was found necessary to sweep away so many old names closely associated with English history. Lord Selborne was warmly supported by Lord Cairns, and he had the approval also of Lord Hatherley, Lord Romilly, and most of the other great dignitaries of the law. As regards the Court of Appeal, the Lord Chancellor's proposals were too radical for the public. The House of Lords was ready to part with its judicial authority to the new Court, but opposition originating in Scotland declared itself to this part of the scheme, and ultimately the House of Lords as the supreme court of appeal was retained.

The time, short as it was, that Lord Selborne held the seals during Mr. Gladstone's first Ministry, and the strange manner in which that Ministry ended, naturally made him better acquainted than he had ever been before with the complex character of his chief. Parliament had been summoned to reassemble on February 5, 1874, and at the end of January the Prime Minister took the world, and even his colleagues, by surprise by announcing an immediate dissolution. 'In the Greenwich manifesto, addressed to the whole kingdom, Mr. Gladstone took the unusual course of bidding for a new term of power by the promise of a new

‘ financial policy—undisclosed until then even to the Cabinet —the total repeal of the income tax.’ This project, which he had never mooted during his many years in office as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Prime Minister, was now put before the people, in all outward appearance the considered policy of the Queen’s advisers, but in truth the reckless electioneering bid for popularity of one ambitious man. At the time the project was at all events feasible, for a very large surplus was in view, and there may have been much to be said for the new financial policy. The country, however, rejected the appeal made to its pocket. Mr. Gladstone never afterwards said a single word in favour of his own plan, and the financial policy of the nation, and especially of the Liberal party, has developed in exactly the opposite direction.

The real reason for this sudden dissolution, so fatal in its consequences to the Liberal party, was Mr. Gladstone’s difficulty as to his seat (a very shaky one) at Greenwich. He had accepted the Chancellorship of the Exchequer while still remaining First Lord of the Treasury, receiving half the salary attached to the former and the whole of that belonging to the latter office. The acceptance of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer by statute vacated his seat, unless that acceptance was *in lieu of and in immediate succession* to the Lordship of the Treasury. If, then, Mr. Gladstone had met Parliament in February he would have been liable in heavy penalties for sitting and voting when the seat was vacant. To his own subtle mind, however, his acceptance of the Exchequer appeared to come within the statutory exception as to vacating seats, and he had even persuaded himself that considerable legal authority was on his side. The matter was to have been formally considered in consultation by the Lord Chancellor and the law officers before the meeting of Parliament, and what their opinion would have been there can be no doubt. ‘ From these difficulties a dissolution was the only escape, and I have never doubted that this was the determining cause of the dissolution of January 1874.’ *

A few months later Lord Selborne writes at length on the political situation to Sir Arthur Gordon (September 6, 1874). After considering the position of the new Conservative Government, and the character and qualifications of the men composing it, he turns to his own friends.

* Memorials, part ii. vol. i. p. 330.

‘I cannot say that my opinion of Gladstone, as a statesman, has risen with the opportunities I have had since 1871 of observing him more closely, though my opinion of him *as a man* has certainly suffered nothing. For the *arts* of political management he trusts too implicitly, I think, to whippers-in, and other men, inferior in political earnestness and insight to himself; and, with respect to the business of legislation and government, his mind seems to me to be too one-sided and vehement, and to want accuracy, equability, a sense of proportion and breadth. He can hardly be brought to interest himself at all in matters (even when they are really great matters) in which he is not carried away by some strong attraction; and when he is carried away he does not sympathise with or take counsel with those whose point of view is at all different from his own. This makes it hardly possible for him to be minister, except when it is the time for some heroic measures, for which he can excite public enthusiasm; at other times his mind is not a centre round which other minds can revolve, or which so associates itself with the thoughts and interests of other men as to harmonise and regulate their action in the manner necessary for ordinary good government.’

It was this character of Gladstone’s mind, Lord Selborne continues, which made the latter dread lest his chief should be drawn into revolutionary or Radical measures, such as Disestablishment in England and Scotland, were those questions ever to grow in importance in their influence on political parties.

With Disestablishment Lord Selborne would, of course, have nothing to do under any circumstances, and he gives his friend his reasons for holding that its present conditions of connexion with the State are not such as to trammel the freedom and energy of the Church.

‘I think too,’ he writes, ‘that the strength of the Church of England, whether viewed on the religious or the political side, is so great as to make its destruction not only not inevitable, but hardly possible, but for the effect of internal dissensions; as to which, while I admit that, if the most powerful religious influences in the Church cannot reconcile themselves to the actual terms of the existing settlement, and to their *bona fide* observance and enforcement, the institution cannot stand, I am myself more hopeful than some others that they may be kept within the limits necessary for self-preservation.’

The verdict of the country having been given against Mr. Gladstone, he announced his intention to retire definitely from the lead of the Liberal party. In the session of 1874, however, the Public Worship Regulation Bill was introduced. It had the approval of the majority of the episcopal bench and the support of the Government, but Mr. Gladstone greatly disliked it, and came up from retirement at

Hawarden expressly to oppose it. Lord Selborne, on the whole, favoured the Bill, regretting the introduction of, and the excessive importance given to, mediæval doctrines and practices by 'disintegrating' associations and societies like the English Church Union. A wide difference, in short, existed between the old High Churchmen and the modern ritualists. Lord Selborne disliked the 'society system even 'in those fields of action where Churchmen of all ranks, and of 'all shades of opinion, accepted and made use of it. The new 'extension of it to doctrine, worship, and discipline seemed 'to him to be an intrusion upon the episcopal office, and 'repugnant to the Catholic profession, with which it was 'accompanied.' Lord Selborne founded his amendments to the Bill (which, however, were not accepted) on that very clause of the Preface to the Prayer Book upon which recent proceedings have been taken at Lambeth. According to his scheme, cases in which the Bishop had doubts would have been decided by the provincial court of the Archbishop (of course a true ecclesiastical court, having real jurisdiction), with appeal to the Queen in Council.

Gladstone's retirement from active politics, announced in the spring, was somewhat broken in upon by these unexpected ecclesiastical discussions of the first session of the new Parliament. For the most part, however, he was entirely absorbed in his pamphlet on 'Vaticanism.' Sir Arthur Gordon visited him at Hawarden in November, 'and 'found him quite unable to talk or think of anything except 'religious and ecclesiastical questions. . . . He thought him 'not *quite* so determined as he was not to take office again, 'and he consented to contemplate the possibility of his once 'more being Prime Minister.' Like his correspondent, Sir Arthur Gordon greatly feared that Gladstone's mind was turning towards Disestablishment. All these speculations, however, as to the direction in which Mr. Gladstone's political principles were to develop were rendered vain by the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish question, the Bulgarian atrocities, and the prospect of the country being led by the Disraeli Ministry into a Russian war.

Lord Selborne had, of course, no sympathy with the prevailing 'Jingoism' of that day, and no admiration for an ambitious foreign policy which plumed itself on the power of Great Britain to make her influence felt in every question of European policy. 'Such a disposition,' he writes to Sir Arthur Gordon in September 1878, 'is always agreeable to 'the passions and follies of mankind till they feel its cost too

‘severely. It is the explanation of the popularity of almost all the wars in which this country has ever been engaged, and almost all of which must now appear, to any civilised and dispassionate student of history, to have been impolitic and unjustifiable.’

Lord Selborne heartily agreed with his party in the electoral campaign of 1879–80, and in the spring of the latter year he a second time took his seat on the woolsack in Mr. Gladstone’s second Administration. The Liberal party had obtained a large majority. It was full of confidence in its great leader, and few men in the party doubted that a new era of peace, prosperity, and progress was about to begin.

Alas for these sanguine hopes! Before the fall of that Ministry some good, even great, work was accomplished; but the tone of Lord Selborne’s letters reflects too truly the growing sense of failure and disappointment that soon cast its shadow over the public mind. The General Election had been fought in the main on the question of foreign policy. We had been on the brink of war with Russia; and in Afghanistan and South Africa we had met with disasters.

Assuredly the legacy of difficulties to which Mr. Gladstone succeeded was a heavy one. In South Africa the new Government did not grasp the situation with a firm hand. It did not like to reverse the fatal policy of its predecessors, who had annexed the Transvaal without the free consent plainly given of its people. A rising of the Boers took place in the autumn of 1880, and it was resolved to put it down. The military disasters suffered by our arms rendered the great majority of Englishmen oblivious to every consideration but that of retrieving by victory the national prestige; and the peace by which independence was granted to the Transvaal State was a most unpopular one. Yet the reasons alleged by the Government at the time, and repeated by Lord Selborne in his ‘Memorials,’ deserve to be carefully weighed. They were founded on strong grounds—partly moral, partly political.

‘The negotiation ended in an arrangement by which enough power was reserved to the British Crown to fulfil our original conception of what was desirable, and to make the settlement, if it had been permanent, a good one. But it was not, and the Boers never meant it to be permanent; and before long it underwent a revision, which reduced to a mere name the form of British supremacy which had been retained. The war, however, was at an end; and if the circumstances

were not gratifying to our national pride it was enough that the public conscience ratified the decision of the Government.'

Before, however, the first session of the new Parliament was many weeks old, it was very evident that the handling by the new Ministry of domestic questions was likely to excite the deepest attention of the public. It has often happened that a Ministry and party have lost popularity with the electorate of the day on account of their adherence to a policy for which posterity has had nothing but praise. The Poor Law of 1834, for instance, drew down much popular ill-will on the Government which had passed the Great Reform Bill. To the Ministry of 1880 Ireland was throughout the great source of its trouble, and the real cause of its fall in 1885; but even now history is unable to pronounce whether the sweeping land legislation which Mr. Gladstone induced his colleagues and his party to accept, and Parliament to pass, has been really beneficial to the Irish people. Lord Selborne had very little more liking than other people for Mr. Forster's 'Disturbance Bill,' and he was already almost tempted to envy old friends, like Lord Cardwell, who were not in the Ministry.

In the autumn and winter of 1880-1 lawlessness reached a pitch in Ireland which no Government should have tolerated for a week. Lord Selborne's speech at the Guildhall on November 9, insisting on the primary duty of Ministers to uphold the law, while they energetically endeavoured to find a remedy for popular discontent, caused a demonstration such as had not been heard there for a generation. Lord Selborne's views were shared by almost all responsible men, and accordingly the first proceeding of the session of 1881 was to pass a Coercion Act, not unfortunately a wisely considered measure in view of the condition of affairs it was intended to meet; and the second was to pass the sweeping Land Act of 1881, the foundation of everything that has been done since with regard to land legislation in Ireland. Lord Selborne thought, and probably rightly, that nothing short of the proposals of that measure would have been of use. We are not, however, now discussing the merits or demerits of the new system of land-owning and land-holding then introduced, but the part taken by Lord Selborne.

'I did not doubt,' he writes in his old age, 'that all my colleagues, as well as myself, would stand resolutely by the substance of the settlement then made, in favour of landlord as well as tenant, happen what might, and that they would have the power as well as the will to do it.'

Nor do I doubt now that, if they had done so, that settlement might have been advantageous to men of all classes. My declarations that I considered it beneficial, under the circumstances with which we had to deal, to the owners as well as to the occupiers of land, were absolutely sincere. If I had thought otherwise, if I had supposed that those whose responsibility I shared could have joined hands, as soon as they were out of office, with the League established to drive "landlordism" out of Ireland, and accept the denunciations of that League, instead of the law of the land, as the practical measure of the rights of landlords, and the extent to which they ought to be recognised and enforced, I could not have done any act, or spoken a word, in the direction of what (to me at all events) would have been an inexcusable breach of public duty and good faith.' ('Memorials,' part ii. vol. ii. p. 26.)

Lord Selborne and most of his Cabinet colleagues were in ignorance of the correspondence which preceded the so-called 'Treaty of Kilmainham' and Mr. Forster's resignation. With Lord Spencer, just before the latter's departure to Ireland, and a Committee of the Cabinet, Lord Selborne had agreed upon the heads of a new Coercion Bill, the introduction of which measure in May was in no way due (so he always contended) to the Phoenix Park murders. It should be remembered, however, upon this point that in the Liberal party at the time there was much difference of opinion as to the wisdom of having recourse to fresh coercion, that distinguished members of the party were known to dislike it, that Mr. Parnell believed it would not come to pass, and that among the moderate section of Mr. Gladstone's following his firmness on the question was greatly doubted. It may very well, therefore, be open to question whether, but for the murders of May 6, the Crimes Act of 1882 would really have been pressed through Parliament.

When the Ministry fell three years later their fall was no doubt partly due to the unpopularity they had incurred from the failure to relieve Khartoum and the death of Gordon. There was, in truth, a general sense of failure and disheartenment all round; but undoubtedly one of the causes of their defeat in the House of Commons on Mr. Childers's Budget was the difference of opinion among Liberals as to the renewal of the Crimes Act; and Lord Selborne was not the only member of the Cabinet to whom personally the fall of that Ministry was welcome. The Government had passed a large measure of democratic reform, but otherwise they had done little either at home or abroad to justify the high hopes of 1880. Five years had passed, during which one

eminent statesman after another had felt himself forced on grounds of conscience to relinquish office, and at last absolute rupture was only averted by the well-timed occurrence of a defeat in the House of Commons.* The Liberal party in outward appearance still held together as a whole; but there was no common principle upon which it was united, and its great leader had largely lost the confidence of men who in the past had done much to help him to victory.

Lord Selborne at that period fully expected Mr. Gladstone, now seventy-six years of age, finally to retire from political strife. It would have been well for his future fame had he done so; but that course did not recommend itself either to party managers or himself. The condition of the Liberal party at the dissolution of 1885 is best called to mind by two phrases then in every one's mouth—'the Radical programme' and 'the Gladstone umbrella.' Neither was at all to the taste of Lord Selborne. He was provoked by the vagueness and 'the misty facing both ways fashion' in which Mr. Gladstone in his election address approached public questions of the first importance, and on the other hand he warmly resented the pretensions of Radicals to make 'Disestablishment' a test question for Liberal candidates. Had the Conservative Ministry in its short career of office shown to greater advantage they might perhaps have secured the victory at the polls. They did indeed obtain the help in Great Britain of the Parnellite vote; but a supposed 'Tory-Parnellite alliance' was denounced on every Liberal platform, and certainly brought no real advantage to the Government. The result of the election was to give a majority of eighty-four to the Liberals over the Conservatives. The Irish Home Rulers, however, also numbered eighty-four, so that if they combined with the Conservatives the Liberal majority would disappear.

Every one recollects the consequences to which this unsatisfactory state of parties gave birth—the adoption of the Home Rule policy by Mr. Gladstone, the formation of a Liberal Unionist party, and the defeat of Home Rule in the House of Commons and in the country. Since 1885 the Liberal or Home Rule party has never had a majority in Great Britain.

Lord Selborne was now in his seventy-fifth year. He had worked throughout his life as few men have worked. In

* Lord Selborne to Mr. Goldwin Smith, August 22, 1885.

the spring of 1885 a terrible blow fell upon him in the death of Lady Selborne; but no desire of repose, no private grief, however deep, could hold him back from the performance to the very utmost of his powers of the duty which he felt he owed to his country. Even those who knew him well did not recognise, till he had flung himself into this great struggle, the enthusiasm and fire which, concealed under the appearance of reserve, formed in truth the basis of his nature. We need not refer to his speeches or letters of those days. This was a very different contest from that on the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. Then he made a noble protest. Now the gloves were off, and he was fighting for victory. Those who had listened in the past to the powerful and elaborate arguments with which the great equity lawyer was accustomed to reply in the House of Lords to his formidable political opponent and lifelong friend Lord Cairns were astounded at the ease with which he could catch the ear and stir the feeling of great popular audiences, convincing them by the sheer force of his own sincerity of the patriotism of his motives and of the justice of his cause.

Lord Selborne saw the defenders of the Union carry all before them in 1886. He saw the Home Rulers obtain in 1892 a majority sufficient to give them office without real power to carry out their ends; and he himself took part in the debate and division in the House of Lords which, amid the plaudits of the people, rejected the last of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bills. He died in the spring of 1895, and thus did not live to see the consummation of his long cherished hope that an Administration and party might be formed out of statesmen from both sides of politics united upon a great principle, determined to uphold law and order in every part of the kingdom, and ready to welcome and forward every practical reform which promised benefit to the people. That, indeed, happened only a few weeks after he had been laid in his grave at Blackmoor; but it had been long foreseen, and the end of his life was cheered by the knowledge that that which he had so long earnestly desired was practically already won.

We would not spoil by quotation the admirable analysis Lord Selborne has left us of the character of Mr. Gladstone.* Very much of the interest of these volumes turns on the history of that gradual loss of confidence in Mr. Gladstone, increasing as years went on, which circumstances forced upon

* Memorials, part ii. vol. ii. p. 339.

the unwilling mind of his friend. To young Roundell Palmer fresh from Oxford and for many a year afterwards Gladstone was the coming hero of his age, who was to inspire with his own lofty ideas in Church and State a new generation of statesmen. Half a century later Lord Selborne had come to regard him as the most dangerous opponent of those very principles which they both had cherished. He knew Gladstone's power over men, and his singular fascination, and he made excuses on that ground for the irresponsible fashion in which too many had followed him. 'I was too long under the master's spell not to have some fellow feeling with them, for I know how impossible it is not to admire and how very easy to love him.'

We have here intended to deal with the political side only of Lord Selborne's career, and have consequently left out of sight much that makes these 'Memorials' valuable and interesting. Lord Davey, Lord Hobhouse and others have contributed sketches of Roundell Palmer at the Bar, portraying in very graphic fashion the special attributes of his forensic method, and contrasting them with those of his eminent rivals, such as Bethel, Rolt, and Cairns. Of his almost incredible industry men will long speak—how once he worked for sixty hours without cessation, and how at another time he was not in bed between Monday and Saturday! We have also had to omit all reference to his very elaborate and valuable discussion of the great ecclesiastical causes in which he took part or felt an interest.

We have, moreover, said nothing of his home life or of the very numerous letters written to his friends on matters purely personal and private. Yet here perhaps may best be read the real character of the man. Some of these letters, written when the writer or his correspondent was suffering the greatest of human sorrows, are full of tenderness, and beauty, and wisdom. Lady Sophia Palmer contributes a few pages descriptive of the last days of her father's life, and of what he was to those who knew him best. The true greatness and goodness of Lord Selborne are revealed in these volumes, which bear out to the full Lady Sophia's last paragraph.

'Perhaps the secret of his influence lay in absolute unselfseeking, in entire truthfulness, the directness and simplicity of a little child; in his tendency to humility as regarded others, in sternness as regarded himself, in an inspiring sense of duty which pervaded his society, in his matter-of-course relationship with his God.'

ART. IX.—1. *A Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connaught*, written A.D. 1684. By RODERIC O'FLAHERTY. Edited with Notes and Illustrations by Hardiman. Dublin: 1846.

2. *Letters from the Irish Highlands of Connemara*. London: 1824.

3. *Annual Reports of the Congested Districts Board for Ireland*. Dublin: 1898-99.

THE task which we propose to ourselves in the present article is, happily, more congenial than is sometimes the case when Irish topics are under consideration. Of the abundant literature of pamphlets, essays, and reviews to which Ireland has given occasion in the present century, it is to be feared that a very large—not to say the larger—part are occupied with the difficulties and the distresses, the troubles and the dangers, which the state of Ireland has so frequently presented for consideration and criticism. But it is not with the darker or less attractive side of the picture that we are concerned here. Connemara, indeed, like every backward and unfruitful region, has its problems for the economist and for the statesman; and these have been the objects in recent years of the attentive solicitude of the Parliament and people of the United Kingdom. But it is not mainly to those problems that we wish to direct attention now. Our design is rather to bring into prominence certain facts and features in the history and traditions of this westernmost portion of the kingdom, which, while not very generally known, or very readily ascertained, are likely to interest the increasing number of persons whom the enlargement of locomotive facilities has attracted of late years to Connemara.

We may begin by defining the geographical area to which the name Connemara has been somewhat loosely and erroneously given; for the application to what is spoken of in modern guide-books as the 'Irish Highlands' of a term which literally signifies 'bays of the sea' is a comparatively modern habit, and one which, if unexplained, might create a certain confusion. In strictness the name belongs only to the sea-girt district which is comprised in the barony of Ballynahinch, and which, extending from the Killeries on the north to Killkerrin Bay on the south, has for its eastern boundary the rugged and treeless elevations known to the natives as Bennabeola, but more familiar to travellers

as 'The Twelve Pins.' This district, which is the real Connemara, and which, according to a more accurate etymology than that above referred to, should properly be written Conmacnamara—the sea territory of the descendants of Conmac—is, however, but a small part of the region to which the name Connemara is popularly applied, and of which we mean to speak in the present article. The latter comprises, in addition, the high tableland known as Joyce's country to the north-east, corresponding to the half-barony of Ross, and the low-lying moorland and bogs popularly called Iar-Connaught to the south-east, corresponding to the barony of Moycullen. Thus Connemara, in its wider sense, consists of all that part of the county of Galway which stretches westward from Lough Mask and Lough Corrib to the sea, a territory extending some fifty miles from east to west, and about forty from north to south.

The area we have thus defined is separated on three sides by natural boundaries from the rest of the country, and, as its northern extremity is conterminous with part of the county Mayo—that is, with a district which, after Connemara itself, is among the wildest in Ireland—the hard facts of geography long decreed Connemara to an isolation which there was little in its native characteristics to counteract. Wild and barren and desolate, there was little in it to attract the most predatory or hungriest of the clans or septs that dwelt upon its borders; and thus it happens that, though its history prior to the thirteenth century is an almost absolute blank, there is probably no part of Ireland in which it is possible to trace so accurately the course of modern Irish history, or to discern so clearly the marks of the gradual development and consolidation of English rule. It is with this aspect of Connemara—one which we feel warranted in saying is curiously unfamiliar even to those who are intimately acquainted with its moors and mountains, its vales and lakes and bogs—that we chiefly propose to deal in the following pages. And though we shall conclude by offering some reflections upon the possibilities of the district, and the steps which have been, and are being, taken for its development in pursuance of the policy so sagaciously instituted for its benefit by Mr. Arthur Balfour, it is rather the past than either the present or future of Connemara that will chiefly engage our attention.

'I'll bless you, any way; but sorra foot I'll ever put upon you.' Such is the apostrophe imputed by accepted tradition to the patron saint of Ireland, as, viewing, from the bare

summit of the gaunt mountain range that continued to form for fourteen centuries from the date of his utterance an impassable barrier to civilisation, the bleak and desolate plain that stretched before him to the sea, St. Patrick looked for the first and last time on the barren solitudes of Connemara. Whether the missionary saint ever indulged in the half-humorous, half-pathetic speculation attributed to him, or whether, as is more probable, the saying was ascribed to him by the pious anxiety of the people to show that this western wilderness had at least been seen by St. Patrick, we need not inquire too curiously; but it is certain that the saint's reluctance to extend his journeyings into Connemara stands in little need of excuse. Hopelessly barren and impassable as its untrodden wilds appeared, even a thousand years later, the aspect of Connemara must have been as forbidding to a fifth-century traveller as the Arctic regions are to-day. For though St. Fechin and other disciples of St. Patrick in the seventh century undoubtedly visited its farthest coasts, and planted the first seeds of Christianity among its rude inhabitants, the evangelisation of Connemara was in no sense synonymous with its civilisation. Even the Danes, whom the numerous fjord-like bays of its coast might be expected to attract, fought shy of its bleak and inhospitable wastes. The only record of their visit to its coasts is significant. In 812, says the Chronicle, they entered Connemara, where they slaughtered the inhabitants. For long ages the country remained absolutely *terra incognita* to Great Britain and the rest of the world. Centuries elapsed after the English conquest ere the rulers of the island became so much as aware of the existence of the district, and down to the time of the late Tudor sovereigns it remained entirely unexplored.

A country without a history cannot be expected to produce an historian, and Connemara remained undescribed till close on the end of the seventeenth century. In 1684 Roderic O'Flaherty, well known to students of Irish history as the author of the 'Ogygia, or Chronicle of Irish Events,' set down the earliest written account of Connemara in his 'Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connaught.' Even this work, however, which remained unprinted for more than a century and a half from the date of its composition, was not a history or chronicle, but, as its name denotes, was confined to a topographical account of the ancient history of Iar Connaught. O'Flaherty's work was written, it is understood, as part of a design to illus-

trate Sir William Petty's celebrated Down survey by a series of treatises descriptive of the physical features of the country, and his account is little more than a brief and bald summary, which would not fill more than about thirty pages of this Review. But though thus statistical in its design, the chorographical account is not exclusively matter-of-fact in its particulars. At the era of the Down survey statistics had not been completely divorced from literature, nor had Roderic O'Flaherty fully absorbed the scientific spirit. The chorographical account of H-Iar Connaught is a quaint but attractive blend of fact and fancy, history and romance, accurate topography and fabled story. And its pages, while they faithfully describe the physical characteristics, reflect no less accurately the unspoiled loneliness which is still the charm of Connemara, and which must have been yet more marked two centuries back, when 'wolves, deere, foxes, badgers, hedgehogs, hares, rabbits, squirrels, martins, weasles, and the amphibious otter' were the principal and almost exclusive possessors of its primitive solitudes.

O'Flaherty's description of the ornithology of Connemara and his paragraph on the mystical island of O'Brasil offer a fair example of the style and method of this seventeenth-century chronicler; and the quaint mixture of the strictly true with the grossly improbable or obviously mythical will excuse the length of our quotations:—

'Both sea and land have their several kind of birds. Here is a kind of black eagle, which kills the deere by grappling him with his claw and forcing him to run headlong into precipices. Here the ganet soars into the sky to espy his prey in the sea under him, and swallows up whole herrings in a morsel. This bird flies through the ships' sails, piercing them with his beak. Here is the bird engendered by the sea out of timber long lying in sea. Some call them clakes and soland-geese, some puffins, others bernacles, because they resemble them. We call them *girrinn*. I omit other ordinary fowl and birds, as bernacles, wildgeese, swans, cocks of the woods and woodcocks, choughs, rooks, Cornish choughs with red legs and bills, etc. Here is fowl that custom allowed to eat on fasting days, as cormorant feeding only on fish, as also birds found on the high cliffs and rocks of Aran, which never fly but over the sea, which, with all other numerous sea birds, yield a great store of feathers. . . .

'From the Isles of Aran, and the west continent, often appears visible that enchanted island called "O'Brasil," and in Irish Beg-Ara, or the lesser Aran, set down in cards of navigation. Whether it be real and firm land, kept hidden by special ordinance of God as the terrestrial paradise, or else some illusion of airy clouds appearing on the surface of the sea, or the craft of evil spirits, is more than our judgements can sound out.'

The history of Connemara, so far as it can be said to have one, from the English conquest to the time of Cromwell, is in effect the family history of the clan of which the author of the 'Chorographical Description' was a representative. The ancient sept of the O'Flaherties, who had for centuries inhabited the plains of Magh Seola, now the barony of Clare, in the county of Galway, were driven to emigrate in the thirteenth century, as the result of collision with the Norman De Burgos, to the west of Lough Corrib, and established themselves for centuries as the untamed and almost unchallenged masters of Iar Connaught and Connemara. They speedily overthrew the aboriginal septs of MacConry and O'Heyny, who acquiesced with the best grace open to them in an overlordship which they had not strength to combat, and by which they were finally annihilated. Thenceforward the O'Flaherties cherished a fierce hatred of the Norman or English settlers, and the history of Galway is largely the story of the forays of the O'Flaherties. It is related of one of the sixteenth-century O'Flaherties that he was wont to climb to the top of the eminence of Bunowen, which dominates the peninsula that terminates in Slyne Head, and 'declare war against all the potentates of the world, but especially against that pitiful, pettyfogging town 'of Galway;' while, on the other hand, the western gate of Galway city bore the legend—

'From the fury of the O'Flaherties
Good Lord deliver us.'

The practically unchallenged predominance of the 'ferocious O'Flaherties' over the whole territory of Iar-Connaught and Connemara lasted down to the later years of Elizabeth, and the authority of the O'Flaherty chieftains over their wild clansmen remained for fully three centuries as independent of external control as though no English Deputy had ever crossed the Channel. In 1538, indeed, the successful assertion of English authority in the West, which followed on the capture of the castle of Athlone by Lord Leonard Gray, the energetic lieutenant of Henry VIII., led for the first time to a temporary but very nominal submission of the Connaught chieftains to the English crown; and among other acknowledgements received by the Deputy was that of Hugh O'Flaherty, then chief of his name. But the admission of dependence was withdrawn with the withdrawal of the force which had extorted it. In the generation immediately succeeding Hugh's the celebrated Murrough of the Battle-

axes was strong enough to defeat any forces which the Crown could bring into the field against him. Thereupon Elizabeth, always willing to conciliate an opponent who was strong enough to defy her, was constrained to offer O'Flaherty a free pardon under the great seal 'for all murders, homicides, killings, etc., by him at any time heretofore committed,' and to constitute the chieftain by letters patent Captain of Iar-Connaught, on his giving an empty promise to observe the Queen's peace. But this arrangement, which was entered into in 1569, did not prevent Murrough from joining with the Burkes and fighting against the Queen's forces in the following year, and the dubiousness of a loyalty which would have been withheld altogether but for the opposition of other members of his clan to Murrough's chieftainship is attested by no fewer than five successive general pardons from the Queen.

In 1585, however, Murrough O'Flaherty became the victim of the policy, successfully enforced by Sir John Perrott, of reducing the power of the great chieftains by an alteration in their status which substituted for the ancient attributes of Irish chieftainry the English relationship between sovereign and lord and the English tenure of property. Murrough became a party to the well-known instrument called the Composition of Connaught, and accepted the degree of knighthood. This submission did not betoken the final reduction of O'Flaherty's power, for in the following year he again raised the standard of rebellion, and thenceforward his boisterous proceedings are writ large in the annals of the Four Masters. But his conformity to English law and adoption of English customs effectually destroyed his authority with his own sept, and a few years later he was constrained to surrender to the Crown all his titles and possessions, and to 'disclaim and surrender for ever the name and title of chieftain, and the name of O'Flaherty and all Irish customs to the same name belonging,' receiving in lieu thereof a free pardon and a grant of the lands to himself and his heirs.

Murrough of the Battle-axes survived by but a few years the extinction of his independent authority; but his successors in the seventeenth century continued the game of alternate insurrection and submission until the sons of Murrough na Maor (or the Steward), identifying themselves with the Rebellion of 1641, paid the penalty with their heads. With them perished the last semblance of the ancient greatness of the O'Flahertys of Iar-Connaught.

The territory was included among the districts to which Cromwell refused protection, and the whole of the 'ancient 'seigniorship of the O'Flaherties' was parcelled out after the Restoration among a number of patentees, of whom Richard Martin, ancestor of the well-known Martins of Ballynahinch, obtained the lion's share of the partitioned inheritance. In the 'Ogygia' of our author Roderic O'Flaherty, who had enjoyed prior to these confiscations a substantial patrimony, we hear the pathetic wail of one of the despoiled inheritors of the once splendid possessions of the O'Flahertys :

'The Lord hath wonderfully recalled the royal heir to his kingdom, with the applause of all good men and without dust and blood; but me He hath not found worthy to be restored to the kingdom of my cottage. . . . I live a banished man within the bounds of my native soil; a spectator of others enriched by my birthright; an object of condoling to my relations and friends, and a condoler of their miseries.'

Needless to say, the rule of the O'Flaherties, with its almost continuous sequence of bickerings and ceaseless forayings of one chieftain against another, varied only by the temporary unity induced by the necessity of combining to resist external attack, was not favourable to the spread of the peaceful arts in Connemara. O'Flaherty, writing in 1684, speaks of the people as 'so observant of the law that now 'for above thirty years of peace there was not one body 'executed out of the whole territories for any aggression, 'and scarce any brought to the bar for misdemeanour.' But the peace that prevailed at the close of the seventeenth century was the peace of poverty and impotence, as may sufficiently appear from the following extract from 'A 'Journey to Connaught,' undertaken in 1709 by Thomas Molyneux, brother to the well-known William Molyneux, who thus details his impressions of Iar-Connaught :

'In my life I never saw so strangely stony and wild a country. I did not see all this way (in three hours' ride from Galway) three living creatures, not one house or ditch, not one bit of corn, not even a bit of land, for stones. In short, nothing appeared but stones and sea; nor could I conceive an inhabited country so destitute of all signs of people and art as this is. Yet here, I hear, live multitudes of barbarous, uncivilised Irish after their old fashions, who are here, one and all, in the defence of any of their own or even other rogues that fly to them, against the laws of Ireland. So that here is the asylum, here are committed the most barbarous murders after shipwrecks, and all manner of rogueries protected, that the sheriff of this county scarce dare appear on the west side of Galway bridge, which, though Ireland is now generally esteemed wholly civilised, may well

be called the end of the English pale, which distinction should still have place as long as the inhabitants live with us in so open a state of nature.'

With the extinction of the O'Flaherties and the confiscation of their lands the history of Connemara as a semi-independent territory comes to an end. The descendants of the ancient owners faded, with scarcely an exception, into almost complete obscurity; while the MacConrrys, O'Heynys, and other families sank into a poverty in which their origin was completely forgotten. Even their bards forgot to sing the ancient glories of their race; and while the peasantry by the winter firesides have handed down from generation to generation the rhymed fables of sprite and fairy and goblin, their verses seldom or never record the bold deeds of their forefathers, or perpetuate the memory of those

' Old unhappy far-off things,
And battles long ago,'

which make up the vague record of the history of West Connaught.

Under its new lords Connemara soon settled down into a condition not essentially different, so far as regarded the mode of living of the majority of its inhabitants, from what had prevailed under the earlier owners of the confiscated territory. Nothing was done to improve the methods of cultivation or to raise the standard of comfort among the peasantry, nor was any attempt made to bring the district into closer touch with the rest of the country, by improving the means of communication with Galway. Possessed of estates which in their extent might almost be considered principalities, and far distant from the seat of government, the new owners of the soil were left to exercise an unrestricted authority over their dependants, and so to enjoy an absolute immunity from external interference; insomuch that one of the most powerful of them was able, as lately as the beginning of this century, to 'thank God! the king's writ does not run in Connemara.'

Thus it comes about that of Connemara in the eighteenth century few accounts, if any, survive. The indefatigable traveller, Bishop Pocock, following St. Patrick's example, was content to view its borders and pass by; while none of the remaining travellers who have left records of the journeys in Ireland at this period came near it at all. Nor is this surprising, for the country remained practically

inaccessible to ordinary travellers. Of roads fit for vehicles there were none, and down to the close of the century nothing had been done to provide them. Rough bridle-paths, in which the sure-footed Connemara ponies could alone be trusted to move securely, provided the only means of communication in this 'coarse, moorish, and mountainous' country, full of high rocky hills, large valleys, and great 'bogs.' Even as late as the present century it was possible for the celebrated Dick Martin to lower the pride of his sovereign in the Long Walk at Windsor by boasting of his Connemara 'avenue,' which was thirty miles in length. And the approach to Ballynahinch Castle was long the only civilised route through the bogs of Iar-Connaught; for it was not until the race of the Martins was nearly run that a serious attempt was made by the proprietor to provide direct and effective communication between Galway and Clifden. In the later twenties and early thirties a praiseworthy and successful endeavour to develop the country by means of new roads was made under the direction of the eminent engineer, Nimmo, to whose energy and philanthropic enthusiasm modern Connemara owes an abiding and inextinguishable debt. For it is with the building of these roads that the history of Connemara as a tourist-resort begins. In the years immediately following their construction the hitherto unknown and unvisited region was traversed independently by several writers, of whom Inglis, the author of 'Spain in 1830,' is perhaps the best known, who recorded their experiences in narratives which still retain their interest; while in 1838 the learned, ingenious, and facetious antiquary, Caesar Otway, embalmed in a volume, which from its humour and observation deserves the reputation it has long enjoyed, many of the fast perishing traditions of the country.

But to anyone who desires to realise the conditions of life in Connemara in the early part of the century, and to understand how primitive life could still be in this outlying corner of the three kingdoms, two pictures of the district may be confidently recommended. The first of these, the 'Letters from the Irish Highlands,' published in 1823, records the experiences and impressions of an amiable and accomplished proprietor in one of the most remote corners of the territory, who with his family had removed from his estate in a neighbouring county to settle among his wild and untutored dependants in Connemara. His estate had previously been in the hands of a middleman, who had held

for many years under a long lease, and who was reputed to derive from his management of the lands a profit rent of 1,500*l.* a year. Of the mode of living of this middleman, who was the person of by far the greatest means and consideration for many miles round, and whose authority as the only magistrate in the neighbourhood 'received an 'additional sanction from the circumstance of his claiming 'to be a lineal descendant from the old Kings of the West, 'O'Flaherties of centuries long since gone by,' the following description is given by his superior landlord:—

'The big house, then, was a thatched cabin about sixty feet long by twenty wide, and to all appearance only one story high. It ostensibly contained an eating-parlour and sitting-room, about twenty feet long by sixteen or seventeen wide, from each of which opened two small bedrooms. We had oral evidence in the night that there was other accommodation in the thatch; but those who had the benefit of it were placed far beyond our ken. Conceive then our surprise at being gradually introduced to at least two dozen individuals, all parlour boarders. There was mine host—a venerable old man of eighty-six, his young and blooming wife, a daughter with her husband, three or four gay young ladies from Galway, two young gentlemen, two priests, and several others, evidently clansmen and relations. As they filed in we sat by, wondering whence they came, but when the adjournment to the dining-room took place it was evident, from the profusion of the board, that there would be no deficiency in their entertainment. Among a variety of curious articles on the table, we particularly noticed a fine dish of *seakale*—a delicacy which, at Christmas, you (in England) would, I fancy, have some difficulty in procuring without much adventitious aid. A room full of company, the fumes of a large dinner, and the warmth of a bright turf fire, rendered the heat almost insupportable; and during the feast, amid the clatter of knives and forks, and the mingled voices of our party, we were indulged *ad libitum* with the dulcet notes of the bagpipe, which continued its incessant drone until the ladies retired from the table. I need not expatiate on the wines and spirits, though both had probably been imported duty free many years before, and were certainly good enough to tempt the whole party to pay a sufficient devotion to the jolly god. It is but fair, however, to mention, in reply to certain scandalous reports that are abroad concerning us, that no one was compelled to drink more than he felt inclined.'

So much for a well-to-do Connemara 'interior' not long after the century opened. For a conception of the exterior aspect of the country, and the difficulties that beset travellers even as late as 1834, we will resort to the vivid pen of Miss Edgeworth. In that year the novelist journeyed as far as Ballynahinch, and the story of her adventures has been published in the 'Life and Letters' of the authoress,

edited a few years ago by Mr. Augustus Hare. Miss Edgeworth's account of her experiences is not only admirable as a memorial of those halcyon days of the epistolary art, when a narrative extending over forty pages of print could still take the form of a familiar letter, but is a delightful example of that combination of accurate observation with swiftness and lightness of touch which won for the authoress of 'Patronage' the unstinted and enthusiastic admiration of Scott. We cannot do better than find room for a few passages from Maria Edgeworth's description of her un-availing endeavour—accompanied by some English friends and travelling in all the luxury of a carriage and four—to reach Clifden from Maam, in the heart of Connemara, a distance of about eighteen miles.

'Mr. Nimmo's new road was not opened; and why, because it was not finished. Only a mile or so remained unfinished, and as that one mile of unmade unfinished road was impassable by man, boy, or Connemara pony, what availed the new road for heavy carriage and four horses? There was no possibility of going round, as I proposed; we must go by the old road, if road it could be called, all bog and bogholes, as our host explained to us. "It would be wonderful if we could ever get over it, for no carriage had ever passed, nor thought of attempting to pass, nothing but a common car these two years at least, except the Marquis of Anglesea and suite, and his Excellency was on horseback." The Scotchman could not describe exactly how many *bad steps* there were, but he forewarned us that they were bad enough, and as he sometimes changed the words *bad steps* into *sloughs* . . . the first bad step we came to was indeed a slough, but only a couple of yards wide across the road. The horses, the moment they set their feet upon it, sank up to their knees, and were whipped and spurred, and they struggled and floundered, and the carriage, as we inside passengers felt, sank and sank. The postillions leaped off, and, bridles in hand, gained the *shore*, and by dint of tugging, and whipping, and hallooing, and dragging of men and boys, we were got out and were on the other side.

'Farther on we might fare worse, from what we could learn, so in some commotion we got out and said we would rather walk. And when we came to the next bad step the horses, seeing it was a slough like the first, put back their ears and absolutely refused to set foot upon it, and they were, the postillions agreed, quite right; so they were taken off and left to look on, while by force of arms the carriage was to be got over by men and boys, who, shouting, gathered from all sides, from mountain paths down which they poured, and from fields where they had been at work or loitering; at the sight of the strangers they flocked to help—such a carriage had never been seen before—to help common cars or jaunting cars over these bad steps they had been used. "This heavy carriage! sure, it was impossible; but, sure, they might do it." And they talked and screamed

in English and Irish equally unintelligible to us, and in spite of all remonstrance about breaking the pole—pole and wheels and axle and body—they seized on the carriage, and, standing and jumping from stone to stone, or any tuft of bog that could bear them as their practised eyes saw, they—I cannot tell how—dragged, pushed, and *screamed* the carriage over. . . .

‘So we walked on, while the horses were coming over I don’t know how, and a tribe of wild Connemara boys followed us, all talking at once, and telling us there were twenty or thirty such bad steps, one worse than another, farther and farther on. Well, well, I will not weary your sympathy and patience eighteen times out with the history of the eighteen sloughs we went or were got through at the imminent peril of our lives. Why the carriage was not broken to pieces I cannot tell; but an excellent carriage it was, thank Heaven and the builder, whoever he was.’

Maria Edgeworth’s adventurous expedition terminated at Ballynahinch, where, according to the hospitable traditions which prevailed in Connemara down to the very dawn of the railway era, it was a thing of course that a distressed traveller should be made welcome at Ballynahinch Castle with as much cordiality as though she had been a lifelong friend. Her host on that occasion was the last representative of that powerful family which had succeeded to much of the prestige, as well as to most of the territory, of the ancient O’Flaherties. But in 1834 the Martins of Ballynahinch were already nearing that final stage in those chequered fortunes of which the story has been told in one of the most pathetic chapters of the ‘*Vicissitudes of Families*,’ when Nemesis, embodied in the gaunt spectre of the Irish famine, was to call upon the last and innocent heiress of Ballynahinch Castle to atone for the follies and extravagances of her magnificent but thriftless forefathers. To those who are familiar with the hapless story of the ‘*Princess of Connemara*,’ Miss Edgeworth’s description of the young girl—who in 1834 was the heiress to close on two hundred thousand acres of land, but who, within fifteen years, was to be deprived of every rood of her splendid inheritance and driven to end her days in exile—will have a pathetic interest:—

‘Miss Martin sat opposite to me, and with the light of branches of wax candles full upon her, I saw that she was very young, about seventeen, very fair, hair which might be called red by rivals and auburn by friends, her eyes blue-grey—prominent—like pictures I have seen by Leonardo da Vinci. . . . I found Mary one of the most extraordinary persons I ever saw. Her acquirements are, indeed, prodigious; she has more knowledge of books, both scientific and learned,

than any female creature I ever saw or heard of at her age—heraldry and metaphysics, painting and painters, lives and tactics; she had a course of fortification from a French officer, and of engineering from Mr. Nimmo. She understands Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and I don't know how many modern languages. French she speaks perfectly, learned from the French officer who taught her fortification. . . . She is full of her "tail" (dependants), her father's fifty-miles-long avenue, and *Æschylus* and *Euripides*, in which she is admirably read. Do think of a girl of seventeen, in the wilds of Connemara, intimately acquainted with all the beauties of *Æschylus* and *Euripides*, and having them as part of her daily thoughts.'

Having said so much regarding the history and traditions of Connemara, it is time to turn to a brief consideration of its actual condition and future possibilities, and to endeavour to indicate the nature both of the obstacles which, down to a very recent period, have retarded the development of the district, and the means which have of late been successfully taken to reduce the inequalities imposed by nature upon its inhabitants in the struggle for existence. Perhaps there is no more suggestive means of arriving at a just conception of the economic conditions in Connemara than by an examination and comparison of the very dissimilar publications which stand second and third in the list of authorities cited at the head of this article. It would be difficult indeed to find in the whole range of print two publications dealing largely with the same subject matter which differ more widely in their form and in their point of view than the 'Letters from the Irish Highlands' differs from the 'Reports of the Congested Districts Board;' yet we have placed them together because what seems to us most remarkable in a comparison between them is not their contrasts but their resemblances.

It is a far cry from 1823 to 1898, and never, probably, in the history of the United Kingdom has any period of equal length been marked by a change at all commensurate in importance with the transformation which has been wrought in the texture of our civilisation—social, political, and economic—in the last seventy-five years. But it has been otherwise in Connemara, and what cannot fail to strike any reader who compares the familiar and informal letters written by the family of a thoughtful and cultivated landowner three-quarters of a century ago with the formal, deliberate, and official reports of a Government department, is the practical identity of the problems which, despite the interval between them, occupy equally the pages of both.

These 'Letters from the Irish Highlands' offer a picture

lively, sympathetic, and faithful, of the conditions of life in Connemara as they appeared more than two generations ago to an interested and intelligent observer. In externals, indeed, and from the point of view of property, the change since they were written has been vast. In 1823 Catholic emancipation was still a moot question, and the old and almost feudal relationship between landlord and tenant still subsisted unimpaired. Parliament was still unreformed, and democracy yet undreamt of, while property in land was held to be 'as safe as the Church' appeared to be in days when Disestablishment spelt sacrilege. Yet while the social relations of the upper and lower classes have undergone an immeasurable alteration, the advantages and drawbacks of which need not now be debated, the conditions of life among the people remain almost unaltered. The problems which engaged the benevolent attention of a well-meaning landowner anxiously desirous to discharge the duties of property are essentially the same as those to which the organised system of public philanthropy superintended by the Congested Districts Board has been devoted assiduously for the last eight years. Chronic poverty and recurring famine, over-population insufficiently relieved by the natural expedient of emigration, or by the involuntary waste from the insanitary surroundings and interior of the peasant's home, the absence of all industries save the industry of agriculture, and the ignorance of the conditions essential to the successful pursuit of that sole means of livelihood—these are the objects of solicitude alike to the individual philanthropist at the beginning of the century and to the statesman at the end of it.

And from 1823 to 1898 the story has been continuously the same. If the country has produced little else, it has produced an abundant literature of distress. The publication of the 'Letters from the Irish Highlands' was occasioned by the sympathetic interest roused in England by the famine of 1822, and every successive failure of the potato crop has been followed by a crop of pamphlets and reports in which theorists have speculated and professors have dogmatised on the means of economic salvation. But for more than half a century neither theories nor dogmas had availed to provide a remedy for what appeared to be an ineradicable disease. All sorts of projects for the reclamation of the bogs and the extraction from beneath the soil of the mineral resources, with which not a few sanguine scientists credited the country, were

continually announced and attempted, but as continually failed to work any appreciable change; and it remained for the statesmanship of the closing decade of the century to discover that the true sources of the poverty of Connemara were to be found in the ignorance which prevented the population from improving their surroundings, and the imperfection of the means of communication with the rest of the island, which debarred them from the possibility of learning how to repair their deficiencies. It is true that a few years after the publication of the 'Letters from the Irish Highlands' some of the old proprietors gave evidence of their appreciation of these fundamental requirements of the district in which their lot was cast, and that, aided by some skilful scientific advice, a serious endeavour was made to provide good and sufficient roads, and to encourage new industries. Connemara is still indebted to the ability of Nimmo, the engineer, and to the public spirit of the great landowning families of the Martins and the D'Arcys, under whose auspices Nimmo's work was performed. The successful industry of kelp-burning, the admirable road from Oughterard to the extreme western coast, the town of Clifden, and the two considerable villages of Roundstone and Letterfrack, remain to attest the enterprise, knowledge, and public spirit which were devoted in the early thirties to the attempt to find the means of combating the standing poverty of Connemara.

The energy of these pioneers deserved a success which it would have achieved but for a factor which they could hardly be blamed for leaving out of account. It was the misfortune of Connemara that the introduction of sufficient and effective roads took place precisely at the moment when roads were about to be superseded as the primary means of communication between one part of the country and another. And thus, after remaining outside the pale of effective civilisation for a full century after the rest of Ireland had been almost everywhere traversed by roads adequate to its requirements, this western district was condemned by the introduction of railways to lag for another half-century behind the rest of the country in the means essential to its prosperity. For more than forty years were suffered to elapse from the opening of the Midland Great Western Railway's trunk line from Dublin to Galway ere the extension of that system through Connemara was undertaken, and even then it was only carried out at the instance of the Irish Government, and by means of a free grant from the State in aid of the construction of the line. The directors of the railway could not

feel warranted in an addition to their responsibilities which, whatever the likelihood of the traffic supplying a profit on the working expenses, could not possibly be expected to pay interest on the large capital required to construct it. And thus it was left to the comprehensive statesmanship of Mr. Arthur Balfour to bestow upon Connemara the first essential to any permanent advance in its prosperity, by bringing the severed province within the ambit of nineteenth-century civilisation.

The second essential to the prosperity of Connemara has been supplied by the legislation initiated concurrently with the introduction of the railway, which has provided in the establishment of the Congested Districts Board an instrument for the developement of its resources and the improvement of its people which has already wrought a striking and a salutary change in the conditions of life in West Connaught. After relying for half a century on the vain expectation that private enterprise would prove powerful enough to work out unaided a remedy for the standing evils of poverty, ignorance, and thriftlessness in a country so scantily endowed by nature that the utmost industry of the peasant could do no more than 'force a churlish soil for scanty bread,' Parliament at length recognised the necessity of treating the more barren and unprofitable districts of Ireland in the same fashion as though they formed part of distant and undeveloped colonies which could only be made productive by the direct intervention of the State. The policy was one diametrically opposed to long accepted principles, and it is to be feared that very much of the practice of the Congested Districts Board is as much in conflict with the orthodox political economy of a quarter of a century ago as the fundamental principle on which it is based. But facts are stronger than theories, and the beneficent results of the Board's operations as seen in Connemara should more than satisfy the scruples of the most rigid economist. Parliament wisely determined to give the Board wide powers and a free hand, and happily its members have utilised these advantages in a like spirit. The powers conferred upon it authorise the Board to take such steps as it thinks proper for the improvement of the districts confided to its operations in respect of such matters as agricultural developement, forestry, the breeding of live stock and poultry, the sale of seed potatoes and seed oats, the amalgamation of small holdings, migration, emigration, fishing, weaving and spinning, and other industries suited to

the people. And since the establishment of the Board in 1891 these powers have been increased by enabling it to hold land and to purchase estates in connexion with migration schemes or to facilitate the enlargement of holdings. It would be an easy matter to criticise the manner in which the Board has administered its powers, and we are far from approving all its acts. It has made mistakes, some of them considerable; and in some departments, notably its forestry schemes, the expenditure it has sanctioned has been out of all proportion to the actual or prospective benefit. But in the main it has carried out, and is carrying out, the intentions of Parliament, and effectually accomplishing the beneficent designs of those by whom it was instituted. In the departments of agriculture and the breeding of live stock, and in the fishing industry in particular, immense improvements have been effected, and the wealth-producing capacities of the districts enormously stimulated by the introduction of improved methods of cultivation and the provision of appliances necessary to the successful prosecution of the sea fisheries of the west coast.

In this development Connemara has participated, and it has derived a full share of the benefits conferred by the Board. For practically the whole of Connemara, in the wide sense in which we have used the term, is a congested district within the meaning of the Act under which the Board is constituted—viz. in the words of the legislative definition it contains a population dwelling in electoral divisions of which the total rateable value at the date of the passing of the Congested Boards Act, when divided by the number of the inhabitants, gave a sum of less than thirty shillings for each individual. Perhaps the department of the Board's operations which is likely to exert the most beneficial effect in Connemara is that which is concerned in the development of the deep-sea fisheries. The fishing industry is one for which this district has unique natural advantages, but it is one for which it must be confessed that the inhabitants long exhibited only the slenderest aptitude. Though in close proximity to the finest fishing grounds, the people long confined themselves to the inferior fishing to be had close to the shore, leaving it to the enterprise of fishermen from other parts of the kingdom to appropriate the rich products of the adjacent deep-sea fishing grounds. This curious indifference or distaste exhibited by the dwellers on the Irish coast to the possibilities of wealth which they possess in their

fisheries has always been a characteristic of the population, and one which is the more remarkable because, although the wretchedness of the land along a great part of the west coast has always obliged the people to find in the sea no small part of the means of living, the resort to fishing as a necessity of life has never led to the establishment of the industry as a commerce. The effects, if not the causes, of this inaptitude for a seafaring life, which has often been noticed by observers, have never been more tersely expressed than in the 'Description of Ireland' by Fynes Moryson.

'Ireland,' wrote the old historian close on three centuries ago, 'hath in all parts pleasant rivers, safe and long havens, and no less frequent lakes of great circuit, yielding great plenty of fish; and the sea on all sides yields like plenty of excellent fish, as salmons, oysters (which are preferred before the English), and shellfish, with all other kinds of sea fish, so as the Irish might in all parts have abundance of excellent sea and fresh-water fish, if the fishermen were not so possessed with the natural fault of slothfulness, as no hope of gain, scarcely the fear of authority, can in many places make them come out of their houses and put to sea. Hence it is that in many places they use Scots for fishermen, and they, together with the English, make profit of the inhabitants' sluggishness, and no doubt if the Irish were industrious in fishing they might export salted and dried fish with great gain.'

To the Congested Districts Board belongs the credit of having discovered the true causes of this lack of enterprise, and of having provided the remedy. The people have been aided in procuring boats suited to the deep-sea fisheries; instruction has been given them in net-mending and other accessories of the fishing industry; curing-stations have been established along the coast; and, above all, effective arrangements have been made for bringing the fish quickly to market. By these means the fishing population of Connemara and the whole of the west coast of Ireland is now in the full enjoyment of the benefits which Nature placed at their doors, and the whole Connemara seaboard is now the scene of a thriving fishing industry, which is adding many thousands per annum to the wealth of its people.

It would of course be an exaggeration to anticipate that the advance in the scale of civilisation and in the sources of well-being can ever transform Connemara from its natural poverty to a garden of fruitfulness and prosperity. The most beneficent legislation and the most sympathetic and paternal administration cannot reasonably be expected to eradicate inequalities inexorably imposed by Nature, or to do more than mitigate the conditions under which the

population combats the asperities of its surroundings. It is true, indeed, that the fairy tales of science tell us of transformations as startlingly marvellous as ever were imputed to the wand of the magician, and he would be a bold prophet who would set bounds to the miracles which the twentieth century may have in store for the wastes and wilds of the world. But, for the present, progress in Connemara must be expected to move along the paths through which our nineteenth-century civilisation has paved the road to prosperity; and it may be doubted whether the lap of the future holds any richer gift than those which the last few years have bestowed on Connemara in bringing its long desolate solitudes within reach of the crowded centres of English wealth. For the introduction of the railway has changed the outlook of its people from the setting to the rising sun. It is no longer through the dreary seamounts of the wild Atlantic seaboard that the western cottier strains his eyes to catch the vision of the 'terrestrial paradise,' the enchanted island of O'Brasil described by old O'Flaherty, whose imaginary rocks 'appeared to be a great city far off, full of houses, castles, towers, and chimneys; 'sometimes full of blazing flames, smoke, and people 'running to and fro.' The railway, which has brought the remotest west of Ireland within twelve hours' reach of England and eighteen of London, has taught its people to look eastward for the sources of wealth and the means of bettering their lot. And with the railway has come a long-desired and much needed change in the standard of the hotels and inns throughout the district, which is fast assimilating the conditions of touring in the west of Ireland to those which the traveller is nowadays accustomed to demand and entitled to expect. Connemara has thus begun to share in the benefits of the unconscious process by which the lonely and impoverished places of the world are peopled with the toilers from its crowded hives, who scatter no inconsiderable portion of the rewards of industry in the search for the health and recreation needful to enable them to maintain their places in the race for wealth. It is this way that prosperity lies for Connemara.

- ART. X.—1. *History of St. Vincent de Paul, Founder of the Congregation of the Mission (Vincentians) and of the Sisters of Charity.* By Monseigneur BOUGAUD, Bishop of Laval. Translated from the second French edition by the Rev. Joseph Brady, C.M., with an introduction by His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. 2 vols. London: 1899.
2. *Saint Vincent de Paul.* By Prince EMMANUEL DE BROGLIE. Translated by Mildred Partridge, with a preface by George Tyrrell, S.J. London: 1898.
3. *Vie de Saint Vincent de Paul, Fondateur des Prêtres de la Mission et des Filles de la Charité.* Nouvelle édition, revue par un Prêtre de la Mission. 2 vols. Paris: 1881.

AFTER Vincent de Paul had died, in the Priory of St. Lazare, on September 27, 1660, Father Almeras, the priest whom he had appointed to succeed him as Superior General of the Mission, immediately took steps to collect materials for a memoir of his revered predecessor. Indeed, for three years previously, from 1657, Frère Ducourneau, the founder's secretary, had conceived the project of recording his master's actions and sayings, and no better witness could possibly have been selected for the task than this faithful servant, who, during the last years of the saint's lifetime, had scarcely ever quitted his side, accompanying him by day in his busy work and visitations about the streets of Paris, or travels in the provinces; while, late in the night, he had also been accustomed to write up the Superior's correspondence from dictation. We can only regret that these invaluable services of Ducourneau had not been brought into requisition at an earlier date. In pursuance, however, of his plan, Father Almeras proposed as the subject for discussion at the Tuesday conferences at St. Lazare, for several succeeding months, the life and works of Vincent de Paul. At these meetings, as might have been expected, the secretary Ducourneau was always the principal speaker, relating numerous incidents, anecdotes and maxims of his late master, as they recurred to his memory, and these were all carefully written down and utilised in the preparation of the memoir.

Then, again, some of the Sisters of Charity had also taken great pains to commit to writing notes of what their founder had impressed upon them at their weekly conferences during his lifetime. The whole of these materials, together with

selections from Vincent's letters, were put together by the missionaries under the superintendence of Frère Fournier, specially deputed for this purpose by Almeras. Nevertheless, on the completion of the memoir thus compiled, it became necessary to obtain the good services of some one outside the Congregation of the Mission to enable the MS. to be printed, for it had ever been imposed on the members that none of them should ever publish any book whatsoever; and so it came to pass that Louis Abelly, Bishop of Rodez, who had himself been an intimate friend of Vincent de Paul, consented to lend his name as the responsible author of the book, which was printed in 1664, under the title 'La Vie du 'Vénérable Serviteur de Dieu, Vincent de Paul.' It is therefore to be borne in mind that this work, although generally attributed to Abelly, was in fact a compilation by the Lazarist Priests of the Mission, and it will always remain as the great original work of reference on Vincent de Paul.

It was not until long after Abelly's death, in fact not until eleven years after the 'Blessed' Vincent de Paul had been promoted to the catalogue of saints, by Pope Clement XII., that another original Life of St. Vincent was printed at Nancy in 1748. This work was by Pierre Collet, a professed theologian, the Superior of the Collège des Bons-Enfants, who had for years devoted himself to searching out details concerning the career of the saint.

The fame of St. Vincent appears to have been resuscitated from the temporary oblivion into which it had fallen by the famous panegyric pronounced by the Abbé Maury in a sermon which he preached at St. Lazare in 1785, and since that date the bibliography relating to Vincent de Paul and his institutions has become extensive; but all the memoirs of him have been based on the original works of Abelly and Collet, while the conferences and voluminous correspondence of the saint preserved in the archives of the Lazarists have likewise been published *in extenso*.

The well-known biography of St. Vincent, written by the Abbé Maynard, Canon of Poitiers, attracted much attention when it appeared in 1860, but nearly forty years have since elapsed, and at present the most popular of recent memoirs of the saint in France is the posthumous work of Monseigneur Bougaud, who died in 1888, which has now been presented to us in an English dress by Father Brady, of the Congregation of the Mission.

It was during the reign of Henri III., while Elizabeth was Queen of England, that Vincent de Paul, or Depaul, as he

himself was wont to sign his name, was born on April 24, 1576, in a farm called Ranguine, in the parish of Pouy, near Dax. His early childhood was occupied in looking after his father's sheep, yet even at this period of his life, although 'nourri par la pauvreté qu'il devait nourrir à son tour,' he is said to have been noticed in the vicinity for his charitable tendencies, striking examples of which the hagiographers do not fail to bring to our notice. His father, remarking his gentle disposition, placed the boy at school with the Cordeliers of Dax, by whom, for sixty livres per annum—equivalent to about six guineas of our money—he was brought up piously and taught the rudiments of a sound education. So much benefit did he derive from the instruction of these Franciscans that after some four years, in order to lighten the charges on his father, the lad, while continuing his own studies, was able to undertake the tuition of the children of M. de Commet, a lawyer at Dax. Later, on receiving minor orders, he proceeded to Toulouse and became director of a school for the sons of gentlemen in the neighbouring town of Buzet. In 1600 he was ordained priest, and took his degree of Bachelor in theology in 1604, when he was twenty-eight years of age.

In the following year Vincent underwent a remarkable experience which affected his whole subsequent career. This dangerous and painful adventure is related at length by himself in a letter to M. de Commet, which is still extant, and tells us how, having embarked at Marseilles in order to go to Narbonne, he was captured by Turks, whose vessels were cruising in the Gulf of Lions, and carried off to Tunis and subjected to all sorts of brutalities. Here Vincent de Paul underwent considerable suffering while serving as a slave under various masters until at last he managed to effect his escape by the help of a renegade Savoyard, reaching France in 1607. Soon afterwards, M. Vincent accompanied the vice-legat Montorio—when notice had been attracted to the young priest by the fame of his adventures in Tunis—to Rome, where he made the acquaintance of Cardinal du Perron, who at that time was carrying out important negotiations with Pope Paul V. for Henri IV. Du Perron, taking Vincent de Paul into his confidence, entrusted him with a secret verbal mission for King Henri, who treated the reverend diplomat with much cordiality on his arrival at the French Court. The successful issue of this diplomatic mission might have brought instant preferment in the Church to M. Vincent, had he chosen to accept such high reward,

but life at Court was distasteful to the single-hearted priest, who at the earliest opportunity retired to an obscure corner of Paris, in the neighbourhood of the Hôpital de la Charité, where he devoted himself to the service of the sick and dying. It was at this time that he met de Bérulle, the founder of the Oratory, and placed himself under the spiritual guidance of this pious man, whom François de Sales himself had declared to be 'un des esprits les plus clairs et les plus nets qui se soient jamais rencontrés.'

A month after the assassination of Henri IV., Vincent was appointed to the Abbey of St. Léonard de Chaume and almoner to Queen Marguerite de Valois, whose life exhibits that strange compound of licentiousness and superstitious devotion not wholly unusual in those days; but the gay surroundings of the royal palace in the Rue de la Seine soon disgusted him, and as he had escaped from the Court of Henri IV., so he now quickly quitted the Court of that sovereign's divorced widow. His intention was, as he himself afterwards declared :—

'seulement d'échapper au monde, à ses honneurs et à ses périls; d'attendre dans la solitude la manifestation des volontés du ciel; de nourrir son esprit de science dans de laborieux loisirs, et son cœur de piété dans la compagnie de saints prêtres, et surtout de se mettre tout entier et à tout instant sous la conduite d'un directeur, de lui ouvrir son âme dans son passé, son présent, ses vues d'avenir, et d'abandonner à la décision de Bérulle l'arrangement de sa vie.'

In 1612, when François Bourgoing resigned his charge of the parish of Clichy, in order to enter the Oratory, at the instance of Bérulle, Vincent accepted the vacant living, where he was not long in winning the hearts of all his parishioners, and here he first started a charitable establishment. He took into his house twelve poor boys who seemed to him to show an aptitude for clerical life, and undertook their education and maintenance; but Vincent's stay here was but short. Within a year's time his spiritual director summoned him back to Paris, in great sadness at leaving his flock, and he found himself installed on the recommendation of M. de Bérulle, as tutor to the children* of Philippe Emmanuel de Gondi, Comte de Joigny, General of the galleys, in whose family he remained for some four years, with a professor under him to undertake the details of the education which he was to supervise, being thus assured

* The three sons of the Comte de Joigny were: Pierre de Gondi, the Duc de Retz; Henri de Gondi, who died young; François Paul de Gondi, afterwards Cardinal de Retz.

some hours of independent leisure; for it was intended that Vincent de Paul should watch over the moral and religious education of the children entrusted to his charge.

‘Entirely absorbed as she was in the duties of a Christian lady of high standing, Mme. de Gondi during her few years of life was always ready to help, propagate, and increase the innumerable works of charity which sprang up in such unparalleled abundance during the first fifty years of the century, and gave to the Church in France fresh vigour. Probably this was the secret reason which guided M. de Bérulle in his authoritative sending of Vincent de Paul to the Gondis; he saw that Vincent left to himself would not be able to do very much, but that when helped and supported he was capable of performing miracles. He was destined to find this help and support in Mme. de Gondi.’

The following incident serves to show the respect in which the family of de Gondi held Vincent de Paul. But shortly after he had entered on his duties as tutor, the General having received an insult from one of the gentlemen at the Court challenged him; but before the duel he entered the chapel to hear Mass, and to implore divine assistance. Vincent, who celebrated the Mass, and who had been warned beforehand of the approaching duel, offered up a prayer that the duel might be averted.

After the service, as soon as he found himself alone with the General, he threw himself at his feet:

‘Souffrez, monseigneur,’ he said, ‘que je vous dise un mot en toute humilité. Je sais de bonne part que vous avez le dessein de vous aller battre en duel, mais je vous déclare de la part de mon Sauveur, que je viens de vous montrer et que vous venez d’adorer, que si vous ne quittez ce mauvais dessein il exercera sa justice sur vous et sur toute votre postérité.’

The General of the galleys, whose personal courage was far above suspicion, was so struck and remorseful at the inspired words of the priest that he in his turn fell on his knees and assured Vincent that he would leave to God the vengeance on his adversary. It can be imagined how devotedly Mme. de Gondi esteemed the tutor of her children ever afterwards. She begged M. de Bérulle to allow her to take Vincent as her spiritual director, and under his inspiration she increased her charities, visited the sick and poor of her estates, and consoled the widows and orphans.

Meantime the veneration in which he was held by the de Gondi family commenced to alarm the humility of Vincent de Paul. He was treated as a saint, he who looked

upon himself as but a poor 'misérable.' Mme. de Gondi did nothing without consulting him, and latterly went nowhere without having him by her side. He was forced at length to recommend her to go to another confessor, and finally he made up his mind that the best service he could render her was to leave the house of the Gondis.

His own director Bérulle approved, and as it happened that the Canons of Lyons had just asked him for a priest to fill the vacant cure of Châtillon-lez-Dombes, in Bresse, he at once persuaded Vincent to accept the post.

On arriving in his parish, he found the priest's house in ruins, the church unfrequented, and a population of which half had become Calvinists. He immediately set to work with his accustomed vigour, re-established the religious services, catechisms, and instructions; while he soon had the satisfaction to find that his sermons were efficacious in refilling the church and his services attended by heretics 'as well as Catholics. It was here that, in 1617, he established 'the first of his famous societies of Charity, which afterwards increased and became spread so widely not only in France but throughout the world.

'In fact, one day, just as M. Vincent was going to say Mass, Mme. de la Chassaigne begged him to recommend to the charity of the public a poor family, of which all the members were ill and in the most frightful distress. He acceded to her request, and was so successful in moving his audience, which, be it observed, was almost entirely composed of peasants—a class not as a rule easily touched—that when he went himself to visit the poor family in question, he found the cottage filled with provisions of every kind—nay, stocked to overflowing.

'All the way along he had met, without knowing whence it came, a crowd of people, who saluted him with an air of emotion, but without speaking to him. Though filled with joy at this charity, which went straight to his heart, Vincent could not help saying to himself: "There is a great deal of charity, but it is ill-regulated. Those poor sick people, being provided with too many provisions at once, will let some get spoilt and wasted, and then they will relapse into their first state of destitution." And passing at once from the perception of the evil to the means of remedying it, he sent for Mme. de Chassaigne and Mme. de Brie, explained to them with his usual clearness the drawbacks of these ill-apportioned alms, and begged them to get together a few good people who would be inclined to help him to improve matters.

"I suggested to them," he said himself, later on, in one of his conferences, "to club together in order that each lady in turn should provide a day's food, not only for the sick above mentioned, but also for those who might be ill in future. That is," he added, "how

la Charité was established." Vincent's two helpers had soon discovered fellow-workers, and for three months the ladies of the parish, the first *Dames de Charité*, laboured under the eyes of their curé for the relief of the poor. When he saw that he could reckon on their devotion, he wished to try their perseverance, and drew up the first set of rules for the confraternities of *la Charité*, which were afterwards reproduced and modified according as necessity required.'

Thus was established the first 'Confrérie des Servantes 'et des Gardes des Pauvres' or 'Charité de Châtillon,' and this institution, which at first appeared applicable only to a small provincial town, was soon imitated in the neighbourhood at Bourg, and later, through the exertions of Mme. de Gondi, when she had been rejoined by her former director, at Villepreux, at Joigny, at Montmirail, and in almost all the parishes within the influence of the de Gondi family.

The Archbishop of Paris and the Bishop of Amiens approved of these charities and of M. Vincent's regulations for them within their respective dioceses in 1618 and in 1620, and by 1629 they were established in the parish of St. Sauveur in Paris, where the hotel of the Gondi family stood.

So long as the sisterhoods were confined to country villages they were generally composed of women who were accustomed to all kinds of work and personally attended the sick and poor; but when these associations were formed in the large provincial towns and in Paris, they were composed of ladies of rank and quality, partly because it became the fashion with many, and partly from purer motives with the few. Anyhow, after a time, it was found that these fashionable dames were willing enough to contribute money but unable to give their personal services. In some cases their husbands forbade their wives to visit the sick for fear of contagion—for the plague was then present in many towns—in others the ladies brought up delicately in horror of sickness and death dreaded exposing themselves to the risks incurred by visiting the filthy quarters of the towns.

At first they contented themselves by sending their servants, but this involved risk of contamination, and these charitable associations were likely to be dissolved and disappear when it occurred to Vincent that the services of women of the lower classes might be utilised. We shall presently show how valuable these auxiliary nurses became when properly organised under the practical rules laid down for them by Vincent de Paul.

During the short time that Vincent de Paul remained at Châtillon, Mme. de Gondi had not ceased to use her endeavours to obtain his recall to Paris. She obtained letters from M. de Gondi, Cardinal de Retz, Bishop of Paris, Père Bérulle, while she made her children write and wrote herself. Finally she despatched an envoy in the person of M. du Fresne, who had formally introduced Vincent to Queen Marguerite, and who subsequently, at the instance of Vincent himself, had become secretary to the Gondis. The curé of Châtillon was overcome by their entreaties, but submitted his case in all humility, to be decided by the Superior of the Oratory at Lyons, who, without hesitation, said to him: 'Retournez à Paris, et là, s'il reste encore quelque difficulté, elle s'évanouira devant les conseils d'amis sages qui vous feront connaître certainement la volonté de Dieu.' Vincent promised obedience, and immediately wrote to the General of the galleys to announce his intended return to Paris, while he prepared his flock at Châtillon for his departure.

Another field was now opened to his indefatigable spirit of charity. The General of the galleys had under his jurisdiction not only the galley slaves on the benches of the ships at Marseilles, but also the convicts awaiting in the Conciergerie and other prisons of the metropolis their punishment afloat. Vincent obtained permission to visit these prisoners in their cells. What he saw there far surpassed all his preconceived ideas. Well accustomed as he had long been to all sorts of hideous kinds of human misery in the hospitals, yet in these deep, dark, and infected underground dungeons he was greatly taken aback at finding crouched on the floor crowds of unfortunate wretches half dying of hunger, covered with sores and vermin, weighed down by their fetters and chained to the walls, abandoned by God and man, without human or spiritual consolation. At the sight his benevolent heart, far from recoiling with horror, opened with an immense pity towards these his fellow-creatures, and his tears flowed without restraint.

On leaving the convict prison of the Conciergerie, Vincent de Paul at once addressed the General of the galleys, over whom he already exercised such potent influence :—

'Monseigneur,' he said, 'je viens de visiter les forçats, et je les ai trouvés négligés dans leur corps et dans leur âme. Ces pauvres gens vous appartiennent, et vous en répondrez devant Dieu. En attendant qu'ils soient conduits au lieu de leur supplice, il est de votre charité de ne pas souffrir qu'ils demeurent sans secours et sans consolation.'

The General immediately gave full powers to Vincent, who proceeded to organise a hospital for convicts in the Faubourg St. Honoré, where, after doing all that could be done for their bodily ailments, he laboured to soften the hearts of these unfortunate beings. He visited them every day, always talking to them with affability and kindness, and personally ministering to their needs.

Emmanuel de Gondi did not fail to inform his sovereign Louis XIII. of the success that attended the efforts of Vincent to alleviate the sufferings of the convicts in Paris, and obtained from him a brevet investing that humble priest with the charge of Royal Almoner of all the galleys in France, with an annual revenue of six hundred livres, and granting him all the honours to which officers of the marine were entitled.

It was soon after his appointment as Almoner, while residing with the de Gondis, that Vincent de Paul first met (in 1619) François de Sales, Bishop of Geneva, who had accompanied the Cardinal de Savoie to Paris. These two men, as might have been expected, became firmly attached to one another:—

‘Pour Vincent, la douceur, la modestie, la majesté de François de Sales lui retraçaient une vive image de Jésus-Christ conversant parmi les hommes; et François de Sales publiait à son tour qu’il n’avait pas connu de plus digne, de plus saint prêtre que M. Vincent. Il s’établit entre eux une aimable familiarité. C’était à Vincent que François aimait à ouvrir son âme, et il lui racontait ses démarches, ses succès et aussi les saintes ruses de son humilité.’

Yet, as M. Henri Martin remarks, the contrast between the two characters was most marked:

‘Le théoricien mystique, saint François de Sales, était sorti des hautes classes de la société; l’homme d’action, l’organisateur, Vincent de Paul, sortit du peuple.’

In this same year (1619), at the instigation of François de Sales, Mme. de Chantal and some of her sisterhood established the community of ‘Les Filles de la Visitation de Sainte Marie,’ first in the Faubourg St. Michel, of which Vincent was chosen by François to be the Superior. The monasteries of this order soon multiplied in Paris, and all were placed under the direction of Vincent de Paul.

After the death of François de Sales the religious of the Visitation, knowing the high reputation in which Vincent de Paul was held at Rome, implored him to join his supplications to those of a large number of influential ecclesiastics to obtain the canonisation of François de Sales,

which was not carried out, however, until 1665 by Alexander VII.

It is impossible here to enumerate a tithe of the services which Vincent de Paul rendered to the numerous other female* communities and sisterhoods which were now established in Paris and spread throughout the provinces; we must confine our record to the more famous of the institutions which have rendered his name imperishable in France.

Mme. de Gondi had been so deeply impressed by the results attained by Vincent's preaching at the villages on the different estates belonging to the de Gondis, where confraternities of charity had been established, in imitation of that at Châtillon-les-Dombes, that in 1624 she conceived the idea of founding a special house for missionaries, under the direction of M. Vincent, and independent of other religious orders. As he was in relation with a large number of secular priests who had co-operated with him in his missions in the country districts, she thought that it would not be difficult for him to form with them a community. The General of the galleys approved of her project and asked his wife to share with him the title of founder of this new order. His brother, Jean François de Gondi, Archbishop of Paris, at once appreciated all the good which would result in his diocese from such an establishment, and willingly gave his sanction to the work. He did more. He offered to give up the Collège des Bons-Enfants, which had just become vacant, for the headquarters of the missionaries, and nominated as its head M. Vincent, who was duly licensed to take possession of the building. Such was the origin of the Congregation of the Mission, whose object, as shown by the regulations of the order,† drawn up doubtless by M. Vincent himself, was to come to the help of

‘le pauvre peuple de la campagne qui seul demeure comme abandonné; à quoi il leur aurait semblé qu'on pourrait aucunement

* ‘La Madeleine,’ a penitentiary for fallen women, endowed by Robert de Monty and Charlotte Marguerite de Gondi. ‘Les Filles de la Providence,’ founded by Mme. Pollalion. ‘Les Filles Orphelines,’ established in a house opened by Mlle. de Lestang. ‘Les Filles de Sainte Geneviève,’ under Mlle. de Blosset. ‘Les Filles de la Croix,’ first started in Picardy as a teaching institution, and subsequently established in Paris by Mme. de Villeneuve. ‘La Congrégation de la Charité de Notre Dame.’

† ‘Contrat de fondation’ (1625), Abelly. The original of this contract is in the Archives of State, M, 167. *Vide* Maynard, vol. i. p. 200.

remédier par la pieuse association de quelques prêtres de doctrine, piété et capacité connues, qui voulussent bien renoncer tant aux conditions des dites villes qu'à tous bénéfices, charges et dignités de l'Eglise, pour, sous le bon plaisir des prélats, chacun en l'étendue de son diocèse, s'appliquer entièrement et purement au salut du pauvre peuple, allant de village en village, aux dépens de la bourse commune, prêcher, instruire, exhorter et catéchiser ces pauvres gens, les porter à faire tous une bonne confession générale de toute leur vie passée, sans en prendre aucune rétribution, en quelque sorte ou manière que ce soit, afin de distribuer gratuitement les dons qu'ils auront gratuitement reçus de la main libérale de Dieu. . . .

'Que les dits ecclésiastiques vivront en commun sous l'obéissance du dit sieur de Paul en la manière sus dite, et de leurs supérieurs à l'avenir après son décès, sous le nom de compagnie, congrégation ou confrérie des pères ou prêtres de la mission. . . .'

The General and Mme. de Gondi handed over to Vincent de Paul the sum of 45,000 livres, the interest of which was to be devoted to the maintenance of six priests in the College, who were to be chosen by its head. Mme. de Gondi, however, who had not forgotten how Vincent had left her house and without warning had betaken himself to Châtillon, took care to have a special clause inserted in the terms of the contract to the following effect:—

'Nonobstant laquelle direction toutefois, les dits seigneur et dame entendent que le dit sieur de Paul fasse sa résidence continuelle et actuelle en leur maison pour continuer à eux et à leur famille l'assistance spirituelle qu'il leur a rendue depuis longues années. . . .'

That pious and most charming lady, Mme. de Gondi—'l'incomparable Françoise de Silly,' as Corbinelli, the historian of the house of Gondi, styles her—after but a short illness, caused, it is said, by fatigue brought on by excessive zeal in working among the poor, died in Paris on June 22, 1625, at the age of forty-two years, while her husband was absent at Marseilles, where he was then deeply engaged in a fierce dispute with the Governor of Toulon, in the midst of which Vincent de Paul arrived in order to announce to the General the afflicting news that Mme. de Gondi was no more. By her will, Mme. de Gondi had bequeathed a legacy to Vincent, accompanied by a request that he would never leave the family of the General; and the broken-hearted M. de Gondi implored his almoner to remain with himself and his children. But this was not to be. The widowed General threw up all his appointments, honours, and titles, and having placed all his affairs in order and arranged for the education of his children, he resigned his position as head

of the family to his eldest son, and entered the Oratory. At the same time Vincent retired to his Collège des Bons-Enfants. At last, without ties of any description, he was now at perfect liberty to devote himself entirely to good works, and to the perfection of the great charitable institutions whose organisation he had so long pondered over.

About this time Vincent de Paul found a most valuable auxiliary in the person of Louise de Marillac, the young widow of one Antoine Le Gras, a secretary of Marie de Médicis, better known under the name of Mlle. Le Gras—for in the seventeenth century both the wives and widows of the bourgeois were only entitled to the name of *demoiselle*. This lady was placed by the Bishop of Belley, her director, in the hands of Vincent for service among the poor, and it was by her advice that some village girls were enlisted to carry out the charitable missions in the streets, hospitals, and slums of Paris, where the associated Dames de la Charité were too delicate to venture. She was, with Vincent, the founder of the Sœurs de Charité.

Three years after Vincent had taken up his residence at the Collège des Bons-Enfants, while travelling with Augustin Potier, Bishop of Beauvais, a discussion arose between them as to the best means of preparing the young ecclesiastics for ordination; and the Bishop induced Vincent to prepare the exercises to be followed by the ordinands of his diocese during their retreat previous to their ordination at Beauvais. The Archbishop of Paris, Jean François de Gondi, having learned of the good effects produced by the retreat held under Vincent's direction at Beauvais, ordered that all aspirants to holy orders in his diocese were to prepare themselves for ordination by a retreat of ten days; and he requested Vincent de Paul to undertake the duty of receiving and preparing the young ordinands at the Collège des Bons-Enfants. In 1632 Pope Urbain VIII. approved and confirmed by a bull the establishment of the Congregation of the Mission with Vincent de Paul as its Superior; and in the same year the religious of St. Lazare resigned that priory, which was given over in perpetuity to the mission.

On January 8, 1632, Vincent took possession of the Priory of St. Lazare, where the Congregation of the Mission remained until the days of the Revolution. It was on this account that it became usual to call the missionaries the priests of St. Lazare, or more commonly Lazarists, by which name they are known in France to the present day, while in England and America the members of the order

are now generally termed Vincentians. One of the conditions imposed upon Vincent and his priests of the Congregation was, that during quarter-tense of each year, and without interfering with the missions, M. Vincent should receive the ordinands of the diocese of Paris, maintaining them for fifteen days of spiritual exercise. During these retreats there were two lectures a day, and they became so popular that they attracted ecclesiastics from every province in France ; indeed, no fewer than five or six hundred young priests passed through these exercises annually at St. Lazare, so that the good influence of Vincent de Paul went a long way to reform the spirit of the French clergy. In fact, the preaching of Vincent had so endeared him to those who had sat at his feet, that even after they had become priests they continued to attend his lectures. For this purpose, at the suggestion, it is said, of M. Olier, weekly meetings were arranged, and at these celebrated Tuesday conferences, the first of which was held in June 1633, priests assembled from all parts of Paris.

In 1635, at the request of several bishops, M. Vincent consented to prepare twelve or fourteen young students for the priesthood. This experiment did not answer, and it was not until 1641 that he again formed seminaries at Anneey, Alet, and Saintes. These also proved failures.

‘ At last, in 1642, St. Vincent felt that the real cause of so many successive failures was to be found in the mixing of the seminarists proper with the young students, under a code of discipline not applicable to both. He determined then to separate them. He retained the seminarists in the Collège des Bons-Enfants, and placed the students in a house that was purchased, at the end of the grounds, called the Seminary of St. Charles. By this master-stroke he founded once for all what has never since been abandoned—large and small seminaries.’

In the spring of the following year Vincent was summoned to St. Germain to attend the death-bed of Louis XIII., which he has described in a letter to Codoing, the Superior of the mission at Rome, dated on the day after the monarch’s decease :—

‘ Il a plu hier à Dieu de disposer de notre bon roi, le jour même où il a commencé son règne, il y a trente-trois ans. Sa Majesté a désiré que j’assistasse à sa mort avec messeigneurs les évêques de Lisieux et de Meaux, son premier aumônier, et le R. père Dinet, son confesseur. Depuis que je suis sur la terre je n’ai vu mourir personne plus chrétiennement. Il y a environ quinze jours qu’il m’a fait commander de l’aller voir, et, comme il allait mieux, je n’y suis pas retourné le jour suivant. Il m’a fait réclamer il y a

trois jours, pendant lesquels Notre Seigneur m'a fait la grâce de rester auprès de lui. Je n'ai jamais vu une plus grande élévation à Dieu, une plus grande tranquillité, une plus grande crainte des moindres actions qui peuvent être péchés, une plus grande bonté ni un plus grand jugement en une personne d'un tel état. Avant-hier les médecins, l'ayant vu endormi et les yeux tournés, craignirent qu'il n'allât expirer et le dirent au père confesseur, qui l'éveilla tout à coup et lui dit que les médecins estimaient que l'heure était venue, et qu'il fallait faire la recommandation de l'âme. Au même instant, l'esprit rempli de celui de Dieu, il embrasse ce bon père et lui rend grâces de la bonne nouvelle qu'il lui donne. Tout à coup, élevant les yeux et les bras vers le ciel, il dit le *Te Deum laudamus*, et le finit avec une ferveur si grande que le seul souvenir m'attendrit dans cet instant que je vous parle. Et comme la cloche m'appelle et m'empêche de vous en dire davantage, je finis en le recommandant à vos prières et à celles de la Compagnie.*

The effects of the Thirty Years' War were, by this time, severely manifested on the French frontiers; the country folk suffered the persecutions of the soldiery on each side, who plundered friends and foes alike. Famine had broken out in Lorraine in 1631, and in 1635 it was at its height. The poor were dying of hunger, and once thriving villages were deserted.

'In 1640 four to five thousand poor entered Metz, and soon the place was strewn with dead and dying. Besides hunger and disease, wolves, attracted by the stench of the corpses, entered the towns and villages, in full daylight, and devoured women and children. . . .

'Famine, however, was not the worst consequence of these wars; it was pestilence. The mercenary soldiers, coming from the East, the Bohemians, Croats, and Hungarians, brought the infection with them, and left it after them. The thousands of men killed and not buried, the sick imprisoned in their houses and dying of hunger, and the carcasses of horses helped to spread and keep alive the fearful malady. It attacked Lorraine, Burgundy, and Champagne in 1631, and returned again in 1633 and 1635. At St. Quentin, in 1636, three thousand died in six months. About October of the same year the plague broke out at Beauvais and Compiègne, causing terrible destruction. In the little town of Marle, within five months, more than four hundred people died. In 1637 it visited Lorraine for the seventh time, passing from it to Burgundy, where at Auxonne alone were reckoned three thousand five hundred deaths. . . . Normandy, which had escaped the war, did not escape the pestilence. At Rouen more than seventeen thousand persons were carried off in a very short time. . . . Paris was no better off. Twenty-two doctors and a number of priests and religious were soon victims of the scourge. From Paris it passed to the country round

* The original of this letter is lost. Maynard gives the above French version from the Italian of the process of canonisation.

Bordeaux, Bas-Languedoc, Avignon, Toulouse, Marseilles, Nîmes, and again to Burgundy and Lorraine.'

The charitable associations organised by Vincent de Paul enabled him to dispose of considerable sums for the relief of the needy in the provinces. In 1640 he was sending 500 livres a month to each of the towns of Nancy, Verdun, Metz, Toul, and Bar-le-Duc, amounting to some thirty thousand livres in the year. By 1650 Vincent's charitable service reached 72,000 livres a year; and in January 1651 Lorraine was receiving 3,000 livres a week. This was besides a large expenditure in Burgundy, the environs of Paris, and elsewhere. Indeed, by the end of the war, it was computed that Vincent de Paul had distributed charities to the amount of 12,000,000 livres, or nearly one million pounds sterling.

'To collect money was not enough, it was necessary to bring it to the afflicted people, and lastly to distribute it prudently. For this object St. Vincent had his two armies—the Priests of the Mission and the Sisters of Charity. He sent them in groups, with orders to divide on the battlefield, and to labour in the most afflicted districts. Soon they were to be seen at Metz, Verdun, Nancy, Pont-à-Mousson, Bar-le-Duc, St. Mihiel, and later at Etampes, Palaiseau, and Richelieu. . . . After a while he gathered the missionaries together again, and placed ten or fifteen under a Superior in different places. To these he sent visitors, who made a report of the state of the district, so that charity might be given proportionate to the need. He acted in the same manner with the Sisters of Charity, sending them in twos and threes to the most dangerous places, encouraging the weak, and praising those who died "sword in hand," as he used to say.'

The continuation of the war increasing the public miseries every day, Vincent interviewed Richelieu,* to remonstrate with him: 'Monseigneur, donnez-nous la paix; ayez pitié de nous; donnez la paix à la France,' and the great minister did not fail graciously to reassure him. But on another occasion it appears that Vincent's requests were not always so acceptable. Not too pleased, we are told, to receive and have to assist the numerous exiles from Great Britain, who were so constantly coming over from that 'foyer de sédition,'

* Cardinal de Richelieu had previously received Vincent de Paul, whose conferences had attracted his attention. After a long talk with the ecclesiastic, he remarked to his niece, the Duchess of Aiguillon: 'J'avais déjà une grande idée de M. Vincent, mais je le regarde comme un tout autre homme depuis le dernier entretien que j'ai eu avec lui.'

Vincent had the temerity to propose to the Cardinal that he should raise a rebellion in Ireland, and he even offered to subsidise the troops who might be sent over to encourage the rebels. Needless to say, this proposal did not meet with acceptance by Richelieu.

After the death of Louis XIII., the Queen-Regent, Anne of Austria, summoned Vincent to become a member of the Council of Conscience, whose object was to aid in the selection of persons for benefices and the nomination of bishops.

‘From the beginning he made it a rule never to go to Court except to attend the Council of Conscience, or by a formal command of the Queen. It was by no means congenial to him to be among a crowd of courtiers, where, however, many bishops and cardinals were to be met. He also resolved to go to Court in his every-day dress, in his old, heavy, and patched soutane, which is still preserved as a relic, with his poor woollen cincture, his big shoes, and worn-out hat; but all, though extremely poor, were without spot or stain. One day Mazarin, catching his cincture and turning to the Queen, said, “See, madame, how well dressed M. Vincent comes to Court, and the fine cincture he has.” The saint merely smiled, and even after this hint from the Cardinal did not change his costume, but appeared in it before the Queen herself. When passing through the salons and great halls of the Louvre, on his way to attend the Council of Conscience, the lords rose and gave him a profound salute, which he scarcely saw, such was his humility. He passed through quietly, but without stopping to speak, his eyes cast down and his modest deportment were indicative of his great goodness. It was for him a weekly mortification. . . . A holy bishop, not having met him since his election to the council, and afterwards seeing him as humble, as affable, and ready to oblige as before, could not help exclaiming, “M. Vincent is always M. Vincent!”’

As chief of this council Vincent felt himself terribly oppressed by the enormous responsibility, which rendered him, so to speak, the arbiter of the Church of France, and he begged the Queen to exonerate him from such a task; but Anne of Austria well knew his incorruptible virtue, and saw in him the means of putting a check on the insatiable greed of her favourite. The abuses of the ecclesiastical Crown appointments were notorious at this time, for Mazarin had encouraged simony to the utmost; but Vincent, well supported by his coadjutors, the Bishops of Beauvais and Lisieux, set his face sternly against such evil practices:—

“*Je tremble,*” disait parfois Vincent, consterné, “*qu’un si damnable trafic n’attire la malédiction de Dieu sur ce royaume.*” Et

cette aimonie, il la poursuivait impitoyablement et résolûment partout où il pouvait la découvrir. Pendant dix ans il osa tenir tête à Mazarin, devant qui tout pliait. Seul, il resta inflexible, au risque de se perdre dans l'esprit de la Reine, comme il en fut plusieurs fois menacé. Si on lui demandait son avis pour la collation des bénéfices supérieurs ou des prélatures, ou si l'on entendait lui imposer des choix, il refusait inexorablement d'admettre des sujets indignes, au risque de s'attirer la dangereuse haine du favori. Il résistait aux sollicitations de ses propres amis et même à celles de la reine, qui souvent cédaient à ses observations.'

Of course, Mazarin had his own way in the end. The Bishops of Beauvais and Lisieux were sent back to their dioceses, and the Cardinal suspended the meetings of the Council of Conscience; nevertheless, the Queen continued to secretly consult Vincent regarding the choice of bishops, and more than once he was able to exclude the unworthy *protégés* of the powerful favourite.

Among other charitable institutions, Vincent had long contemplated an asylum for children abandoned by their parents; and, in 1648, he convoked a meeting of ladies, who consented to assist him in establishing a foundling hospital. The young King gave the building of Bicêtre for the purpose; but this was found inconvenient, and the foundlings were transferred to the Faubourg St. Laurent, under the Filles de la Charité, and soon afterwards to the Faubourg St. Lazare. A legend, invented, it would seem, by Capefigue,* and perpetuated in some charming poetical verses by François Coppée,† represents Vincent de Paul perambulating the streets and slums of Paris by night, searching for deserted and strayed children, and bringing back babes in his arms to the Sisters of Charity. Chantelauze has plainly shown how these nocturnal rambles of the saint are pure inventions. Nine years afterwards the report of this hospice states that nearly four hundred children had been admitted during the year 1657, while the expenses amounted to no less than 17,000 livres. Ten years after that date Parliament made an annual grant of 15,000 livres towards the support of this institution.

We now come to the times of the Fronde, of which civil war Alphonse Feillet has disclosed the awful effects, the famine and disease by which the population of France was decimated. It will be remembered that Paul de Gondî, Cardinal de Retz, formerly Vincent's pupil, was one of the

* Histoire de saint Vincent de Paul (Paris, 1827), pp. 67-69.

† Récits Épiques.

leading chiefs of the Frondeurs, who, in August 1648, incited the mob of Paris to rise against Mazarin and the royal troops, forcing the Queen Regent to retire to St. Germain, while Condé prepared to blockade the city. The close siege of Paris did not prevent Vincent from taking the bold step of making his way out of the beleaguered city and obtaining an interview with Queen Anne, to whom he described in moving terms the terrible state of Paris and the dire distress of its inhabitants:—

“Is it just, Madame,” said he, “that a million who are innocent should die of hunger for twenty or thirty who are guilty? Think of the miseries that will befall your people, of the ruins, the sacrileges, the profanations that civil war brings in its train! And all this for what? To retain one who is an object of public hatred. If the presence of Cardinal Mazarin is a source of trouble to the State, are you not bound to dispense with him at least for awhile?”

The Queen sent him to see Mazarin, to whom he did not hesitate to say: ‘*Monseigneur, cédez au temps, et jetez-vous à la mer pour calmer l’orage.*’ To which Mazarin quietly replied: ‘*Voilà une semonce bien vive, et personne ne m’a encore osé tenir un tel langage. Néanmoins, notre père, je m’en irai, si M. Le Tellier est de votre avis.*’ Of course, the astute Cardinal well knew that M. Le Tellier, who owed to him everything, would not have the same courage; and, indeed, there the incident ended. But the Cardinal was deeply offended at the mere suggestion that he should fly; nor did he ever forgive Vincent de Paul for his plain speaking. While the venerable missionary, now in his seventy-fifth year, was thus vainly endeavouring to calm the bitter resentment of the Queen, the pamphleteers in Paris no more spared him than they did the Regent herself in their ‘*Mazarinades.*’ Notably did they accuse him of abetting an alleged secret marriage between the Queen and the Cardinal. Later on the populace, excited by these accusations, attacked and pillaged the mission-house of St. Lazare, although there was a daily public distribution of bread from that establishment. Vincent de Paul therefore found it prudent to leave Paris, and took the opportunity of making a visitation to the various houses of his order in the provinces, whence he did not fail to collect provisions for the famishing poor in Paris. When, however, Paris opened her gates after peace had been signed at Ruel, the Queen at once wrote to Vincent begging him to return, but unhappily he lay ill at Richelieu.

We cannot here follow all the complicated affairs of the

Fronde, but it seems certain that Vincent did not revisit Paris until Mazarin entered the city in February 1653:—

‘The spectacle that met St. Vincent’s view when he returned to Paris was singularly sad and well calculated to discourage a less humble mind than his. Many of his works were in ruins, and the misery he had laboured to minimise had increased. Never were there so many outcast children on the streets, and no money to maintain them. Never were there so many young girls without education, religious instruction, or means of livelihood. . . . The streets were crowded with beggars, some truly poor—nay, dying of hunger; others only feigning wretchedness, but extorting money by threats. In Paris alone there were forty-five thousand of these beggars, and the environs were practically uninhabitable. To combat these different forms of misery, St. Vincent had raised up his armies of charity. The evils, however, of the time had tended to increase the misery and decrease the ranks of his associations. . . .

‘The other armies of charity, the Priests of the Mission and the Sisters of Charity, held together by their religious constitution, had better withstood the storm. No doubt the Priests of the Mission, spread all over the afflicted provinces, had lost many eminent men; but, on the other hand, they had gained many young recruits who, if they lacked the experience of their elders, were possessed of the zeal of martyrs. With the aid of these St. Vincent had founded eleven new houses, and, what was still better, seven new seminaries.’

In the midst of the terrible disorders created by the civil war even the servants of the poor, the Priests of the Mission and the Sisters of Charity, were not always secure. They were robbed of the money and provisions which they were bringing then to the sick and destitute, until Vincent obtained from the Regent a royal edict especially protecting his servants of the poor from the interference of the soldiery. M. Alphonse Feillet has rescued from oblivion the original document containing the protective ‘*Ordonnance Militaire*,’ which had hitherto escaped all notice by the historians of the Fronde.

This rescript of Louis XIV. attributed to Vincent de Paul a recognised official position. He was no longer to be regarded, says Feillet, as a mere private individual distributing alms collected among his wealthy patrons, but henceforth he was ‘*le Grand Aumônier de la France*,’ into whose hands the Queen Regent had committed the care and superintendence of the poor and needy throughout the kingdom. ‘*La charité a fait de l’humble paysan des Landes la seule force active du royaume en décadence, et le titre de PÈRE DE LA PATRIE, que lui donne le gouverneur de Saint-Quentin, ne fut jamais mieux mérité.*’

In the midst of the immensity of work created by the superintendence of so many public charities Vincent was by no means forgetful of the spread of the Gospel, not only throughout France, but in foreign countries as well. He had always remembered his captivity in Tunis, and at the first opportunity he despatched thither a mission in 1645. In the same year other missionaries were sent to Genoa and to Ireland, while in 1646 a mission was established at Algiers under Philippe Le Vacher to evangelise the thousands of European slaves held there in captivity.

The *Compagnie Française de l'Orient*, which had established a settlement in Madagascar under the auspices of Richelieu in 1642, hearing of the disastrous state of their colony, sent out one of the directors, M. de Flacourt, as Commandant-General of the island, with eighty colonists, among whom M. Vincent embraced the opportunity of sending two missionaries, Fathers Nacquard and Gondree. Various letters of M. Vincent to these and other missionaries have been preserved, and are particularly interesting, especially those in which he warns them how to behave in presence of the Huguenot preachers when travelling in the same vessel; for previous to Flacourt's arrival at Fort Dauphin the chiefs of the colony in Madagascar had been generally Protestants.

The climate of Madagascar was not less sickly in those days than it is at present, and necessarily the malarial fever, which could not then be combated and ameliorated by quinine, decimated the French colonists. Few, if any, of the priests of the mission ever returned from the great African island, but the death vacancies in their ranks were ever filled up by volunteers from St. Lazare until the French colony was finally abandoned. The last surviving priests were wrecked on their return voyage, but fortunately escaped with their lives.

The Duchess d'Aiguillon had furnished the means for the African missions; in like manner other influential ladies gave Vincent considerable sums for his mission to Ireland, where the Lazarist priests met with great success, at least, during the early years of the reign of Charles I.,* until the days of the Commonwealth, when Cromwell's troops wrought such havoc among the Roman Catholics.

* When Henrietta, daughter of Henri IV., entered London as the bride of Charles I., she was accompanied by Father de Bérulle and twelve Oratorians; while by the marriage contract full liberty was given to the Roman Catholic religion.

In 1651 priests were sent into Scotland, the Orkney Islands, and the Hebrides, where they led a precarious existence, for the judges and magistrates were commanded to imprison and punish according to the law all foreign priests who might be found. Marie Louise de Gonzagua, Queen of Poland, who had been an associate of Vincent's Assembly of Charity, having desired that Priests of the Mission, Sisters of Charity, and Nuns of the Visitation should be sent to Warsaw, where the plague was then raging, Vincent de Paul complied with her request, and parties of missionaries and Sisters of Charity were sent to the assistance of the Poles.

Founded in 1633 as auxiliaries of the Ladies of Charity, the Sisters of Charity gradually rose from that secondary position until the former association was altogether effaced, although in modern days it has been revived. At first there were but a very few allotted to the different parishes in Paris. They lodged with the Ladies of Charity, and during the week visited the poor and sick and reported fresh case of destitution or want. In 1634 Mlle. Le Gras, who was in charge of the first sisters, asked permission from Vincent de Paul to bind herself by a vow to so holy a work, and she consecrated herself on March 25, 1634, the day on which every year the Sisters of Charity renew their vows; but Vincent did not finally give them rules as an order until 1655, by which time there were some fifty houses belonging to the sisterhood in France.

At the present time there are more than twenty thousand of these sisters, and they are to be found all over the world.

In 1646 Vincent petitioned the Archbishop of Paris to create the Sisters of Charity into a society, under the direction of a priest named by him. Cardinal de Retz cordially received the proposition, and he named Vincent de Paul as Superior-General of the sisters during his life, and later his successors the Superiors-General of the Congregation of the Mission were nominated to direct the sisterhood in the future. In like manner the Mother-General was to be chosen from among the Sisters of Charity themselves, who from Paris was to direct the houses of the sisters since spread all over the world. The stability of this sisterhood has been assured by the wise resolve taken by the first Superior that the sisters were *not* to be religious in the strict sense—*not* to make perpetual vows, but only for one year; they were to use the secular dress, and *not* to have

special chaplains or confessors. Following the expressions of Vincent himself :—

‘ Ces filles n’ont ordinairement pour monastères que les maisons des malades, pour cellule qu’une chambre de louage, pour chapelle que l’église de leur paroisse, pour cloître que les rues de la ville ou les salles des hôpitaux, pour clôture que l’obéissance, pour grille que la crainte de Dieu, et pour voile qu’une sainte et exacte modestie.’

Indeed, Vincent had good reason for not approving of cloistered orders, having experienced the shameless irregularities practised in various nunneries in France, notably in the Abbey of Longchamps, founded by Marguerite, sister of St. Louis, which he succeeded in restoring to discipline and good behaviour by appointing a secular or regular ecclesiastic as visitor in the place of the Franciscans, to whose conduct the scandalous disorders had been imputed.

The end of Vincent’s life was now approaching. In the year 1658, when he was eighty-two years of age, he put the finishing stroke to his rules of his Congregation of the Mission, and a few months later he was compelled by his infirmities to use crutches, on which he hobbled to Mass in the chapel of St. Lazare. His friends, Mlle. Le Gras and Father Portail, the first Sister of Charity and the first Priest of the Mission, both died in the spring of 1660, and on September 27 of that year the venerable servant of the poor breathed his last. His name will always stand prominent among those great men whom France has given to the world.

Thirty-seven years after the death of Vincent de Paul the Lazarists brought to the notice of Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, a miraculous cure which had occurred to one Father Bounet, a Priest of the Mission, at the tomb of their simple-minded founder, who, judging from his humility while alive, would surely have been the last to attribute such miraculous powers to his poor mortal remains. A tribunal of ecclesiastics having been appointed for investigation, abundant testimony to the exalted virtue of the departed priest was accumulated and forwarded to Rome. Orders were given by Clement XI. to commence the customary processes to establish the spotless reputation for sanctity in which Vincent was almost universally regarded in France. The details of the ecclesiastical procedure necessary for beatification and canonisation are well worth reading, as they will be found interesting by many who are unac-

quainted with the practice of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in such matters, but we have not space to quote them. The Bull of Canonisation, which is given at length by M. Bougand, was dated June 16, 1737, and it gives a full *résumé* of the life and good works of the now sanctified Vincent de Paul. The relics of the saint were now enclosed in a costly silver-gilt shrine above the high altar in the chapel of St. Lazare, where they remained for veneration for the remainder of the eighteenth century until the eve of the Revolution. On the day before the destruction of the Bastille the mob broke into the house of St. Lazare, but, curiously, the shrine of St. Vincent de Paul escaped untouched. It was not until 1792 that the agents of the Government, having demanded all the objects of gold and silver in the establishment, took possession of the coffin, but allowed the priests to preserve the actual relics, which were reinstated with all possible solemnity on the altar of St. Lazare on April 25, 1830, but a few months before the abdication of Charles X. in favour of the Duke de Bordeaux, Louis Philippe d'Orléans.

We must not conclude without a brief account of the position which Vincent de Paul's two great orders have attained in our own land. To begin with the Congregation of the Mission. It has already been noticed how missionaries had been despatched from St. Lazare in the seventeenth century by Vincent himself, and how this mission had been broken up by the return of the surviving priests after six years of unrequited labours. It was not until 1835 that some Irish priests of Maynooth College formed a community of Vincentians at St. Vincent's College, in Castleknock, near Dublin. But it seems remarkable that the Superior, Father Dowley, and his followers did not at first realise that the institution which they were striving to found already existed at Paris, and had spread elsewhere throughout the world.

Communication having at length been effected with the Lazarist Mission at Paris, Father Geraud was sent over to re-establish the confraternity in the British Isles and Australia, which are all included for this purpose in the province of Ireland, in affiliation with the Irish College in Paris. The personnel of this community now consists of 92 priests, 10 students, 16 seminarists, and 35 lay-brothers. Thus the Congregation of the Mission, driven from Great Britain in the days of Cromwell, has returned there and is now spread to some extent in England and the colonies. There are now houses of this order in Dublin, Cork, and

Armagh ; in Westminster, Leeds, and Glasgow ; in Sydney, Melbourne, and Bathurst.

This introduction to our islands of the Vincentian communities was naturally followed by the establishment of sisterhoods. The first house was opened in 1855 at Drogheda by some Sisters of Charity who had completed their noviciate at Paris. Two years afterwards the first house in England was founded at Sheffield, and, in 1864, another was formed at Lanark. By the end of last year there were eight Irish houses in Dublin, Drogheda, and Cork, working in connexion with hospitals, infirmaries, orphanages, schools, and the poor ; six in Scotland---at Lanark, Glasgow, Dumfries, Edinburgh, and Dunfermline, while there are now no fewer than thirty-seven in England all united in one province whose head-quarters have been established in Mill Hill, London, N.W.

Let us now turn to America. It was in 1815 that Bishop Dubourg, having proceeded from Louisiana to Rome, to obtain the services of priests in the newly created diocese of New Orleans, resided at the house of the Vincentian Fathers at Monte Citorio. Several of these Italian priests accompanied Monseigneur Dubourg back to St. Louis, near which place the American Congregation was first established. There are now, it appears, five houses in the Eastern Province of the United States, at Baltimore, Emmitsburg, Germanstown, Brooklyn, and Niagara,* while in the Western Province there are ten at Perryville, Cape Girardeau, Chicago, Kansas City, La Salle, Los Angeles, New Orleans, and St. Louis.†

It was a certain Mrs. Seton, the young widow of a merchant in New York, a convert from Protestantism, who first started a sisterhood of charity in the United States, with the aid of Father Cooper, who had likewise left the Church of England for that of Rome. Their work was commenced at Emmitsburg, Maryland, where a farm had been purchased in 1810 ; and three Sisters of Charity came over from Paris in order to train this American sisterhood in the usages and spirit of the French community ; but the American sisters were not actually affiliated with those of France until 1850, in which year they made their vows conformably to the custom and rules of the '*Filles de la*

* Total personnel in Eastern Province includes 60 priests, 21 students, 12 seminarists, and 16 lay-brothers.

† Total personnel in Western Province 59 priests, 47 students, 20 seminarists, 18 lay-brothers.

‘Charité’ as established by St. Vincent de Paul, and they then assumed the traditional costume of the Puellæ Charitatis of the seventeenth century.

The anti-clerical feeling, now so widespread throughout the French Republic, as evidenced by the recent savage attacks by the mobs on some of the metropolitan churches, has given rise to the establishment of a nursing institution in Paris, whose members are not to be bound by any vows whatsoever, but, on the contrary, are to be wholly independent of all religions.

This institute has been started under influential patronage and under the auspices of Dr. Paul Reclus, with other eminent surgeons and physicians. It remains to be seen whether this lay establishment will ever be able to compete with the Sœurs de la Charité; but may we venture to predict that the day is far distant—and a bad day it will be for France—when the work of St. Vincent de Paul can be superseded by that of the modern professional nurse?

ART. XI.—*Correspondence with Reference to the Political Affairs of the South African Republic, presented to Parliament. 1899.*

IN our last number we discussed in a hopeful spirit the benefits that might accrue to the world from the Peace Conference at the Hague. It had not then concluded its labours in the cause of peace; and now, within less than three months' time, we find the British Empire—surely not the least genuinely peace-loving of the great nations of the earth—embarking on the largest military undertaking she has known since the Crimean war. It would be easy to be cynical over such a spectacle; it is impossible not to be sad!

For many years past the state of South Africa has been one of unrest. The situation has, in truth, been full of difficulty. There existed elements of discord known to us all; and statesmen in Africa and at home have at least had ample warning that only the wisest and most prudent guidance could reconcile the jealousy and the jarrings of racial antagonism and save South Africa from the overwhelming disaster of a racial war. The Convention of 1884 was concluded by Lord Derby and President Kruger, while the Transvaal was still a remote and pastoral State; and neither, could he have foreseen the changes almost immediately afterwards produced by the discovery of gold, would have used the language that he did in negotiating that Convention, or indeed have supposed that such an arrangement was suited to the requirements of the case. In April 1896, in July 1897, and in January 1898 we invited the attention of our readers to the history and existing condition of affairs in South Africa, and we have no intention now to go back upon the past. We deplored then, and we have more than ever reason to deplore now, the incalculable injury done to South Africa and the Empire by the Jameson Raid. The Boers are among the most suspicious of mankind; and when it appeared that the Raid was no madcap freak of a party of adventurers, but was part of a conspiracy long and deeply planned by the Prime Minister of Cape Colony—a man held in high honour by so many of his countrymen at home—it is small wonder if a distrust was created in British professions and in British good faith which it has been almost impossible to remove.

It is admitted on all hands that the system of government

prevailing in the Republic could not go on unchanged. The Boers have their virtues as well as their faults, but they are utterly unfit to govern an enterprising foreign community, such as has grown up round the gold fields. They or their ancestors had fought for and won their independence when they were the sole white inhabitants of the country. Now they are only a minority of the people; and it was not likely that an oligarchy of Dutch farmers would prove equal to the duty of governing the energetic, industrial, go-ahead foreign population which had come to push its fortune in the Transvaal. On the other hand it was equally unlikely that the Boers would, without a good deal of pressure, surrender a large part of their authority into the hands of foreigners. The outlanders of Johannesburg and the Rand, drawn from all quarters of the earth, but mainly English and American, are what the population of such new cities always are. Men came in thousands to make their fortunes rapidly, hoping before many years had passed to leave the country for ever with the wealth they had accumulated. Between Englishmen and Dutchmen there is not naturally any racial antagonism; but in the Transvaal the conditions were such as almost necessarily to bring about strained relations between the burghers and the foreign element which threatened to swamp them. Everything had concurred to render the Transvaal Dutch the most backward, the most narrow-minded, and the least open to modern ideas and influences of all the African Dutch; while the new population which they had to govern was little suited to old-world notions of government, even if that government was honestly administered for the public good. But that was not the case, and the foreign residents burned with natural indignation when they saw that those whom they regarded as their tyrannical oppressors were accumulating large fortunes and expending great sums produced by the energy, industry, and capital which the foreigners themselves had brought into the State.

In many respects the Dutch of South Africa, with whom till quite recent years the British were rapidly amalgamating, are a peculiar people. They constitute a very large proportion of the white population of Cape Colony. An excellent account of their peculiarities is given by Sir Harry Johnston in his valuable little book on African colonisation.*

'The old rivalry between the English and the Dutch, which had

* 'A History of the Colonisation of Africa by Alien Races,' by Sir Harry Johnston, K.C.B. London: 1899.

begun almost as soon as the Dutch were a free people, and competitors with us for the trade of the East and West Indies, had created a feeling of enmity between the two races, which ought never to have existed, seeing how nearly they are of the same stock, and how closely allied in language, religion, and to some extent in history—also how nearly matched they are in physical and mental worth. Curiously enough, there is far greater affinity in thought and character between the Scotch and the Dutch than between the Dutch and the English. The same thriftiness, bordering at times on parsimony, oddly combined with the largest-hearted hospitality, the same tendency to strike a hard bargain, even to overreach in matters of business, and the same dogged perseverance characterise both Dutch and Scotch; while in matters of religion almost precisely the same form of Protestant Christianity appeals to both; so much so that there is practically a fusion between the Dutch Reformed Church and the Presbyterians. Had Scotchmen been sent out to administer Cape Colony in its early days it is probable that something like a fusion might have taken place, and there would have been no Dutch question to cause discussion in South African politics in the nineteenth century. The Scotch would have understood the Boer settlers and their idiosyncrasies, and would not have made fun of them or been so deliberately unsympathetic as were some of the earlier English governors. Slavery would have been abolished all the same, but it would have been abolished more cautiously, in a way that would not have left behind the sting of a grievance.

On the return of Sir Alfred Milner to South Africa in the spring of the present year it became evident that the long-standing difficulties between the Empire and the South African Republic were coming to a head. This it is abundantly clear was the wish of the Secretary of State in London and of his representative at Cape Town. The state of continual complaint on the one side, and of unwillingness to give redress on the other—of incessant wrangling and disputation—could not be indefinitely prolonged except at the cost of great loss of dignity and influence to Great Britain and of permanent disquiet and instability in South Africa. In March a petition to the Queen, signed by over twenty thousand British subjects, resident at and near Johannesburg, was sent home by Sir Alfred Milner, who certified to its substantial genuineness and to the reality of the grievances of which it complained. They were treated, the petitioners said, as foreigners, enjoying practically none of the privileges of citizens, though they contributed out of their taxes a very large proportion of the income of the State. The Government was utterly corrupt, and recent legislation had steadily tended against their interests. They were defenceless in the midst of an armed Boer population, and they were without any constitutional means of helping themselves.

They implored, therefore, the protection of her Majesty. They asked that their grievances might be redressed, and that they might be secured, by effectual guarantee of the State Government, 'in their rights as British subjects.' At the end of the same month of March, President Kruger made elaborate speeches at Heidelberg and Johannesburg with reference to the uitlander grievances. As to the franchise, he spoke as follows : —

'I would not be worthy to be the head of the State if I did not protect the old burghers. Nor would I be worthy to be the head of the State if I did not bear in mind the interests of the new population with the object of helping them. I make no distinction between nationalities; I only make a distinction between good and bad people —between those who are loyal and those who are not. You all know that when first we discovered these gold fields, and they began to be worked, the franchise was given to any one who lived here a year. But when from all countries and all nations men began to stream in it became our duty to prevent the old burghers from being overwhelmed. I would not have been worthy of my position if I had allowed the new-comers to immediately sweep away and overwhelm the old inhabitants of the country.'

Hence precautions had been taken, and the period of probation had been increased. At the time when he spoke it required fourteen years for the outlander to acquire full privileges as an enfranchised citizen. The President proposed to reduce this term by five years, and in another ten years or so to reduce it still further; and he pointed out the great difference that existed between the admission of foreigners as citizens of large countries, such as the United States of America, and their admission where they would become at once the majority and ruling power in the nation.

These proposals seemed at first sight to promise a step in the right direction, but Sir Alfred Milner pointed out that on examination they proved to be utterly inadequate in themselves, and afforded, moreover, no guarantee that even such as they were they would not be swept away by a simple resolution of the First Raad, whenever it suited its purpose. It is clear that our Government could not possibly have accepted these offers as a settlement; but something at least was gained for negotiation in the language held by the President. The grievance was admitted, and the discussion of the proper measure of relief, so far as the franchise grievance was concerned, seemed likely to enter on the not unhopeful field of more or less.

In May a new chapter in the history of our relations with

the Republic was opened by the publication of Sir Alfred Milner's despatch to Mr. Chamberlain, which was telegraphed from Cape Town on the 5th, and which was at once sent to the newspapers. It was a paper written with much force, and with a warmth of language unusual in diplomatic documents intended for publication. When negotiation is in contemplation or in actual progress it is often a difficult question to decide how far it is wise to make public the communications that are passing between the agent on the spot and the Government whom he serves. But in this case, no doubt, Mr. Chamberlain thought it of supreme importance to inform the British public of the precise attitude of the Colonial Office towards the difficult problems with which it had to deal; and as a matter of fact the despatch was accepted as a manifesto of national policy. As such it deserved and received almost universal support.

It is desirable to recall the principal points insisted upon in this memorable despatch. To begin with, the grievances alleged in the petition to the Queen were substantiated, and it was pointed out that, far from anything having been done to alleviate them, the treatment of the uitlanders was becoming worse and worse. British subjects resented

'the personal indignity involved in the position of permanent subjection to the ruling caste, which owes its wealth and power to their exertion. The political turmoil in the South African Republic will never end till the *permanent uitlander population* is admitted to a share in the government, and while that turmoil lasts there will be no tranquillity or adequate progress in her Majesty's South African dominions. . . . The only condition on which the South African Colonies and the two Republics can live in harmony and the country progress is equality all round. South Africa can prosper under two, three, or six Governments, but not under two absolutely conflicting social and political systems, perfect equality for Dutch and British in the British Colonies side by side with permanent subjection of British to Dutch in one of the Republics. It is idle to talk of peace and unity under such a state of affairs.'

Sir Alfred goes on to point out that it is the right and the interest of Great Britain to secure fair treatment of the uitlanders, of whom the majority are British subjects, and that the system hitherto followed of remonstrating, generally in vain, about every injury to individual Englishmen had become an impossible one. 'It may easily lead to war, but 'will never lead to real improvement.' Then comes an important paragraph, which must be quoted entire.

'The true remedy is to strike at the root of all these injuries—the

political impotence of the injured. What diplomatic protests will never accomplish, a fair measure of uitlander representation would gradually but surely bring about. It seems a paradox, but it is true, that the only effective way of protecting our subjects is to help them to cease to be our subjects. The admission of uitlanders to a fair share of political power would no doubt give stability to the Republic; but it at the same time will remove most of our causes of difference with it, and modify and in the long run entirely remove that intense suspicion and bitter hostility to Great Britain which at present dominates its internal and external policy.'

The spectacle of thousands of British subjects, he continues, 'kept permanently in the position of helots' (an absurdly exaggerated phrase to apply to men who came to, and remained in, the Transvaal solely for the personal advantage they found in so doing) was undermining all respect for the British Government in her own dominions. The Dutch press in and out of the Transvaal was libelling the British Government, and producing an effect upon the loyalty even of our Dutch fellow colonists, of whom thousands were being drawn into disaffection, thereby creating exasperation on the side of the British.

'I see nothing,' concludes this despatch, 'which will put an end to this mischievous propaganda but some striking proof of the intention of her Majesty's Government not to be ousted from its position in South Africa. And the best proof alike of its power and its justice would be to obtain for the uitlanders in the Transvaal a fair share in the government of the country, which owes everything to their exertions. It would be made perfectly clear that our action was not directed against the existence of the Republic.'

Here assuredly were all the conditions to tax the firmness and diplomatic skill of the British High Commissioner. If anything was to be won by negotiation it would be necessary to soothe where he could British irritation, and to allay where he could Dutch suspicion. There can be no doubt that the policy he recommended was just and wise. It was rested upon no argumentative claims to suzerainty, but on the right which clearly belongs to the British nation to protect the interests of its own subjects even in foreign lands, and to secure the peace and prosperity of South Africa. Had similar conditions sprung up across the Portuguese and not across the Transvaal frontier we should have equally been bound to take the requisite steps, whatever might have been the most appropriate ones, to bring to an end a permanent and highly dangerous condition of unstable equilibrium.

Mr. Chamberlain accordingly in his reply to Sir Alfred's despatch recounted at length the uitlander grievances, declared that they had become quite intolerable, and based the right of Great Britain to insist upon their redress on a threefold ground. The Convention of 1884 was designed to secure equality of treatment in the South African Republic for uitlander and Boer. Great Britain was the Paramount Power in South Africa. It was a national duty to protect British subjects residing in a foreign country.

'The British Government,' he wrote, 'still cherish the hope that the publicity given to the present representations of the uitlander population, and the fact, of which the Government of the South African Republic must be aware, that they are losing the sympathy of those other States which, like Great Britain, are deeply interested in the prosperity of the Transvaal, may induce them to reconsider their policy, and by redressing the most serious of the grievances now complained of to remove a standing danger to the peace and prosperity not only of the Republic itself but also of South Africa generally.'

And the Secretary of State went on to propose to President Kruger that Sir Alfred Milner and he should meet and discuss in a conciliatory spirit the best means of removing uitlander grievances and restoring good relations between Great Britain and the South African Republic.

Before, however, Mr. Chamberlain's despatch was shown to President Kruger, or made public, a conference had been held at Bloemfontein on the invitation of the President of the Orange Free State, which was naturally most anxious that a peaceful solution should be found for the difficulties between its two neighbours. The conference failed, but the report of the discussions serves a very useful historical purpose in making clear the views of the two sides and the motives that actuated the negotiators. The action taken at the time by the Orange Free State and the Prime Minister and Government of Cape Colony also deserves the most careful attention. Nothing is to be gained by shutting our eyes to the difficulties of the other side; and the statement, so often made in this country, that we have been asking for nothing more for uitlanders in the Republic than is given by the Orange Free State, or by the British Colonies to resident foreigners within their boundaries, conceals the essential differences between the cases. Sir Alfred Milner put forward his case at the conference frankly and clearly.

The last thing he wanted, he said, was to impair the independence of the Republic. If the uitlanders were enfranchised it would strengthen that independence and diminish

all necessity for British interference. He did not wish to swamp the old burghers, but merely to give to the new residents a moderate representation, so that they might in constitutional fashion seek redress for their own grievances. President Kruger seemed honestly anxious to get the High Commissioner to understand, even if he did not agree with, the feeling of the Boers on the subject. 'I have come,' he said, 'to the conference in the trust that your Excellency is 'a man capable of conviction, to go into all points of difference.' He claimed independence as to the internal affairs of the State; but if his Excellency in a friendly way would give him hints on internal matters he would listen and do his best to remove all points of difference. As to the franchise question, which was to take precedence of all others, 'I am not surprised,' said the President, 'that in other places the men would only have to wait a year to get it, because there are millions of old burghers, and the few that come in cannot outvote the old burghers; but with us those who rushed in to the gold fields are in large numbers and of all kinds, and the number of burghers is still insignificant; therefore we are compelled to make the franchise so that they cannot all rush into it at once, and as soon as we can assure ourselves by a gradual increase of our burghers that we can safely do it, our plan was to reduce the time for any one there to take up the franchise, and that is my plan.'

The Boer dislike to being swamped is a perfectly intelligible one, especially when one calls to mind the sacrifices which the Boers have made in the past to achieve their hard-won and beloved independence. It is hardly necessary to go into the details of the proposals made on the one side and the other. Sir Alfred suggested an increase of seats in the uitlander districts, and a five-year franchise for all residents who intended to remain permanently in the Republic, provided they would take an oath to obey the laws and defend the independence of the country; and he urged (probably with entire truth) that to grant less than this would satisfy no one and do no good. The Boer President's proposals were very different. They included indeed an increase of seats in the Gold Fields district, and a shortening of the period to qualify for franchise. Sir Alfred admitted that the scheme showed a great advance on the existing system; but as a settlement of the question it was utterly and entirely inadequate. The President showed himself most anxious to agree to some plan for settling future differences between the two States by arbitration; but the High Commissioner refused to mix up the funda-

mental question of the franchise with other matters, and at his instance the conference, having accomplished nothing, was closed.

The result was disappointing; but as yet there were many reasons for hoping that some pacific and satisfactory solution, by way of compromise, would be arrived at. Under these circumstances it was evidently all-important that the British demands should be of a kind, and be put forward in a manner, to attract general support in South Africa. The feeling among the loyal Dutch in Cape Colony, as well as among a large proportion of the people of the Free State, was quite opposed to the narrow, exclusive, retrograde, and corrupt system of government prevailing in the Transvaal. Policy, therefore, as well as the national honour made it incumbent upon us to convince even suspicious men that Great Britain had no intention of harking back to its old project of annexation, or of lending an ear to the counsels of those who had planned the treacherous raid of three years ago. There had slipped into one of the High Commissioner's telegraphic despatches an unfortunate paragraph which in South Africa was construed to convey a reflexion upon the loyalty of our Dutch fellow subjects. It had been for some time the party cue of Mr. Rhodes's followers, with the exaggeration belonging to the bitterness of faction, to attribute disloyalty to their political opponents; yet only recently the Schreiner Ministry, supported by colonists of Dutch blood, had given signal evidence of its pride in the Imperial connexion and its allegiance to the British flag. It was important that as far as possible the struggle with the Boer President should be prevented from widening out into a contest of racial supremacy. The Schreiner Ministry and the President and Government of the Orange Free State felt this keenly, and offered what assistance they could to bring about a resumption of negotiations. Mr. Chamberlain has in the past in many speeches shown his recognition of the importance of keeping as far as possible the loyal Dutch of Cape Colony and the people of the Orange Free State in sympathy with the Imperial policy towards the Transvaal. Important to Great Britain as would be a rupture with the South African Republic, to the Orange Free State it would be a matter of vital interest, and to our Dutch fellow subjects distressing to the last degree. Mr. Schreiner and the Ministry of Cape Colony had carefully considered the proposals of President Kruger, and had come to the conclusion that they afforded at least a basis upon

which the franchise question might be settled; and they communicated, it appears, with some diffidence, their views to Sir Alfred Milner on the subject. The Governor, however, considered the differences between himself and President Kruger irreconcilable, and advised the Cape Ministry to apply rather to the latter than to him—an appeal which was reinforced by a telegram next day from the Secretary of State asking the Cape Ministry to bring what influence they could to bear on the South African Republic to modify their proposals, and so to remove the necessity for British interference in affairs of this kind. At the same time the uitlanders and the burghers at Johannesburg were resolving, the former, that Sir Alfred Milner's proposals were an irreducible minimum; the latter, that the President's suggestions left nothing to be desired. Between these extremists stood the Cape Ministry and the President of the Orange Free State. And at the end of July, when there was some appearance that the wrangle might reach a peaceful conclusion, Lord Selborne, in the House of Lords, was able to express the thanks of the Colonial Office to Mr. Schreiner and Mr. Hofmeyr, and to Mr. Fischer of the Orange Free State, 'for the assistance they had rendered in bringing the proposals of the South African Republic to the point they had then reached.'

It is clear enough in reading through these despatches that the prospect of our getting our way about the franchise without war lay in our convincing the Boer Government and the burghers that we did not intend to attack their independence. In these circumstances the mischief done by extremists on the uitlander side cannot be passed over. The South African League had established a branch at Johannesburg, and long before this (viz. January 11, 1899) Sir William Butler, Acting Governor at Cape Town, had warned Mr. Chamberlain to be on his guard as to information that might reach him from that quarter. 'I am convinced by the knowledge of facts which it is impossible to ignore that it is necessary to receive with caution, and even with a large measure of suspicion, statements emanating from the officers of that organisation.' Sir Alfred Milner, it is true, put much greater faith than his *locum tenens* in the representations of the League. Here, however, we are dealing not with their facts but with their policy, than which nothing could be more deplorable. At the very time when wise and moderate men, English and Dutch, in Cape Colony were striving to remove the not altogether unnatural suspicions which

possessed the Boer mind as to the lurking wish of the British Government to destroy their independence, the Transvaal branch of the League addresses (June 11) the High Commissioner, pointing out that his proposed franchise would do very little good unless the uitlanders *at once obtained a preponderating influence in the Raad!* Of course Sir Alfred's proposal asked only a moderate share of the representation, and he again and again assured President Kruger that all fears that the uitlanders would be the governing power in the State were groundless. The League goes on to urge that in the meantime the sweeping reforms it enumerates in every part of the constitution of the Republic must be effected 'by pressure from the suzerain Power,' and all this must be done at once, contemporaneously with the grant of the new franchise! The Boer fort at Johannesburg also must be at once demolished.

With these gentlemen of the South African League, therefore, the 'suzerainty' asserted is interpreted to involve what must in Boer eyes look very like the complete subjection of the Boer State. If this is the meaning given to 'suzerainty' by influential uitlanders in the Transvaal no wonder that President Kruger refuses to admit the word, as, indeed, under the Convention of 1884 it would seem he has a right to do. Now the position of all parties may be roughly summed up, and the policies they were urging, as follows:—

1. Sir Alfred Milner claims for the uitlanders a moderate share of the governing power, thereby improving the government and strengthening the internal independence of the South African Republic.
2. President Kruger's wish is to do as little as he can towards enfranchising uitlanders, but he has been compelled to make considerable advances in the direction required.
3. The Ministry of Cape Colony, and the Orange Free State, hope for the sake of peace to get each party to accept a reasonable compromise.
4. The South African League and the uitlander extremists wish under the name of suzerainty to annihilate at once Boer independence.

Now, policy No. 4 is, in truth, almost as much opposed to the policy of Sir Alfred Milner and Mr. Chamberlain as policy No. 2; yet it is singular, and to our mind very much to be regretted, that the former was not at once and publicly repudiated by the High Commissioner and the Secretary of State. It may have been considered that excessive uit-

lander demands would frighten the Boers into agreeing quickly with their more reasonable adversaries. These unrepudiated claims had unfortunately the opposite effect, and rendered the Boers more distrustful than ever of British good faith in adhering to the London Convention of 1884, and they must also have greatly weakened the influence of the loyal Dutch with the governments of the Transvaal and the Free State.

In the course of the summer there was great reason to hope that, in spite of the dogged obstinacy of the Boers on the one side and of the extravagant claims of the South African League and its supporters on the other, it would be possible for the two Governments to come to a satisfactory conclusion. Sir Alfred Milner at the conference had been prepared 'to drop all questions connected with the position of British subjects, if only President Kruger could be persuaded to adopt a liberal measure of enfranchisement;' and he felt that he was carrying with him a considerable body of Dutch support. In truth, strong pressure was being brought to bear upon the President by those whom he could not suspect of any desire to overthrow his Republic. Mr. Schreiner was accused both in Cape Colony and England—such is the bitterness and the recklessness of faction—of urging the Transvaal Government to resist the proposals of the High Commissioner, who, of course, as soon as the matter came to his knowledge declared the utter falseness of the story. That the party which supports Mr. Schreiner—perhaps it should be said the party that opposes Mr. Rhodes—is necessarily infected with treason is an amiable commonplace of Cape party politics, and one which, unfortunately, some of Mr. Rhodes's friends have done their best to popularise in England.

On July 20 Mr. Chamberlain was able to inform the House of Commons that President Kruger had greatly modified his proposals, and that the Government now hoped that the new law which the Raad had just passed would prove the basis of settlement on the lines laid down by Sir Alfred Milner at the conference. There were indeed difficult details to be arranged, but the Government trusted that the President would be willing to deal with them in such a spirit as not to hamper the substantial privileges he seemed willing to grant. And a week later this hopeful tone still prevailed, the Secretary of State in his despatch (July 27) to the High Commissioner noting the considerable advances made by the President to meet the

British demands, and pointing out that the Volksraad 'had now agreed to a measure intended to give the franchise immediately to those who have been resident in the country for seven years, as well as to those who may in future complete this period of residence. This proposal is an advance on previous concessions, and leaves only a difference of two years between yourself and President Kruger so far as the franchise is concerned.' Still, however, there were many details that required revising, and a fair proportion of seats must be allotted to uitlander districts. Moreover the privileges granted ought not to be at the mercy of the Boer Government to reduce or abrogate at its own discretion. The best way in which these details could be considered would be by the appointment by the High Commissioner and the President of delegates to discuss them and report to their respective Governments. Even on the subject of arbitration there appeared from this despatch to be a great approximation between the two sides; though the Secretary of State would not allow that any question could arise 'in the interpretation of the preamble of the Convention of 1881 which governed the articles substituted in the Convention of 1884.'

Thus before Parliament was prorogued there was good reason for hoping that a peaceful solution would be found; and so there would have been if both parties in South Africa had really meant to carry forward and to be satisfied with Sir Alfred Milner's proposals as a basis for a substantial reform. In the despatch already quoted, Mr. Chamberlain rejoiced that 'each new scheme [of President Kruger] seemed to be an advance and improvement on that which preceded it, and hoped that the plan just passed by the Volksraad might prove a basis for a settlement on the lines laid down at the Conference.' It really looked as if the firmness of the Government and the High Commissioner were to be rewarded by the yielding of the President (unwillingly enough no doubt) to the steady pressure which had been applied. When, however, the High Commissioner came to examine the details and probable operation of the new law, he considered it was so hedged in with difficulties and uncertainties that he could not possibly advise its acceptance. Even in our own highly civilised country, Registration Acts and Franchise Acts are complex enough, and many an unwary citizen at every election finds himself improperly omitted from the electoral roll. Still, a little goodwill on both sides would

have elucidated the meaning of the new law, and have led to its amendment. The Boers, however, objected to the appointment of a joint commission to inquire into these matters, as they thought such a proceeding would jeopardise their legislative independence, and the uitlanders showed no sort of desire to find, as Mr. Chamberlain had done, the basis of a working system in the project passed by the Raad. President Kruger has always maintained that the uitlanders did not really wish to become enfranchised citizens of the Republic, and that it was a mere pretext to cover their wish to get rid of Boer independence. At all events, where the Home Government, and moderate men, Dutch and English, in the Cape, really thought some working system could be found to carry out the substance of the High Commissioner's plan, the uitlanders energetically repudiated any attempt at a compromise. In Sir Alfred Milner's despatch to Mr. Chamberlain (received August 5), there occurs the following noteworthy remark :

'Great uncertainty still exists in view of the complicated provisions of the franchise law, as to how many uitlanders could fulfil the conditions for obtaining the franchise, and, still greater, as to how many will now attempt to obtain it. The one point which is constantly left out of sight in discussing the number of uitlanders who may become burghers under this or that scheme is the effect which the scheme, as a whole, is likely to produce upon their disposition to take up the rights and duties of burghership. Will they consider it worth while? Will they, especially those of them who possess a citizenship that they are proud of, be willing to change their allegiance? That depends in many cases upon the amount of faith they have in the fairness and practicability of the system of admission to burgher rights. That the uitlanders, especially the British uitlanders, will be particularly attracted by the offer now made to them—in its present form—is, I think, extremely improbable.'

At all events, whatever the reason, as August passed on, the parties, instead of approaching each other, drew farther and farther apart. Perhaps as a mere matter of diplomacy (if the importance of an immediate settlement of the franchise difficulty is considered) it might have been better for the Secretary of State to have abstained in his despatch from any reference to the doubtful claim of the 'suzerainty' under the Convention of 1881, and to the 'paramountcy' of Great Britain over the South African Republic, both of which claims not unnaturally always suggest to the Boers that they hold a position of *vassalage* to the British Empire, far beyond the restrictions imposed by the Convention of

1884, which restrictions have never seriously been disputed by President Kruger. On the subject of arbitration the Secretary of State was willing to make a great advance in the direction desired by the President, and was ready to consider the best system of establishing an arbitration Court to decide on the right interpretation of details of the articles of the Convention of 1884, and the President was shortly afterwards invited to appoint Boer delegates to meet British delegates, to inquire whether the measure passed by the Volksraad would efficiently carry out the object in view. The uitlanders in the Transvaal were not prepared to listen to any kind of compromise, and, indeed, were much afraid lest the British Government should accept one. Accordingly they did their best to persuade the High Commissioner not to yield an inch, and passed resolutions strongly urging the immediate recurrence to his Conference plan, which they had accepted with much reluctance, but which was the very least they would accept at all. They further proceeded to assert their claim to the demolition of the Boer forts, for the repeal of religious disabilities, for representation in the First Raad proportionate to their numbers, for equality of language, and other reforms 'as essential to the exercise of the rights of a free people.'

Once again we must call attention to the difference between the Imperial policy and the policy of the extremer uitlanders. Which was to prevail? The Secretary of State was willing to accept the Boer franchise proposals and the large increase offered in the representation of the uitlander districts, on condition of a preliminary inquiry by a joint commission proving satisfactory into the practical effect of proposals undeniably very complicated and difficult to understand. At the same time the uitlanders were declaring that nothing less would content them than the privileges and constitutional system which in recent years Englishmen have enjoyed at home. Unless they could get these they were willing apparently to accept the alternative of war, or an indefinite continuance in the condition of helots.

President Kruger, objecting to the joint commission, at the end of August proposed a counter-project dealing with the franchise and representation, going very much farther than any proposal he had hitherto made, and apparently even more liberal towards the uitlanders than Sir Alfred Milner's own proposals at the conference. The President's new project embraced a five years' retrospective franchise,

ten seats for the uitlander districts in a First Raad of thirty-six, and equality between new and old burghers in voting for the election of the President of the Republic and Commandant-General. The Government of the Republic declared that in offering these terms it was going far beyond what could reasonably be asked, but it did so 'out of its strong desire to get the controversies between the two Governments settled, and further to put an end to present strained relations between the two Governments and the incalculable harm and loss it has already occasioned in South Africa, and to prevent a racial war, from the effects of which South Africa may not recover for many generations, perhaps never.'

Surely after this it seems hardly possible that the two Governments should not have come to terms. The Boer proposals were, however, made subject to conditions, viz. that for the future her Majesty's Government would not interfere in the internal affairs of the Republic, would not insist further on its assertion of the suzerainty, and would agree to arbitration from which all foreign elements, except that of the Orange Free State, should be excluded. Mr. Chamberlain was ready to accept the Boer plan if, after examination by a British agent and a Transvaal agent, it appeared really to carry out the object proposed; and as to the conditions, he *hoped* that further interference in the affairs of the Republic would be unnecessary. But he would not waive the rights of Great Britain under the two Conventions, nor divest his country of the ordinary obligations of a civilised Power to protect its subjects in a foreign land. He would agree as to arbitration, and as to the suzerainty he referred the South African Republic to his previous despatch.

'Her Majesty's Government,' the despatch concluded, 'also desire to remind the Government of the South African Republic that there are other matters of difference between the two Governments which will not be settled by the grant of political representation to the uitlanders, and which are not proper subjects for reference to arbitration. It is necessary that these should be settled concurrently with the questions now under discussion, and they will form, with the question of arbitration, proper subjects for consideration at the conference,' which Mr. Chamberlain proposed should be held by the High Commissioner and the President at Capetown.'

So far, then, it would appear that her Majesty's Government were carrying all before them, that the uitlanders would obtain the very franchise suggested by Sir Alfred Milner, that they would have a larger representation than

had been contemplated in the Raad, and that they would have the power of voting for (before many years had passed the predominant power in electing) the State President himself. Perhaps, in view of these immense and immediate gains, it might have been more diplomatic not to refer to the 'etymological question' of the suzerainty, or to propose to bring the President to Cape Town to talk over with the High Commissioner all other outstanding questions. We do not know how this may be; but the South African Republic did not at once send a reply, and the High Commissioner, representing uitlander feeling, urgently pressed the Home Government to come to an immediate decision. 'British South Africa,' he telegraphed on August 31, 'is prepared for extreme measures, and is prepared to suffer much in order to see the vindication of British authority.' Now, British South Africa includes a very large number of loyal Dutch British subjects (and, be it said, no small number of Englishmen who distrust the counsels urged by the uitlanders of the Transvaal), and it cannot be supposed that in their earnest desire to avert war they, or even the Cape Ministry, were at all anxious to abandon the spirit of compromise and to hurry the Home Government into a decision which might bring it about. British influence would, in their view, be sufficiently established by our winning from President Kruger the terms, and more than the terms, so long demanded by the High Commissioner, and so long refused by the Boer Government. We certainly believe that Sir Alfred Milner described accurately the feeling of one of the political parties in Cape Colony when he spoke of a desire for 'extreme measures;' but he certainly did not therein speak the sentiments of the Colony as a whole or those of his own constitutional advisers.

The High Commissioner was entirely justified in looking with the utmost suspicion at the reforms suggested by the President, and in advising his Government as to the necessity of rigidly testing their probable operation. He was also right to guard against it being alleged that her Majesty's Government, having obtained what they asked for the uitlanders, were debarred from entering upon any other questions between the two governments. The Boers, however, in their note of September 2, very foolishly withdrew their offer of August 21, as they considered that its terms and conditions were not frankly accepted by her Majesty's Government. They did not, they said, ask that Government to give up any of its rights either under inter-

national law or by virtue of any treaty, but they denied the existence of the suzerainty since the Convention of 1884, and referred to their own former despatch. They further referred to the franchise reform already passed, and apparently were ready to consider the question of the appointment of delegates to examine its efficacy, a point upon which the Secretary of State had formerly insisted.

Mr. Chamberlain's reply to this despatch was firm in substance and moderate in tone. On September 9 he, in the first instance, most properly repudiated the claim of the Republic to 'the status of a Sovereign International State,' and could not enter into any agreement involving the admission of such a 'status.' He declined further to go back from the proposals of August to the earlier proposals, which he now considered quite insufficient; but he was ready to accept the August proposals of the Boer Government as to franchise and seats, and he made no mention whatever of the 'suzerainty.' 'The acceptance of these terms,' the despatch proceeded, 'would at once remove the tension between the two governments, and would in all probability render unnecessary any further intervention on the part of her Majesty's Government to secure the redress of grievances which the uitlanders would themselves be able to bring to the notice of the Executive Government and Raad.' It concluded by urging, in the interests of South Africa, the relief of the present strain, and pointed to a future conference between the High Commissioner and the President on outstanding questions not concerned with uitlander grievances.

The remainder of the correspondence can be easily summarised. The reply of the South African Republic (dated September 16) adhered to its previous despatch, and agreed to the joint commission to inquire into the law which had been passed, but entirely refused again to take up the August proposals unless the conditions stipulated were accepted; to which, on the 22nd, the Secretary of State answers repeating that no rights are claimed over the internal affairs of the Republic except those derived from the Conventions or based on international law; that it is evident that nothing can be gained by further pursuing the discussion, and that 'her Majesty's Government are now compelled to consider the question afresh, and to formulate their own proposals for a final settlement of the issues which have been created in South Africa by the policy constantly followed for many years by the Republic. They will communicate to you the result of their deliberations in a later despatch.'

We have given, we hope, a fair account of the substantial matters discussed in a lengthy series of despatches, so far as they deal with the policy pursued on the two sides. Of various incidents differently represented here and in the Transvaal, which have been the cause of much bitter ill feeling between English and Dutch, we have said nothing. It is right that cases of injustice, or unfairness, or tyranny should be inquired into ; but it is not right by gross exaggeration and partisan statements to use them to inflame still further a race animosity already lamentably violent.

Since August last national feeling has run high, and excitement has been fanned by much wild writing and speaking. It is not a question, we are told, of justice or of good faith, but of who is to rule in South Africa. And throughout September constant pressure has been put on the Government to break off negotiations and 'send an ultimatum' to President Kruger, backed by an army of invasion. When responsible men urged patience and peace at public meetings, attempts were made to drown their voices with shouts of 'Majuba Hill.' Nevertheless, Lord Salisbury and his Cabinet have resolutely refused to listen to these violent counsels, and at the date we are writing they have not closed the door on their temperate proposals of September 8 ; nor have they, as might have been expected from the despatch of September 22, made any further demands. Surely the intelligent reader of this long diplomatic correspondence must feel lost in astonishment when he remembers what war means to the Transvaal, to South Africa, and to the British Empire, that war should arise out of a discussion in which the two Governments show themselves so very nearly agreed !

But is British power in South Africa really trembling ? If so, all Englishmen are ready to make any sacrifice to maintain it, and here it is useful to clear our heads for a time of all the complications introduced by treaties and conventions, by claims of paramountcy and suzerainty on the one side, and of independence or of sovereignty on the other, and to look at the great facts of the position. The British Empire is strongly established in South Africa, and the links which unite the colonies with the Mother Country can never be broken so long as the colonists of English race wish the connexion to endure. It is men of English, American, and German blood who constitute the progressive part of the community, and have the future in their hands. British power protects their coasts and their ports, and keeps the

colonies in constant touch with England. It is as easy, though it is more costly and takes longer, to send an army of 50,000 men to Cape Colony or Natal as to Salisbury Plain or the Curragh. Surrounding the Dutch States on every side, excepting only where Portuguese territory forms one boundary of the South African Republic, the British colonies cut them off completely from the rest of the world. They nowhere touch the sea, and without British permission not a company of soldiers, not a man—we may almost say not a letter nor a telegram—could be sent into the Dutch States by the most powerful nation in Europe. To the north of the Transvaal, unless Rhodesia should prove a delusion, a large British population will soon be found. To the east of the Free State, Natal, the most English of South African colonies, is filling up. Can it be supposed that such colonies as the Cape, Natal, and Rhodesia will not year by year steadily increase their importance, at present surely sufficiently marked, over the stagnant little Dutch communities which they have surrounded? But this is not all, for in the South African Republic itself, *because* money is to be made there, and *because* there is a future, Englishmen flock in in such overwhelming numbers as to prove that that future will be largely and surely theirs. Already the foreign element, mostly English, number two-thirds of the population, though it is hardly more than a dozen years since the influx began. Facts will decide far more surely than the best penned despatches what ultimately will be the complexion of South African civilisation and government—whether English or Dutch. The notion that there is a formidable Dutch conspiracy ‘to oust British influence’ (that, we think, is the phrase) ‘from South Africa’ is the strangest nightmare that ever afflicted the most nervous of ‘Imperialist’ minds. Our statesmen here and in South Africa have ample work to do in smoothing the pathway to the ultimate unification of the South African colonies, in assisting co-operation between the races, and their ultimate fusion. But which race will prevail in the end will be settled by racial characteristics, and the natural conditions presented by the soil, the climate, and the advantages to be gained, in the colonies themselves.

Much has been said about the duplicity of the Boers and of their leader; and Sir Alfred Milner has been wisely on his guard lest privileges to be granted with one hand should be withdrawn with the other. To dispel the suspicions of such a man as Kruger would task—perhaps overtask—the

skill of our most experienced diplomats. In the first place he would have had to convince the President that the policy of the British High Commissioner was not in reality moved by a party in South Africa, which, in truth, hardly takes the trouble to conceal its hostility to the independence of the Republic. The President is himself a rough, uncultivated man, with a very strong will. Mr. Lecky, speaking both from personal acquaintance with him and from knowledge acquired from others, described him some three years ago, in an address delivered at Dublin, as bearing a striking resemblance 'to the stern puritan warrior of the Commonwealth—a strong, stubborn man, with indomitable courage and resolution, with very little tinge of cultivation, but with a rare natural shrewdness in judging men and events, impressing all who came in contact with him with the extraordinary force of his nature.' He is a member of the 'Dopper' sect, who are opposed to everything in the nature of innovation, 'and is ardently religious, believing, it is said, as strongly as Wesley in 'a direct personal inspiration guiding him in his acts.'

In England far too little attention has been given to the attitude of the Cape Dutch and of the Orange Free State. Mr. Schreiner (than whom her Majesty has no more loyal subject) and his ministers are the constitutional advisers of Sir Alfred Milner in matters concerning the interests of Cape Colony. The Orange Free State have everything to lose by entering into a quarrel with the Imperial Government; and we think the language of the Cape Dutch and of the Government of the Orange Free State very honestly reflects the difficulty of the position in which they find themselves. Nothing but a conviction that the independence of the Dutch States is the real question at stake could have forced the Free State to incur the certain disasters which their alliance with the Transvaal must bring upon them. It is not from this side that shouts of 'No compromise' come. Neither do they in the least degree wish to perpetuate in the Transvaal the exclusive system from which their own States are free. The address of June 30 of the representatives of the Dutch Reformed Church to the High Commissioner gives exact expression to the feelings of many thousands of our fellow-countrymen. They are filled, they say, with alarm at the tension between the Dutch and English races in Cape Colony and in the Transvaal, which has been greatly increased by the 'warlike attitude assumed 'by an influential portion of the local and the British Press.'

It was not their business to touch on politics, but as holding responsible positions in the Reformed Church in South Africa, as

'preachers of the gospel of peace, as representing a Church, one in creed, language, membership, blood relationship with the burghers of the Transvaal, as loyal subjects of our beloved Queen, we desire to urge your Excellency to leave nothing undone which may tend to avert active hostilities. We shudder to think of the consequences which are sure to follow such an eventuality. The race feeling between the Dutch and English would be intensified, the breach between the two sections of our South African community would become irreparable, the allegiance of her Majesty's loyal Dutch subjects would sustain the severest shock it has ever been subjected to, and the hope of a united South Africa would be gone for ever. To us standing outside the political arena the difference between the proposals of your Excellency and those of President Kruger would hardly appear to justify the horrors in which active warfare between her Majesty's troops and the burghers of the Republic would involve the whole of South Africa for many a day.'

Surely there is a ring of pathetic earnestness about this address which entitles it to the attention of Englishmen at home.

Whatever view may be taken of South African questions surely no English statesman can regard without the deepest dislike a racial war between the Dutch and English inhabitants of those regions! In the eyes of the greatly preponderating black population what must be the appearance of such a war? To them it must seem that their conquerors and masters have fallen out amongst themselves at last, over the plunder. To the two Dutch States the war involves the loss of their dearly prized independence. When war has once begun it certainly will not end till British arms have destroyed their power of resistance for the future. British victory, therefore, which is not in doubt, involves British rule. But the mere fact that this is so makes it appear to every citizen of the Republic of the Free State that he is fighting for national independence against an English conqueror. When Englishmen read of old men of seventy and of boys of fourteen flocking into the ranks to fight what undoubtedly seems to them the battle of freedom against a foreign conqueror, they cannot but feel an uncomfortable searching of conscience as to whether these things must really be, and whether this war cannot with wisdom and honour be even yet avoided. When the war is over what is to be our next step? All of us had hoped to see the various States of South Africa freely working out their own constitution, and forming in time a

great federation under, and proud of, the British flag. It is bad to build a free constitution on the ruins left by racial war.

It may be that things have now gone too far, and that with opposing armies actually in the field, it is impossible to avoid the arbitrament of war. Undeniably the position is an extremely difficult one. Up till now the Government has entirely declined to be driven by wild shouts of popular excitement into the precipitation of a disastrous struggle. If war comes, as come it may, in spite of every effort which statesmen sincerely attached to peace can make to prevent it, then the British nation will of course do its part, and carry to a successful and, we hope, a rapid issue, a war upon which thinking men cannot but enter with heavy hearts.

Since the above was written a despatch has been received from the Government of the South African Republic demanding, under threat of an immediate declaration of war, the withdrawal of British troops from the neighbourhood of their frontier, and the recall to England of all troops under orders to land in any part of South Africa. No doubt can now remain of the course to be pursued, and the nation must accept the challenge so recklessly thrown down.

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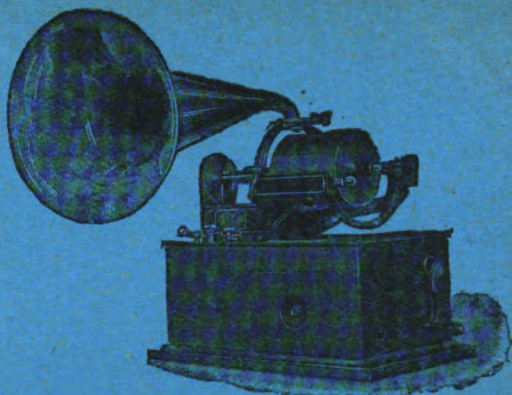
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